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"OLD OFFENDERS": LOYALISTS IN THE LOWER DELMARVA PENINSULA,1775-1800

by

Timothy James Wilson

A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
graduate Department of History
University of Toronto

Thesis Supervisor: William H. Nelson

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Abstract

The Delmarva Peninsula consists of the state of Delaware and the Eastern Shores of Maryland and Virginia and forms part of a distinctive geographical subregion along the Eastern seaboard of the United States. Now considered to be, from an ethnographic perspective, the least changed area in the United States, replacing Appalachia for that distinction, it has become a favorite area of study for cultural anthropologists. During the Revolution, this area -- already considered a backwater by many contemporaries -- distinguished itself by the level of apparent Loyalism among its inhabitants: accurate statistics are impossible, but estimates have put the number from a third of all residents to an absolute majority.

As Norman Risjord has pointed out, the reasons for Delmarva being a hotbed of Tory sentiment have "never been fully explored." To generate possible explanations, this thesis examined wartime loyalism in all three states composing the peninsula. By doing so, it was intended to extend the investigation of Delmarvan loyalism by such authors as Ronald Hoffman, Keith Mason, Adele Hast and Harold Hancock, who concentrated their studies on a single state. Through the examination of both primary and secondary material, it would appear that the single most important cause lay in the region's geographical and cultural isolation. Levels of disaffection varied from one county to another, becoming concentrated in forested and marshy districts which diverged most sharply from the dominant "tobacco culture" of Chesapeake society. Disaffection manifested itself both in persistent large-scale rioting which was an

outgrowth of a type of gang warfare endemic to the area before the war, and in "picaroon" raids in Chesapeake and Delaware bays. Local Whigs were consistently unable to crush resistance, and had to rely on military assistance sent from the outside.

The thesis also explores why the vast majority of wartime loyalists were able to remain in their homes after the war. It contends this was largely due to the sheer numbers of Tories, the difficulties involved in their prosecution, the degree of consensus that existed between them and the very conservative Whig leadership, and shared post-war concerns over indebtedness and geo-political equality.

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Key to Abbreviations

AmArch--Peter Force, comp. *American Archives.* 2 series, 9 vols. (Washington D.C., 1837-1853).

Cal. of Va. State Papers--William P. Palmer *et al,* eds. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts 1652-1869.* 11 vols. (Richmond, Va., 1875-1893).

DelArch--Delaware Archives, Military

DPA--Delaware Public Archives

HSD--Historical Society of Delaware.

His. MSS. Comm.--Historical Manuscripts Commission

JCC--U.S. Library of Congress. *Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789.* 27 vols. (Washington D.C., 1904).

JHUS--Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science

Loyalist Transcripts--Great Britain. Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Losses of American Loyalists. *American Loyalist Claims.* Ontario Archives. Microfilm.

MdArch--Archives of Maryland, 72 vols. to date. (Baltimore, 1883-1972).

MHM--Maryland Historical Magazine

MHS--Maryland Historical Society Library, Manuscripts Department

MSA--Maryland State Archives

NAC–National Archives of Canada

NCC--Northampton County Courthouse

NJArch–New Jersey Archives, 2 series, 47 vols. (Patterson and Trenton, N.J., 1880-1949).

NYPL–New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division: Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

PMHB--Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography

UVL–University of Virginia Library, Special Collections Department

VHS--Virginia Historical Society

VSL–Library of Virginia, Archives Research Services

VMHB--Virginia Magazine of History and Biography

WMQ–William and Mary Quarterly, ser. 3

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"Old Offenders": Loyalists in the Lower Delmarva Peninsula, 1775-1800

Introduction

It was at one time thought that the Delmarva Peninsula, consisting of the states of Delaware and the Eastern Shores of Maryland and Virginia, possessed few loyalists during the American Revolution. Up until about twenty-five years ago, historians who were interested in the subject of the American loyalists tended to view the area as barren ground and avoided studying the situation there. Of course, the peninsula's physical remoteness and comparatively small population would ensure its neglect whatever the topic might be, and in spite of its long history, colonialists have largely ignored it because as a peripheral region of the Chesapeake, it did not exhibit the same patterns as those of the politically dominant tobacco-growing areas. But its oversight in this particular instance, in the face of a mountain of evidence to the contrary in the form of court records, letters, committee reports and so forth, requires some explanation.

The reason would seem to lie with the type of records earlier historians in the field tended to examine. Some of the earliest scholars of the revolutionary period who included loyalists in their studies, such as Moses Coit Tyler and Leonard W. Labaree, wrote during the time when the so-called Imperial School was dominant, and were more interested in what characterized the "Tory mind." Tyler, who was interested in balancing historical examination of the Revolution by including the loyalists, examined the ideas of the loyalists principally through their own writings, while Labaree dwelled on a more psychological approach.[1] Both naturally had to concentrate

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[1] George A. Billias, "The First Un-Americans: The Loyalists in American Historiography," in Alden T. Vaughan and George A. Billias, eds., *Perspectives on Early American History: Essays in Honor of Richard B. Morris* (New York, 1973), 296, 304.

their attention on those individuals who were most articulate and who had set their thoughts down on paper.[2] By these means, it was possible to begin to trace the development of loyalist thought. Unfortunately, the lower Shore had no polemicists of the stature of Thomas Hutchinson or Joseph Galloway–indeed, it would be more accurate to say that the lower Shore had no polemicists at all.

Later still, authors like Wallace Brown clouded matters further by focusing solely on the approximately 3,000 individuals whose claims were examined by the British commissioners. The problem therein lay in the fact that these individuals were not typical of loyalists as a group, being wealthier and possessing a better knowledge of the possibility of receiving compensation for losses as well as the procedure for submitting a claim. Successful claimants would also have tended to be the most active in resisting the Revolution: under the restrictions imposed by the commissioners, a claimant had little chance of having his plea accepted unless he could prove the Americans had mentioned him in some public official statement, such as a confiscation or sequestration law or a bill of attainder.[3] Less than sixty on the entire lower peninsula fell into this category. Poorer and less active loyalists had little cause for hope and might well conclude that submitting a claim was not worth the effort and expense.[4] Not only did Brown underestimate the number of loyalists in America by using such a method, but by extending his conclusions about the claimants to loyalists in general, he produced a distorted profile of the

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[2] Jack Thomas Patton, "The Beat of a Different Drummer: The Loyalists in American Historiography" (M.A. diss., California State University, Fresno, 1993), 27, 53-54.

[3] Eugene G. Fingerhut, "Uses and Abuses of the American Loyalists' Claims: A Critique of Quantitative Analysis," *WMQ* 25 (1968), 247.

[4] *Ibid.*, 250.

"typical" loyalist. Yet in other respects such an approach was justifiable: the overwhelming majority of the claimants had not been polemicists like Hutchinson and Galloway and had otherwise left few written records; the memorials and certificates they deposited with the commissioners are a rich source of biographical material from which plausible reconstructions can be made concerning the motivations of the men and women who chose, in the words of the poet, "to keep the past upon the throne." The fact that there were only sixteen claimants from the lower Shore, two of whom were British-born royal officials, would seem to indicate that there must have been very few Tories to begin with. Such a conclusion could only be bolstered by the work of Claud Van Tyne, who had earlier analyzed the laws passed to control loyalists during the Revolution. He had found that anti-Tory laws in the three states that made up the peninsula were among the lightest in the country.[5] Common sense would accordingly dictate that stringent laws became necessary only where the number of Tories was great enough to threaten Whig control.

With so few claimants from the peninsula added to the fact that the legislation passed there to control Tories was generally mild seemed to doom the region to oblivion. It was only when state and regional studies of loyalists began to be written during the first half of the twentieth century that these fundamental interpretations underwent substantial change. One writer in particular, Harold B. Hancock, proposed in his Master's dissertation a radically different explanation for the absence of claimants: rather than indicating negligible loyalist strength in the area, such an absence, Hancock suggested, coupled with the fact that large numbers of local loyalists were able to remain in the United States after the war, should be interpreted as signaling

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[5] Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, R.I., 1965), 157-162, 166, 168, 179-191.

substantial loyalist strength.[6] George Kyte was persuaded by Hancock's argument and admitted that there was "considerable evidence" to support the contention that many loyalists remained in the state of Maryland during the war.[7] Nevertheless, the numerical strength of loyalism on the Shore continued to be underestimated by historians. In 1978, Norman Risjord surmised that in Maryland only a third of the Eastern Shore's inhabitants had refused to take the state oath and expressed uncertainty as to whether it was because of overt British sympathy or a hostility to test oaths in general.[8]

On the other hand, Shore residents have repeatedly asserted that the numbers of loyalists at least equaled and quite probably surpassed the numbers of Whigs. Certainly locals at the time of the Revolution had no doubts as to what the percentages were. During our own time, Shore writers consistently allude to both the strength and prestige of wartime loyalists. A rare exception to this pattern can be found in a little book written by a native Tangier Islander, E. Frank Dize, called *Something Fishy From Tangier,* in which he makes no mention of the islanders' political sympathies during the Revolution and contends that instead they suffered greatly at the hands of marauders who swept down on Tangier to burn and plunder.[9] More representative of the literature is an essay written in honor of Capt. Henry Miles of Somerset

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[6] Harold B. Hancock, *The Delaware Loyalists* (1940; reprint, Wilmington, Del., 1972), ix, 55-56; Harold B. Hancock, *The Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware* (Newark, Del., 1977), 111-113.

[7] George W. Kyte, "An Introduction to the Periodical Literature Bearing Upon Loyalist Activities in the Middle Atlantic States, 1775-1783," *Pennsylvania History* 18 (1951), 117.

[8] Norman K. Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics, 1781-1800* (New York, 1978), 194.

[9] E. Frank Dize, *Something Fishy From Tangier* (s.l., 1977), 18, 44-47.

County, Maryland as part of the Bicentennial celebration and which unequivocally declares that in the southern part of the county "people who were in favor of the American Revolution were in the minority."[10] In her book about John Clowes, Hazel Brittingham noted that during the Bicentennial festivities in Sussex County, Delaware the names of prominent local Tories received equal notice as such well-known Whigs as Henry Fisher and David Hall.[11] In a speech made in the Bicentennial year, Delaware journalist Bill Frank passionately condemned attacks on loyalists as "unfair, unjust, and foolish," and bluntly concluded that had the Declaration of Independence been subjected to a referendum, it would have been defeated.[12]

This kind of attention given to the area's Tories is even reflected in the treatment of their mortal remains. The graves of Thomas Robinson, Delaware's most prominent loyalist, and his brother Peter are well cared for and are situated on the neatly groomed lawn close to the front door of St. George's Episcopal Church, while the graves of two distinguished Revolutionary War officers of Somerset County, Maryland were neither tended nor maintained until the Bicentennial, when the bones were at last removed from their crumbled tombs to a nearby church yard.[13]

Unfortunately, in so far as no one deemed it necessary to engage in pamphlet warfare, the large numbers of loyalists who evidently resided on the lower peninsula must be classed within

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[10] Woodrow T. Wilson, *Crisfield, Maryland 1676-1976* (Baltimore, 1977), 145.

[11] Hazel D. Brittingham, *John Clowes Jr., 1730-1790: Broadkill Patriot* (Wilmington, Del., 1989), 5.

[12] Article by Bill Frank, Bill Frank Collection, box 9, folder 54, HSD.

[13] Wilson, *Crisfield, Maryland,* 146, 186-187.

the inarticulate section of the population; evidence of their existence lies chiefly in county committee reports, court records, and land transactions. Yet despite their lack of empowerment in the public record, they were nevertheless among the most vocal supporters of the king in America–"trimming" did not characterize their conduct. Unlike prominent "Whig-Loyalists" who were wounded by the appellation of "Tory," Shoremen were unembarrassed by the epithet, and proudly referred to themselves as "Tories" not only in each other's company but in the presence of Whig committees as well.

This study, then, occupies a distinct niche within the larger body of literature devoted to loyalists which has expanded so dramatically since the late 1960's and particularly since the Bicentennial.[14] The new writers have generally sought to examine the divisions separating potential loyalists and patriots, differentiating the two along such fault lines as family, ideology, psychology, geographical location, occupation, economic status and social standing. The bulk of this material examines the patriot-loyalist division within individual states, which to some extent have sacrificed detail for breadth of narrative. Many fine, in-depth biographies of leading Tories who occupied political office, such as Thomas Hutchinson, Cadwallader Colden, Jonathan Sewell and William Samuel Johnson, have also been written. This type of work, of course, requires written evidence in the form of essays, pamphlets, letters, diaries and journals, poetry, plays, even songs. Regarding the Eastern Shore, the inarticulateness of the region's Tories is in some ways a bonus, since there is avoidance of the great pitfall which faces any historian who

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[14] Excellent bibliographies of loyalist literature can be found in Robert M. Calhoun, *The Loyalist Perception and Other Essays* (Columbia, S.C., 1989), 216-227; Robert S. Allen, *Loyalist Literature: An annotated bibliographic guide to the writings on the Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Toronto and Charlottetown, 1982), 9-31.

undertakes to analyze expressed opinions. In any argument, there is always the possibility that one side or the other is going well beyond the limits of their true beliefs. And such arguments need not always be conducted in public with another individual: they can just as easily be private and with oneself, an inwardly directed debate carried on within diaries and journals or letters to family members and friends. Who knows–perhaps in this way, many leading colonial conservatives managed to finally "talk their way" into a loyalist stance.

The present study falls most clearly into that category of works that have devoted attention to loyalist communities which existed, for a time at least, outside of effective Whig control. Such communities that have been studied include the residents of the Neutral Ground in Westchester County, and the Dutch of Albany County, New York, as well as the Sandamanians of New England. It is probable that the Eastern Shore not only comprised the largest such community, but also the one which was distributed over the largest geographical area. Perhaps for that reason it has attracted the attention of as many historians as it has, including Harold B. Hancock, Adele Hast, Ronald Hoffman and Keith Mason. The value of these studies is not so much that they set forth definitive patters which have been proposed by more general works, but that they illustrate most clearly the subtle variations of loyalism: for the Albany Dutch, ethnicity became an important issue during the Revolution, especially in rural areas; the Sandamanians' loyalism sprang from a strict observance of their religious principles, while the Neutral Ground of Westchester County represents not so much a distinct community, as an unfortunate consequence of the fluctuating struggle for control between British-held New York City and the Whig-held areas to the north and west. Just as each of these community studies sheds light on very different patterns, the Eastern Shore presents yet another aspect of "loyalism"–one that was

predominantly based neither on ethnicity, religion or adjacency to occupied areas.

The aim of this dissertation is to explore those aspects that made the lower Delmarva Peninsula conducive to loyalism during the Revolution, and what factors allowed the overwhelming majority of local Tories to remain in the United States after the war. What studies have so far been undertaken of the region have usually concentrated on one, or at most two, of the three states that compose the peninsula; for the first time, loyalism in all three–Delaware, Maryland and Virginia–will be examined.[15] To begin with, Chapter I will provide a brief description and history of the region so that its general features and characteristics may be better understood. How its traditionalism as well as its social and economic variation from the rest of Chesapeake society made it fertile ground for resisting revolutionary measures initiated by the dominant section of that society will also be examined. Chapter II will explore lower Delmarva's involvement in the imperial crisis. The peninsula exhibited striking local variations in the degree to which residents sided with the revolutionary leaders or adhered to Britain. As will be shown, patterns of loyalism did not follow county boundaries or even the boundaries of hundreds: instead, disaffection developed within distinct districts where lifestyles and economic pursuits differed most strongly from the dominant "tobacco culture" of the Western Shore. The peninsula's increasingly disaffected posture will be examined in Chapter III. Strongly influenced by the activities of Gov. Robert Eden and of, even more importantly, Lord Dunmore, disaffection was articulated within a distinctive type of family-led gang warfare that had always predominated

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[15] The specific counties that will be studied are Northampton and Accomack (Virginia), Caroline, Dorchester, Somerset and Worcester (Maryland), Sussex and the southern half of Kent County (Delaware). Although Talbot County, Maryland is usually identified as a lower Shore county, I have excluded it from this study because the source of its population differs from the rest of the lower peninsula. (See Map 3).

in the forested areas of the peninsula. Chapters IV and V will explore the ways in which Toryism found expression both on land and in Delaware and Chesapeake Bays during the Revolution. Chapter VI will present a series of premises as to why Toryism not only survived but continued to grow even as the war drew to a close; what regional and local factors allowed many persons, even those who had been tried and found guilty of treason, to remain after the war was over will also be discussed. Lastly, in Chapter VII, the final process of reconciliation whereby wartime loyalists were reintegrated into the society will be outlined. Particularly instrumental in binding this area to the rest of the country was the fact that its residents shared the same concerns about such issues as indebtedness and political equity between geographical regions.

Chapter I: The Peninsula

In 1775, the Delmarva Peninsula consisted of a total of fourteen counties in three separate colonies (See Map 2). The lower portion of the peninsula was larger in area than the upper, embracing approximately 3,750 square miles with a population (including free blacks and slaves) of roughly 90,000.[1] Likewise, there is evidence to suggest that during the first half of the century, the southern counties of the peninsula had many more residents than their northern neighbors, but began losing predominance in the third quarter: certainly by the time of the Revolution, Sussex County's greater population was wholly due to its much larger number of slaves.[2]

Nearly all the population on the lower Shore had originally come from the Virginia counties of Accomack and Northampton. Unlike the Western Shore of the Chesapeake, the area was not well suited for tobacco cultivation, and by 1700 it had changed to largely subsistence farming, although certain sections reverted to tobacco cultivation in the 1730's.[3] Indian corn became the most important agricultural product, followed by wheat, vegetables and livestock, although in terms of overall value, with the exception of Sussex, the Shore's farm crops ranked within the economies of Maryland and Virginia. As a result of this as well as the difficulty it had in obtaining servants due to its status as only a minor center, the Shore had relatively few unfree white inhabitants, and with the exception of Somerset and Sussex counties, the number of slaves

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[1] Based on census figures for the years 1782 and 1790. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (1932; reprint, Gloucester, Mass., 1966), 121, 133-134, 152-153.

[2] *Ibid.*, 127-130.

[3] Allan Kulikoff, "The Colonial Chesapeake: Seedbed of Antebellum Southern Culture?" *Journal of Southern History* 45 (1979), 526.

was correspondingly below average.[4] With no staple crop to monopolize attention, a substantial number of inhabitants turned to manufacturing; the immigration of between 600 and 700 Scotch-Irish during the 1680's helped to ensure that Somerset County had the largest number of artisans in Maryland. Whereas Western Shore counties depended on commerce to provide the necessary handicrafts, Somerset could largely rely on its own manufactures to supply its needs.[5] On the other hand, there was little in the way of exports until the second quarter of the eighteenth century, when grain and livestock began to be shipped to the West Indies in great quantities: in the four-year period between 1697-1701 no more than fifteen vessels departed from the port of Pocomoke.[6] Although fish was plentiful, no effort was undertaken to salt it for exportation; instead, skins were the lower Shore's greatest contribution to the economy. Eighty percent of the furs shipped from Maryland went out by way of the port of Pocomoke.[7]

Not until well into the eighteenth century did the area's vast forests begin to support a lively trade in timber products and naval stores. The former, mostly in the form of building materials, was intended for the local market and the West Indies; the latter, of course, commanded a bounty and was destined for Britain. The development of these industries led to

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[4] Margaret S. Morriss, "Colonial Trade of Maryland 1689-1715," *JHUS* ser. 32, no. 3 (1914), 15-16; Gloria L. Main, "Maryland and the Chesapeake Economy, 1670-1720," in Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr and Edward C. Papenfuse, eds., *Law, Society and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore and London, 1977), 141-142; Paul G.E. Clemens, "Economy and Society on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1689-1733," in *ibid.*, 159; Stella H. Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America* (Morningside Heights, N.Y., 1936), 135, 174-176, 202.

[5] Morriss, "Colonial Trade of Maryland," 71, 89; Main, "Maryland and the Chesapeake Economy," 142.

[6] "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," *The London Magazine* 15 (July, 1746), 323; Morriss, "Colonial Trade of Maryland," 17.

[7] Morriss, "Colonial Trade of Maryland," 11, 13-14.

increased specialization within the general economy and to the formation of groups whose livelihoods depended on the forests and the water. Herein lay the seeds of future problems, as the interests of forest dwellers and watermen, while themselves engaging in subsistence agriculture, differed significantly from those of agriculturalists. The focus of this chapter then will be on the social, economic and political development of the lower peninsula and the formation of those important fault lines that ultimately divided the region's residents.

. . . . .

Perhaps the most logical place to begin a study of Delmarva's propensity for Toryism is its famed traditionalism. After all, lying at the very heart of loyalism was its rejection of the changes which were initiated by the Whigs during the Revolution and a preference for retaining the British connection. Such conservatism would seem to come naturally to the area's residents, whose attachment to custom has always been emphasized by the peninsula's most esteemed historians. And yet, the researcher who adopts such a strategy will experience initial disappointment, for on the face of it, not much of the eighteenth century seems to have survived on the lower Delmarva Peninsula. Reputedly steeped in tradition, one would expect to see as many eighteenth century structures as in southeastern Pennsylvania, but only isolated traces of the Revolutionary and Early National eras are evident--in the double staircase in the old Washington Hotel in Princess Anne, or in the imposing 'seats' of the county gentry at Greenwood, the Teakle Mansion and Spocot.[8]

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[8] Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York and Toronto, 1942), 99, 118, 165.

The impression is illusory, for many original structures are still standing in rural areas throughout the peninsula; however, many others have been lost. Being part of the Coastal Plain, Delmarva lacked the stone which in most areas served as a basic material for housing and was a necessity for laying permanent foundations.[9] With most of the earlier buildings made out of wood, successive fires have left comparatively few of the oldest dwellings. Most of those that were left have become the victims of vandalism, tenant neglect and demolitions authorized by museums and historical societies seeking good examples of wainscotting and bed testers to decorate "period rooms." Like the bay itself, as local writers are fond of observing, the rhythm of the Eastern Shore ebbs and flows--a certain amount of erosion is always inevitable. And indeed, much is different: even agricultural practices have undergone substantial change. Chicken farming predominates today in a region of Maryland's lower Eastern Shore where two hundred years ago lumber was the most important product, and the beach resorts of Ocean City and Rehoboth represent an industry almost entirely unknown in the eighteenth century--tourism.

Occasionally, however, resonances of the past emerge unmistakably: in a derelict real estate sign that advertises "twenty acres, more or less," employing precisely the same phraseology as in a seventeenth or eighteenth century land warrant; among the sea of marsh reeds in Dames Quarter where during the Revolution Tory picaroons hid out following raids on Patriot shipping, or simply passing by a homestead in the lonely Straights District of eastern Dorchester County that has remained in the same family for close to three hundred years. Then comes the

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[9] Richard W. Cooper, *Profile of a Colonial Community. Salisbury Towne and Wicomico County on Maryland's Eastern Shore: A Study of the Land and the People* (Baltimore, 1986), 110.

realization that the past is still a force here, and commands a presence if not so much in material remains, then at least in the local traditions and the perceptibly slower pace of things.

There was certainly a time when the inhabitants of the Delmarva Peninsula considered the region unique enough in itself to warrant at least five attempts between 1776 and 1851 to form a separate state, the most serious being that of 1833, when secession was averted by a single vote in the Maryland Senate.[10] Yet this was probably as much a response to the area's economic decline as it was an expression of a common social identity. Ironically, the newer, more rapid modes of transportation–first canals, followed by steam railroads–actually hastened the isolation and economic decline of southern Delaware and the Eastern Shore, and nourished there a resentment of Baltimore which was the principal beneficiary of these federally and state-funded improvements. When the area was first settled in the seventeenth century, the sailing vessels plying the bay and the many navigable rivers physically united the 3,600 miles of shoreline of one of the largest estuaries in the world in a way that the present day Chesapeake Bay Bridge and Bridge-Tunnel cannot do (See Map 4).[11]

The people who lived there, even in the eighteenth century, composed one of the largest concentrations of individuals of English ancestry in America, and today are believed to form the largest such community in the world outside of England and Australia.[12] That heritage is

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[10] Charles B. Clark, ed., *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia,* 2 vols. (New York, 1950), I, 453-484; Charles J. Truitt, *Historic Salisbury Maryland* (Garden City, N.Y., 1932), 51-54.

[11] Francis W. Dize, *Smith Island, Chesapeake Bay* (Centreville, Md., 1990), 5-6.

[12] H. Chandlee Forman, *The Virginia Eastern Shore and its British Origins: History, Gardens and Antiquities* (Easton, Md., 1975), 3.

coincidentally reflected in the retention of county names which harken back to old England: Sussex and Kent in Delaware; Worcester, Somerset and Dorchester in Maryland, Northampton in Virginia. Indian names too figure largely in the appellation of rivers, such as the Pocomoke, Manokin, Wicomico and Choptank. Though the area in which they live embraces three states, each with its own history of political development, many of the people themselves--white, free black and Indian alike--followed a similar pattern of migration or forced relocation from the mid-seventeenth century onward, travelling from the Eastern Shore of Virginia to settle on the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland, and eventually spreading eastward into southern Delaware.

On his first visit to the Eastern Shore, after crossing what were called "the straights of Limbo," Captain John Smith was only briefly daunted by the pair of "grimme and stout Salvages" that met his party at Cape Charles. He afterwards found the local Indian population to be congenial hosts and described the land on which they lived as having a "pleasant fertill clay-soile," while dismissing the seaward parts as consisting merely of "shallow broken Iles."[13] As early as 1615, the Virginia Company had established a settlement of salt boilers on the Eastern Shore so that the fish which at that time formed the mainstay of the colonists' diet might be cured for preservation. Ironically, the history of the Revolution might have developed somewhat differently in the area had these local efforts at salt production succeeded, but the salinity of the bay proved insufficient, and salt was to continue to be imported from England and the West Indies.[14] Despite the frequently described abundance of fish--so abundant that in the 1740's an

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[13] "Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia" (1612) in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith,* 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), I, 224-226.

[14] James R. Perry, *The Formation of Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615-1655* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990), 13, 15n; Arthur Middleton, *Tobacco Coast* (Newport News, Va.,

entire shipload of live fish sold for just £1--it would only be in the nineteenth century that the bay would become an important commercial fishery, and the twentieth century before Crisfield, Maryland could plausibly claim to be the "Seafood Capital of the World."[15]

The Eastern Shore's more temperate climate, considered healthier than the low-lying Jamestown area; its friendlier population of Assateague Indians who were ruled by a chief reassuringly known as "The Laughing King," and the many navigable streams encouraged settlement, and within thirty years of the first land grant, colonists had patented land as far north as Pongoteague Creek in what was to become the county of Accomack, only fifteen miles south of the ambiguous boundary line that divided Virginia from the newly granted patent of Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore. The forty-year boom in tobacco coupled with the restless drive of Edmund Scarburgh II forced the local Indians, already decimated by disease, ever farther north.[16] Eventually the Assateagues would be compelled to settle in southern Delaware where they merged with other Indian tribes as well as whites and free blacks from the Eastern Shores of Virginia and Maryland. Together they formed a unique and little-known group called the Nanticokes.[17]

1953), 207.

[15] Anne E. Yentsche, *A Chesapeake Family and their Slaves* (Cambridge, 1994), 23; Wilson, *Crisfield, Maryland,* 3.

[16] Edward C. Papenfuse and Joseph M. Coale III, *The Hammond-Harwood House Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608-1908* (Baltimore, 1982), 37.

[17] J. Douglas Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia* (New York and London, 1993), 33. A second mixed-blooded population called "Moors" migrated north to Cheswold, Delaware in Kent County, where they intermingled with the dispersed remnants of Maryland Eastern Shore Indians. See C.A. Weslager, *Delaware's Forgotten Folk* (Philadelphia, 1943), 131-138.

Northward expansion into present-day Maryland would have occurred whether Cecilius Calvert had been granted a patent by Charles I in 1632 or not. Catapulted at the age of twenty-eight to become the greatest land owner in Britain, Calvert was justifiably concerned about the security of his uncultivated and unpopulated gift from the Crown, particularly on the Eastern Shore, whose boundary was equivocally described as "a line drawn from the promontory Cape of Land called Watkins Point."[18] Virginia, a royal colony since 1622, had long regarded the Chesapeake as its own private domain; Virginia's Secretary of State William Claiborne had even established a trading station on Kent Island previous to the granting of the 1632 Charter. While it seemed to fall within the boundaries of Maryland, Kent Island's legal status was made ambiguous by its being represented in the Virginia legislature. The trading post was to prove a thorn in the side of the Maryland authorities at St. Mary's--and actually threatened the security of the Maryland capital itself. It's tempting to hypothesize that it was a primal memory of Claiborne rather than geographical factors that caused the Bay Bridge to be built between Annapolis and Kent Island.

The anxiety Baltimore felt about populating his new colony induced him to extend a liberal settlement policy for those in Virginia to come and take up lands in Maryland. This may have ultimately affected the overall composition of migrants and perhaps accounts to some degree for the subtle differences between Virginia's Eastern Shore and the rest of the lower peninsula. The first to push into Maryland were predominantly dissenters. A group of Presbyterians who had suffered persecution in the royal colony, involving tiresome court appearances and sheriff's and courts' fees, settled near Rehoboth in southwestern Somerset and

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[18] C. Ernest Smith, *Religion Under the Barons of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1899), 114-115.

further east at Snow Hill in what was to become after 1749 Worcester County (See Map 5). Eventually four other congregations were founded in lower Dorchester, and finally more than a dozen in Kent and Sussex Counties in Delaware.

The Presbyterians were followed by a significant influx of Quakers. The first Quakers who had landed in Jamestown in 1657 were promptly arrested and deported. A number of these made their way to the Virginia Shore. Most were subsequently driven out of Northampton County by a 1660 Act of the Virginia Assembly passed for their expulsion, although a significant number remained. They formed important communities on the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland, particularly in the Manokin and Annamessex area. Both the Presbyterians and the Quakers chose to settle first on the numerous peninsulas or "necks" that extended out into the bay, and upriver along the navigable streams. Besides the Nicholite sect, which first sprang up in Sussex County, Delaware in the 1760's, these were destined to be the *only* non-Anglicans to form congregations on the southern part of the peninsula before the Revolution. During the Revolution, the Baptists first made an incursion on the Virginia Shore and Methodism made its own dramatic appearance.[19]

Other Shoremen, wearied of Edmund Scarburgh's tyranny and disapproving of his ruthless conduct toward the Indians, similarly escaped into Maryland. Most of the migrants, however, were poor; opportunities were beginning to dry up during the long slump in tobacco

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[19] Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, Va., 1935), chap. 4; Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore*, 98; Lester J. Cappon, ed.-in-chief, *Atlas of Early American History: The Revolutionary Era, 1760-1790* (Princeton, 1976), 36. "A Return of Romish Priests and Lay Brothers Resident in the Province of Maryland Together with Returns of Quakers and Other Dissenters" (1698) in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (New York, 1969), IV, 22.

prices that had only recently commenced, and with lands worn out after several decades of growing tobacco and huge tracts monopolized by wealthy planters, many entertained the prospect of making a fresh start in Maryland by taking up the fifty acres of land Lord Baltimore was offering to every new settler, including children and servants. Those who had slaves took them with them, but free blacks were also among the migrants before 1700, the first free black settlement in Maryland being established at Manokin in the 1660's. Much of the Chesapeake's free black population could, in fact, be found on the Eastern Shore, slavery becoming concentrated on the mainland by the last quarter of the seventeenth century.[20]

The poorer Anglicans settled mainly along the banks of the Wicomico and Nanticoke Rivers; because many of these came after the dissenters, they were obliged to take up less desirable land further up river, and so the lower Shore assumed a rough division in the social order, with a Dissenter-dominated Manokin-Annamessex area to the west, and an Anglican-dominated Wicomico-Nanticoke area to the east. Because they were the lower Shore's earliest residents, the Presbyterians had managed to patent the best lands and became among the largest landowners in the area. Presbyterian families such as the Handys, Polks and Henrys consequently achieved a degree of wealth and political prominence which in much of the rest of the colonial South was enjoyed almost exclusively by Anglicans. It would not be accurate to say that there was a complete reversal of the usual pattern, for wealthy Church of England families such as the Dashiells, Dennis' and Purnells possessed fully as much power and prestige, but it

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[20] Free black families crossing the Virginia line in the seventeenth century included the well-known Johnsons, the Puckhams, Games, and Driggus'. Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia,* 217-235, 279-304, 337-347, 367-379; Thomas E. Davidson, *Free Blacks on the Lower Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Crownsville, Md., 1991), 5, 13, appendix II; Ross M. Kimmel, "Free Blacks in Seventeenth Century Maryland," *MHM* 71 (1976), 22.

has been argued that there resulted a "narrow, persecuting and inveterate spirit" among poorer Anglicans, especially after the Presbyterians began to decline in numbers in the late colonial period, that generated bitter rivalries in local politics.[22]

To effect the settlement of the Annamessex-Manokin area, in 1661 Lord Baltimore commissioned several prominent Virginians, men such as Randall Revell, John Elzey and Stephen Horsey, who had made themselves obnoxious to the authorities in the Old Dominion by adhering to the Commonwealth. Their commissions enabled them to grant land to those Virginians desiring to settle in Maryland. With the exception of Edmund Scarburgh, the fourth commissioner, they all removed to Maryland and formed the first generation of elites on the Eastern Shore, serving on the commissions of peace and as burgesses in the House of Assembly.[23]

On the mainland, the earliest grants of land were concentrated in the better-drained areas bordering the mouths of the larger rivers which were tidal for much of their length, such as the Manokin, Annamessex and Pocomoke; although marshland, both on the mainland along the tidal streams and on neighboring islands, was used for the grazing of livestock, particularly cattle. Migration tended to flow eastward along the rivers, extending ever further distances north and south from the main waterways. The poorer sandy soils of eastern Somerset were among the last to be taken up (See Map 6).

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[22] Cooper, *Profile of a Colonial Community,* 19-20; Keith Mason, *A Region in Revolt: The Eastern Shore of Maryland, 1740-1790* (Baltimore, 1984), 197.

[23] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland From the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Hatboro, Pa., 1967), I, 260; Torrence, *Old Somerset,* 297-312.

In Worcester County, formed in 1749, the earliest patents were near the Virginia border and in the area of St. Martin's River. The last areas to be settled were barren, windswept tracts bordering the sea. North of Dorchester County, settlement predominantly came from the western shore of Maryland, as is evidenced by the different pattern of naming counties, which displayed the same flourish of aristocracy so apparent on the mainland: Talbot, Queen Anne's, Cecil and Harford.[24]

Lord Baltimore extended the same liberal terms to those desiring to settle along the Delaware River, which he considered to be part of Maryland. By the 1670's, Eastern Shore migrants (to the dismay of interested Virginians) had joined the first influx of settlers from the New Castle area and had pushed into the heavily disputed territory of what was to become the state of Delaware.[25] The Dutch had established a whaling station at Swanendael (present-day Lewes) in 1631--a year before Lord Baltimore was awarded his patent. The settlement however had been promptly destroyed in an attack by Lenape Indians.[26] Subsequently, Swedes claimed the area as far south as Cape Henlopen and controlled the region with varying degrees of efficacy from 1638 to 1655. The colonists, mostly Finns, probably never numbered more than a thousand, and they were heavily concentrated in the north.[27] They were easily defeated by a

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[24] From comparing land grants in Somerset and Worcester Counties: Ruth Dryden, *Land Records of Somerset County, Maryland* (s.l., n.d.); Ruth Dryden, *Land Records of Wicomico County, Maryland 1666-1810* (Westminster, Md., 1992); Ruth Dryden, *Land Records of Worcester County, Maryland* (Westminster, Md., 1987).

[25] C.H.B. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County Delaware,* (Philadelphia, 1909), 2-3, 7-11; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware 1609-1888*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1888), II, 1201-1202.

[26] C.A. Weslager, *New Sweden on the Delaware* (Wilmington, Del., 1988), 32.

[27] John A. Munroe, *History of Delaware* (Wilmington, Del., 1993), 23.

Dutch expedition led by Peter Stuyvesant from New Amsterdam, and absorbed into New Netherland. When the Dutch themselves were defeated by the English in the Second Anglo-Dutch War, Delaware was deemed to be a part of New York, though never expressly contained within the Duke of York's grant.

From the beginning of the Swedish occupation, the Maryland proprietor had disputed the right of the Swedes to settle along the western bank of the Delaware River, claiming that the area fell within the boundaries of his patent. Lord Baltimore went so far as to launch a punitive raid against the Dutch settlers at Lewes, and even incorporated the area into the Maryland county of Somerset. It was not until 1685, long after the English had gained control of both New Sweden and New Netherland, that the Privy Council disappointed Lord Baltimore with a contrary opinion.[28] In the long run, the activities of the Dutch and Swedes bore little significance to the area's future political development: Swedes did not settle in "Whorekill," the Dutch name for the Lewes area, and relatively few Dutch took up land there, though the Wiltbank and Kollock families would be among the most prominent in the county throughout the English period and beyond.

Of far greater import was the area's eventual incorporation into the new proprietary province of Pennsylvania in 1682.[29] Usually referred to as Pennsylvania's "three lower

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[28] Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland*, 37-39.

[29] James II made a definitive grant to Penn in 1688, which however, because of the Glorious Revolution, was not ultimately confirmed by the Lord Chancellor until 1750. Governor John Penn finally announced the western extension of Delaware's jurisdiction to the "tangent line" on October 24, 1774. Claudia L. Bushman *et al, Proceedings of the Assembly of the Lower Counties on Delaware 1770-1776, of the Constitutional Convention of 1776, and of the House of Assembly of the Delaware State 1776-1781*, 2 vols. (Newark, Del., 1986), I, 151; Munroe, *History of Delaware*, 40, 53.

counties," their precise boundary with Maryland continued to be a source of dispute and uncertainty between the two proprietors, and eventually led to the employment of a pair of Englishmen--the astronomer Charles Mason and surveyor Jeremiah Dixon--to successfully resolve the issue. In 1767, the so-called Mason-Dixon Line established once and for all Pennsylvania's southern boundary. Up till that time, the undefined border proved equally troublesome for lesser men owning land there because of questions respecting the validity of titles of land grants. Individuals might have received titles to their land from the Duke of York, William Penn or Lord Baltimore--and all were reputedly "good for nothing in Law." The suggestion was even made that the western shore of the Delaware be bestowed upon the Church of England.[30] The simple question of residency was also problematic. Taxes paid only in one colony might mean a spell in jail in the other. More distressing to the authorities was the advantage many took of the confusion in refusing to pay taxes to anyone: it was reported to be impossible to collect from such recalcitrants "even by armed force."[31] After decades of uncertainty and tension, Delaware's emergence as a separate state in 1776 would create still more difficulties for the inhabitants of Sussex County, and help make this area one of the most explosive spots on the entire peninsula.

Although it would not be until 1829 that the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays would at last be *physically* united by the Delaware-Chesapeake Canal,[32] they had already been linked for a

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[30] Rev. William Becket to the Bishop of London, March 15, 1727-8 in Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 188-189.

[31] Munroe, *History of Delaware,* 52; Cooper, *Profile of a Colonial Community,* 47.

[32] Ralph D. Gray, *The National Waterway: A History of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal* (Urbana, Ill., 1989), 67.

century and a half by a human chain of related families, white and black, that stretched over an area of 3,000 square miles, from Virginia's and Maryland's Eastern Shores north to Sussex County, Delaware. Relatively distant from the seats of government at Williamsburg, Annapolis and Philadelphia, with the colonial post road from Philadelphia ending at Vienna in Dorchester County,[33] only the rivers provided a predictable means of transportation; while the roads in the northern part of the peninsula were fairly well maintained, those in the south were generally allowed to deteriorate. This condition continued long after the Revolution and was made yet more hazardous when even the hours of the day seemed not to know their appointed bounds and travellers were "in danger of life or Limb should Night at any time happen to overtake them."[34] And so the area was to remain both before and after the Revolution very much off the beaten path: relatively few travellers ventured here in the colonial era or left written records of their experiences and impressions. Typical of the tourists who traversed the colonies was the Rev. Andrew Burnaby who travelled through Maryland in 1760. He came to within twelve miles of the Shore, but was content to view it from the vantage point of Annapolis, delighted by the varied prospect of fields, woods and water.[35]

One anonymous young gentleman during the war years of the mid-1740's did indeed elect to journey to the other side of the colony and left an illuminating account of his brief sojourn there in *The London Magazine.* Staying at an ordinary in Snow Hill, he described the Worcester

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[33] A proposal to extend the Eastern Shore mail route as far south as Norfolk, Virginia failed to be approved by the American Post Office Board in December 1774. Cappon, *Atlas of Early American History,* 32, 108.

[34] John A. Munroe, *Federalist Delaware 1775-1815* (New Brunswick, NJ., 1954), 138.

[35] Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America* (1775; reprint, New York, 1904), 81.

county seat as an irregular town which had "much the aspect of a Country Fair," most of the houses, all made of wood, "differing very little from Booths"–a type of dwelling which was obviously a survival of the medieval "boothy," once a common sight in the English countryside. The only brick house in the area belonged to the Anglican rector. Taken aback by the large number of Scots settled in the vicinity, he was equally surprised to discover that residing nearby in a "Town of Whigwhams" were a group of Indians who lived in "great Peace" with their neighbors.[36] The people of the county he described as being "prodigiously" clean and sociable, poorer than other Marylanders, yet living in apparent abundance; where the forest had been cleared, their fields were full of grain and livestock, their yards bustling with hundreds of tame fowl. But he also touched upon their loneliness, their feelings of detachment from the Western Shore and their oblique hostility toward it concerning the large quit rents that had to be paid in sterling, and the "extravagant Dues" in tobacco that had to paid yearly to the clergy. But the single greatest complaint was the scarcity of "strong Liquors." The residents did not malt their Indian corn and all that was available was very expensive rum of the "New England Sort" that tasted heavily of molasses. Otherwise there was only "thin, fretted" cider, when it was in season, or beer made of persimmons or molasses. Few vessels ever came to the Shore, excepting the occasional European smuggler which landed better quality goods for the "Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood." So starved were the people for outside contact that strangers passing through the country were sought after "with Greediness. . .to be invited."[37]

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[36] "Observations," 327.

[37] *Ibid.*, 322-323.

Nevertheless, as the eighteenth century unfolded, much of the lower Shore witnessed developments which placed it within Chesapeake society. Before the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth century, a set of native-born elites had emerged in each of the counties: some, who were known chiefly within the counties where they resided, parallelled what British historian Lawrence Stone has termed "parish gentry": such families as the Wolstenholmes in Somerset and the Pitts of Worcester County are typical of this group. Others, wealthier, who were known outside of their home counties and who tended to be elected to the provincial Assembly, such as the Dashiells of Somerset--descendants of Rhone Valley Huguenots--the Croppers of Accomack, the Ennalls of Dorchester and the Kollocks of southern Delaware, might be classified as the "county gentry." Theoretically, taken together, this group of individuals based their power not only on their wealth and visibility, but also by their ability to tax the area's inhabitants on several different levels--as provincial legislators, as justices of the county courts, and as vestrymen.[38]

This group of individuals possessed extensive tracts of land. Their homes, larger than the dwellings which had been built in the seventeenth century, were situated prominently along the major rivers for all to see--and from where all could be seen.[39] Some tobacco was grown, especially in Northampton, Accomack and southern Somerset County, the intensive labor involved in tobacco production being undertaken by gangs of slaves. But even here, the

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[38] Edward Ingle, "Parish Institutions in Maryland," *JHUS* ser. 1, no. 6 (1881), 16; Marvin L. Michael Kay, "The Payment of Provincial and Local Taxes in North Carolina 1748-1771," *WMQ* 25 (1968), 218-240.

[39] Yentsche, *A Chesapeake Family and their Slaves*, 127-128; Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore*, 271.

"sotweed" had become a minor crop by 1700.[40] A number of factors were responsible for this development. The shoals that surrounded Virginia's Eastern Shore, and the shallow creeks that ran through it, prevented the large draught vessels that were involved in the tobacco trade from going there, and the narrowness of the peninsula itself precluded the accumulation of the kind of large-scale estates that characterized the most important production on the mainland. Ships visited Maryland's Eastern Shore even less frequently, and the poorly drained soils there were not at all conducive to growing tobacco. Less than a third of the land in Somerset and Dorchester appears to have been even moderately well-drained. No matter how carefully managed, it was simply impossible to produce a quality Orinoco leaf. This product was not favored by the English in any case, who found it "so hot in the mouth" that most of it was exported, principally to the Dutch.[41] Tobacco had been largely supplanted by cereals, principally Indian corn and wheat, by livestock, and on Maryland's lower Eastern Shore and in southern Delaware, corn and lumber. Here, the extensive forests yielded quantities of naval stores--turpentine, pitch, tar, planks and staves, for which there was a bounty--consequently involving the planters who produced them in the greater imperial commercial world. Derived chiefly from pitch pines, an otherwise inferior softwood that grew in the drier sections of the region, slave labor was required

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[40] In 1715, Accomack County petitioned the Assembly that its inhabitants be allowed to pay their taxes in such abundant county commodities as pork, beef and wheat. Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia,* I, 96.

[41] T.H. Breen and Stephen Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York and Oxford, 1980), 39; Morriss, "Colonial Trade of Maryland," 89; Earle D. Matthews, *Soil Survey of Somerset County, Maryland* (Washington D.C., 1966), 2; Earle D. Matthews, *Soil Survey of Caroline County, Maryland* (Washington D.C., 1964), 1; Earle D. Matthews, *Soil Survey of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Washington D.C., 1963), 1, 4; *Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (1755), 500.

for their year-round production, and thus tended to be the monopoly of wealthier individuals. Naval stores were also largely an "imperial" product, since the need for them fluctuated according the international situation, rising sharply in times of war.

The lower Shore also formed the heart of the peninsula's tan bark producing region, a crucial component in leather manufacture--an industry that was to become truly remarkable for its resistance to innovation in an age of steam and technology. With its water, abundant livestock and vast forests, Delaware along with New Jersey became an early center for leather production. Norfolk, Virginia also had an extensive tannery which supplied not only the town itself but much of the back country and the Eastern Shore. Tanning substances were chiefly derived from the most abundant wood: in the north, hemlock was the most common source of tannin, but in middle and southern regions, black and red (or Spanish) oak were predominantly used. A question arises as to how this common market commodity on both Maryland's lower Shore and in Delaware was produced, transported and sold. Essential for every day domestic purposes, it was nevertheless difficult to store in large quantities. Spring was bark season, and in Delaware at least the shallop channel that hugged the western shore of the river was often so crowded with small boats bringing loads of tan bark north to New Castle County where the colony's largest tanneries were concentrated that it was frequently difficult for merchants at this time to procure their services (See Map 12).[42] A good deal of the bark may well have been gleaned by poorer people from the forest floor, disclosing a subtle division that existed in the timber trade, and

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[42] Charles Thomas Davis, *The Manufacture of Leather* (Philadelphia and London, 1885), 125; Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 30, 221; Peter C. Welsh, "Tanning in the United States to 1850: A Brief History," *United States National Museum Bulletin* 242 (Washington D.C., 1964), 6-7, 12, 37, 66-67.

which in turn reflected a contrast in the social class of those engaged in the production of predominantly exportable goods and those concentrating on products for domestic use.

Water-tolerant hardwoods such as cedar and cypress which thrived in the swamplands centering around the 50,000 acre Great Cypress Swamp, produced superior building and roofing materials because of their resistance to rain and insects: ox carts brought the logs to saw mills where they were cut into blocks or boards, from which the shingles were rived by hand with froes and two-handled drawing knives.[43] This type of production, not as dependent on slave labor, could be undertaken by poorer individuals; like tan bark, much of the wood was used domestically, but the large quantities of shingles and scantling that were exported were mostly confined to the coastwise and West India trade, and thus removed from larger imperial considerations. Cypress and cedar were also employed in colonial shipbuilding.[44] Although both woods had failed to attract the Royal Navy's attention, a nascent shipbuilding industry had managed to develop by the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and numbers of ship carpenters could be found at Snow Hill, the county seat of Worcester. Diversification in turn freed up labor. Somerset was the only county in Maryland that could clothe itself by its own industry: an interesting result of Lord Baltimore's allowing Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to settle there, bringing with them the knowledge of weaving woolens.[45]

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[43] Eric Sloane, *A Reverence For Wood* (New York, 1965), 15.

[44] Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *Forests and Sea Power: The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy 1652-1862* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), 34.

[45] Bernard Herman, *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville and London, 1992), 57; Morriss, "Colonial Trade of Maryland," 71; Middleton, *Tobacco Coast,* 160, 233-234.

The products of the Eastern Shore were much less bulky than tobacco; they did not need to be packed into 1,000-pound hogsheads, which in turn required ships of 100 tons burden to carry them. The smaller sloops and schooners which could be built along the rivers, and the even smaller canoes, pirogues, shallops and pinks were ideal for carrying less bulky Eastern Shore products for trade along the bay or to the West Indies; for simple transportation (because of the many creeks and streams, most households needed a boat, if only to travel to the nearest store or to go to church); or for "progging."[46] It scarcely needs emphasizing that the great majority of the peninsula's inhabitants lived very different lives from the gentry: for those who owned land--and fully one third did not--tracts averaged between 100-200 acres. Most owned no slaves.[47] Typical of pre-industrial societies characterized by the nonintegration of labor and the self-sufficiency of households, individuals might pursue a number of different economic activities.[48] They might have a small field that operated on a two or three-way rotation planted with Indian corn, a little tobacco, several types of grain--particularly wheat in southern Delaware--as well as vegetables;

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[46] An old watermen's term derived from the word "piroque," a kind of canoe. A "progger" was someone who sustained himself in part or in full from the wildlife living along the shores or in the shallows. George G. Carey, *A Faraway Time and Place: Lore of the Eastern Shore* (Washington D.C., New York, 1971), 91; Harold B. Hancock, *History of Kent County, Delaware* (Dover, Del., 1976), 55-56.

[47] Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, 222. State Assessment of 1783 in Gregory Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty*. (Baltimore, 1977), 144-145. In Caroline County, the percentage of the landless approached 50 percent, and of these nearly 85 percent had no slaves. The figures are similar for Somerset, but the amount of slaveholding was greater, the county having the second-highest percentage of slaves on the entire Shore: nearly 72 percent of non-landholders, and 33 percent of landowners had no slaves. The average landholding has been calculated differently; one source estimating it to have been "slightly less than 300 acres." Charles Jones Truitt, *Breadbasket of the Revolution* (Salisbury, Md., 1975), 8.

[48] Patricia Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies* (Oxford, 1989), 177, 337; J. Rule, "Labour in a Changing Economy," in Anne Digby *et al*, eds., *New Directions in Economic and Social History*, 2 vols (London, 1992), II, 83.

probably too they owned some livestock, mostly poultry and pigs, the latter being allowed to forage freely in the forest. In addition, they hunted, trapped "marsh rabbit,"[49] fished and oystered in the creeks, swamps and shallows, gathered wild grass in the marshes for forage,[50] chopped down wood for planking and scantling to be sold to merchants involved in the coastwise or West Indian trade--or alternately sold to merchants the stolen finished product after its return from the saw mill.[51] They might even set themselves up as small merchants in their own communities. This was easily done since all that was required was to publically advertize oneself with the terms of sale several times.[52]

Arthur Middleton in *Tobacco Coast* proposed that the Chesapeake tidewater, despite regional variation, had to be considered as a "single unit." But that is too simplistic. The lower Eastern Shore presented more than just a "variation"--it was distinct from the "tobacco culture" that was established on the Western Shore, and even from the larger-scale staple economies that had developed further up the Shore from Kent County on northwards and which were dominated by a class of planter-merchants.[53] The major product of the lower Shore--lumber--was by its very nature, diametrically opposite to the "staple" grown on the Western Shore: from its first planting

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[49] Local term for muskrat. Dize, *Smith Island, Chesapeake Bay,* 68. Eighty percent of the furs Maryland exported came from the Pocomoke area of the Eastern Shore, muskrat ranking fourth in importance. Morriss, "Colonial Trade in Maryland," 14.

[50] Marsh hay, which was seldom properly cured, was apparently unpalatable to livestock not raised on it. Victor Hugo Paltsits, ed., "Journal of Benjamin Mifflin on a Tour from Philadelphia to Delaware and Maryland, July 26 to August 14, 1762," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 39 (1935), 429, 434-435.

[51] Benjamin Mifflin, "Journal of a Journey From Philadelphia to the Cedar Swamps and Back. 1764," *PMHB* 52 (1928), 135.

[52] Claim of John Henry Carey, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/102, Ontario Archives.

[53] Mason, *Region in Revolt,* 148.

in the seventeenth century, tobacco had been regarded as a nonessential product; Virginia was conceived to be "wholly built upon smoke" and eight years before Rolfe had managed to plant his first successful crop, James I had composed what seemed to be a companion piece to his *Demonologie* aimed against the growing popularity of the "precious Stinke;" but wood was of such central importance, employed in virtually every aspect of daily life and every stage of existence from cradle to coffin, that William Penn had called it a "substance with a soul."[54] The rhythms that characterized the economies in the two sectors also differed significantly from one another. The bulk of the people who lived on the Shore simply did not share the anxieties that seemed to revolve so incessantly around the cultivation of tobacco, and which spawned what one recent writer has called a "culture of dependence."[55] In spite of the fact that tobacco culture bound the Chesapeake colonies firmly to the Atlantic economy and promoted a degree of social cohesion among small and large planters while at the same time creating dependence on the whims of a foreign market, intense competition was also generated between the tobacco-growing colonies. Those who dwelt in the forest "progging" or else were engaged in planting corn and rearing livestock for the West Indian trade must have cared little for the squabbling in the Assemblies in distant Annapolis and Williamsburg over tobacco inspection laws; for Virginians' annoyance at the unregulated nature of Maryland's economy or their struggle to keep poorer quality North Carolina leaf out of their ports.[56] Shoremen did not share the hatred which

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[54] Sloane, *A Reverence For Wood,* 72.

[55] Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London and New York, 1993), 14.

[56] T.H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution* (Princeton, 1985), 40-83; Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, 83, 111, 114-117, 120-123, 127-128, 142-143, 294-295.

indebted planters felt for the Scottish factors concentrated at Norfolk, just twenty-five miles across the water from Cape Charles, nor did they experience the same seasonal drive to get the over-produced crops of tobacco to market, follow a calender in which every month was devoted to a specific task, sustain the concerns over convoys, the squeezing of lading, exorbitant freight rates, and the Scottish merchants' sharp practices.

Perhaps even more significantly, an economy such as that of the Shore, which was based on the production of forest products and foodstuffs, had probably fostered a society in which there were more numerous multiplier effects resulting in a far more even distribution of income and a greater degree of personal equality.[57]

On the eve of the Revolutionary Era, the Shore's not being an integral part of the region's dominant culture held enormous ramifications for the future, since it portended that reactions there to the growing imperial crisis would not be in step with those initiated by the provincial elites. Its nonresponsiveness could only be accentuated by its parochialism, the result of its isolation from the colonial capitals and the newspapers which were distributed along the postal road. In the next chapter, lower Delmarva's posture at the time the imperial crisis reached the critical phase will necessarily focus on Delaware, since it was in that colony alone that future loyalists occupied political office at the time of the Revolution: in neither Maryland nor Virginia did such individuals living on the lower Shore enjoy public office. Nevertheless, the growth of Toryism in all three colonies fluctuated from one county to another and followed certain patterns,

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[57] John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985),133; Philip Padelford, ed., *Colonial Panorama 1775: Dr. Robert Honyman's Journal for March and April* (San Marino, Cal., 1939), 10.

which will be examined with the aim of attempting to explain why in these particular areas loyalism emerged in such strength.

Chapter II: Prelude to the Revolution--The Political Front

While Delmarva ought to be considered as a section distinct from the greater Chesapeake society of which it was a part, the same cannot be said concerning the political arena. The reason conservatives and future Tories had succeeded in attaining political office in southern Delaware alone indicates a pattern superficially corresponding to that evident in Pennsylvania–of which, after all, Delaware was a part, although Quaker scruples regarding the Society's peace testimony formed no part of the reason why conservatives like Thomas Robinson and Boaz Manlove succeeded in becoming representatives. In Pennsylvania, the Anglican wing of the anti-proprietary Quaker Party led by Joseph Galloway had entered the Assembly at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War and had remained almost continuously in power until the time of the Revolution. It was this group of Galloway adherents within the Quaker Party that subsequently developed into a core of loyalists.

Though relatively weak and with less to separate them from the "lower orders," the gentry of the Virginia and lower Maryland Shore much more closely parallelled their counterparts in the Tidewater section of the Western Shore: solidly, if only moderately Whiggish, more openly conservative individuals did not hold political office at the time of the Revolution. For the rest of the inhabitants, their response to the developing crisis, which will round out of this chapter, would prove to be closely correlated to the degree to which the areas in which they lived resembled or differed from the region's dominant socio-economic pattern.

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In the humid summer months of June and July of 1774, all the mainland colonies, including Georgia, conducted town meetings in reaction to the Acts of the British Parliament

respecting Boston. Among the various resolutions which were passed, one of the most common was that a "Congress of Deputies from the several colonies" should meet, being the most "probable" and "proper" mode of obtaining redress for American grievances.

These meetings were the culmination of a surge of insurrections that had begun following the end of the Seven Years' War. It has been pointed out that between 1645-1760, there were eighteen insurgent movements throughout the colonies, rising to forty-five in the years between 1760-1775.[1] Delmarva adopted a course very similar to the one it had followed for the previous decade of mounting tension beginning in 1765: lagging slightly behind other colonies, its resolves tempered by a somewhat milder tone and prompt assertions of loyalty to the sovereign, with entire sections of the peninsula apparently uninvolved in the building excitement. In Maryland, there were no gatherings recorded south of Caroline County (during the Stamp Act Crisis, no demonstrations had occurred south of Easton in Talbot), and on Virginia's Eastern Shore, Accomack witnessed a "very respectable body of Freeholders and other Inhabitants."[2] The reason for Caroline County's having a meeting might have been due to its very recent establishment only a few months before. With its drier soils, more tobacco was grown there than virtually anywhere else on the lower Shore except for Talbot, and was therefore more a part of the dominant tobacco culture.[3] The meeting was held at the tobacco collection point called Melvill's Warehouse, which was where the county court met until 1794, and much of the land

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[1] Maxwell Brown, "Violence and the American Revolution," in Stephen Kurtz and James Hutson, eds., *Essays of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1973), 85-87, 90, 119-120.

[2] *AmArch*, ser. 4, vol. I, 419, 426, 639-640, 658-661, 663-667; Mason, *Region in Revolt*, 232.

[3] Laura C. Cochrane *et al*, *The History of Caroline County Maryland From It's Beginning* (Denton Md., 1920), 123-124.

surrounding the warehouse was owned by pro-revolutionary elites such as tobacco planters Matthew Driver and Col. Edward Lloyd of Talbot, the largest landowner on the Eastern Shore.[4]

Delaware, Maryland and Virginia had all sent representatives to the Stamp Act Congress in 1766. Delaware's third representative, Jacob Kollock--a substantial Sussex County landowner who had served as a militia officer in the Seven Years' War--was Speaker of the Delaware Assembly and so remained in Delaware, taking no part in the Congress. And while two of Maryland's three appointed deputies, Edward Tilghman and Thomas Ringgold, came from the Eastern Shore, both lived in more northerly counties. The Virginia delegation contained no representatives from either Accomack or Northampton. The reason behind the lower Shore's lack of involvement during the Stamp Act crisis and ensuing controversy over the Townsend duties may be that it was as different from the Western Shore in terms of politics as it was in economic pursuits. Lower Delmarva was the bastion of the "Court Party," at least in the case of Delaware and Maryland. In these two colonies, battles had begun to be waged over the privileges of the respective provincial proprietors since the 1750's which had succeeded in dividing the elites into court and country factions. Because Delaware had attained partial autonomy from Pennsylvania, much of the colony was far removed from the antiproprietary maneuvers that were planned and staged within the Pennsylvania Assembly. The same did not of course hold true for Maryland. Since the earliest commotions there had been incited by antiproprietary leaders, when imperial problems began to emerge after the Seven Years' War, it was only natural that those who had been in the forefront of the struggle against the proprietor, such as the Carrolls and

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[4] Eleanor F. Horsey, *Origins of Caroline County, Maryland From Land Plats* (Denton Md., 1974-1981), II, 1-32.

Dulanys, should be seen as leading the opposition to parliamentary authority. Failure to join in resistance measures on the lower Shore might have been due to a combination of physical remoteness and indecision, if not outright reluctance to adhere to antiproprietary country party leaders.

A similar pattern emerged in Delaware, where a "General Meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants" was conducted in all three counties in 1774, first in northerly New Castle on June 29, then three weeks later in Kent County, and last of all in southerly Sussex on July 23.[5] At each of these meetings, thirteen men were chosen to be members of the county committee of correspondence. All thirty-nine had either been, or were at the time, Assemblymen, but their futures would prove to be as varied and unpredictable as the revolutionary experience itself. Six were destined to become the chief executive of the Delaware State; twenty would become officers in the Delaware Line or the state militia. Two would become notorious loyalists and eventually be forced to leave the state, while others would fade and disappear into obscurity.

Nearer to Philadelphia, New Castle would emerge during the Revolution as the most apparently patriotic county of the three; more loyalists were captured and tried there than anywhere else in Delaware. Sussex County is believed to have been the most "disaffected," with armed insurrections taking place there in 1776, 1777 and 1780.[6] Failure to organize a Sussex County committee of safety before June 20, 1775 was blamed on the protracted boundary dispute with Maryland. But given the earlier tardiness in calling together a general meeting of freeholders, the members' hasty assurance that their "backwardness" was not due to "the

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[5] *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. I, 664-666.

[6] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 111-112.

influence of any Tories amongst us" rings false.[7] As early as 1770, that spirit of disaffection had first been detected in Lewes, the county seat, during festivities marking the fourth anniversary of the Stamp Act's repeal: celebrants had been "chilled" by the realization that some of their friends and neighbors appeared to resent the merriment--the dressing-up in homespun, the country dances and toasts to Wilkes and Alexander McDougall; someone had even gone about the town tearing down all the posters announcing the joyous event.[8]

Although too much attention can be paid to the precise wording of the resolves passed at the 1774 meetings, a dilution of fervor was certainly evident the farther south one proceeded from Philadelphia. The New Castle meeting clearly reflected the tone of that held in Philadelphia only eleven days before, which several of the New Castle members possibly attended.[9] The Kent resolutions similarly echoed those of New Castle, but those of Sussex differed slightly from both. At all three meetings, the Boston Port Act was condemned and a Congress of Deputies was called for; all three set on foot a subscription for the relief of Boston, and all three desired the Speaker of the House to summon the Assembly to meet in New Castle by August 1 for the purpose of choosing deputies to the Congress--the method which Pennsylvania ultimately adopted. However, the New Castle meeting did not expressly declare its allegiance to the King, as was done in Sussex and Kent. Only in Kent were the "patrons and friends of liberty in Great Britain" publically thanked for their "patriotick efforts to prevent the present calamity of America," but while both Kent and New Castle vowed to have no dealings

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[7] *AmArch,* ser 4, vol. II, 1032-1033; Hancock, *Delaware Loyalists,* 8.

[8] G.S. Rowe, "*Rex* v. *John Clowes Jr.* and the Shape of Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Sussex County," *Delaware History* (1977), 226.

[9] "City and County of Philadelphia Resolutions" in *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. I, 426-427.

"whatsoever" with any individual, town or province that did not comply with the measures determined upon at the Congress, Sussex made no similar resolve to punish the noncompliant.[10]

When the Convention briefly met on August 1-2 in response to Speaker Caesar Rodney's circular letters, these subtle variations seemed to disappear. With Kent and Sussex representatives present, the harsher New Castle resolves were watered down into an apparently unexceptionable set of resolves adopted on the second day which included a declaration of absolute loyalty to the Crown and profuse thanks given to friendly "fellow subjects" in Great Britain who "so generously and powerfully," if "unsuccessfully" had espoused their cause.[11] Nevertheless, as the Assemblymen dispersed, the divisions that existed between the three counties could not help but be revealed over time--they were displayed even in the composition of the legislators themselves who met on those two days in August. It was typical in a way that for the meeting of freeholders that had taken place at Lewes the month before, no presiding chairman or clerk was reported. It almost seemed to reflect how relatively small a voice Sussex had in the legislature itself. Although Sussex was the most populous of the three counties, the number of petitions presented to the Assembly by her inhabitants was only a third of what New Castle residents submitted. From 1770 to 1776, at least thirty-eight New Castle petitions were read for the first time as opposed to only a dozen each for Kent and Sussex, though this might have been due to their greater distance from the provincial capital.[12] Sussex Assemblymen, for the most part, seldom "left their seats." In spite of being elected to all but two sessions after

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[10] *AmArch*, ser. 4, vol. I, 665-666.

[11] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 146-147.

[12] *Ibid.*, 53-197.

1763, Thomas Robinson, soon to become Delaware's "most prominent Loyalist," appears to have made only one motion in the House--a request that he be excused from the rest of the April 1773 session.[13] The attorneys of New Castle and Kent, who because of their skill and vigor were repeatedly appointed to committees, left a conspicuous record when it came to the business side of the legislature and ostensibly they appeared to dominate Assembly proceedings: the commitment and dynamism displayed by Thomas McKean, Caesar Rodney and the lone Sussex Countian David Hall seemed to mark them out as future leaders of the Revolution, while the apparent silence of Robinson, Boaz Manlove and Benjamin Burton predisposed them as Tories. On the other hand, control of the business side of the House did not necessarily translate into actual everyday power and influence: as busy as Thomas McKean was kept with committee work, belonging as he did to the minority "Country Party," he possessed far less clout than "Court Party" leaders such as Thomas Robinson, Caesar Rodney and George Read.[14]

Such silence was possibly attributable to a number of factors--the relative physical isolation of Sussex, perhaps, or a perceived gap in social class. A recent study of Virginia elections during the colonial period has suggested that over time, individuals being appointed county sheriffs represented a less wealthy group than had been the case in the first decades of the eighteenth century.[15] The same pattern is discernable in Delaware. For more than twenty-five years, the office in Sussex County had been monopolized by just six different families, all

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[13] *Ibid.*, 106.

[14] G.S. Rowe, *Thomas McKean: The Shaping of an American Republicanism* (Boulder, Col., 1978), 45.

[15] John Gilman Kolp, "The Flame of Burgessing: Elections and the Political Communities of Colonial Virginia, 1728-1775" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1988), 255.

among the oldest, wealthiest and most prestigious in the county; that situation began to change with the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, and in the thirteen years from 1756 to 1769, another six surnames, representing families of more humble origin and stature, were added to the pool.[16] Among the newcomers was Boaz Manlove, first elected undersheriff in 1766, who was a cordwainer by trade. Similar trends may also have been taking place in Maryland, for the last sheriff of Somerset County appointed in the colonial period owned no real estate whatsoever. In Delaware at least, an erosion of the monopoly held by the wealthiest families appeared to be taking place in the Assembly as well. Thomas Robinson, descended of a tanner who had first settled in Indian River in 1693, was a storekeeper.[17] Individuals like Manlove and Robinson were outclassed by the aristocratic Rodneys and wealthy attorneys like McKean whose many years in the Assembly had given them a firmer grasp of parliamentary procedure. Another possible factor lay in the nature of the petitions presented to the Assembly: the vast majority of them had to do with the "improvement" of marshes and lowlands, transforming them into meadows to produce "English grass,"[18] and the stopping of creeks for the advancement of agriculture and the construction of mills; Sussex County had much less of an English-style agricultural base than either Kent or New Castle. Although wheat had become the principal

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[16] The six family names which controlled the office in the early years were Kollock, Wiltbank, Shankland, Hall, Clowes and Rodney. Figures obtained by comparing election results, as reported in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1729-1774.

[17] Scharf, *Delaware History,* I, 1269.

[18] Petition of October 25, 1766, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Government of the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex Upon Delaware, 1765-1770* (Dover, Del., 1931), 87.

cereal crop grown since at least 1750,[19] within its boundaries lay the most northerly of the great cypress swamps--near present-day Selbyville--and vast tracts of forest spread across most of Cedar Creek, Broadkill, Indian River and Baltimore Hundreds. It was not in the interest of many of the county's residents to "improve" any of these lands, for timber was the most valuable product.

Whatever the explanation may be, beneath the apparently still waters of Sussex County in the years before the Revolution, there existed in reality a turbulence which has been described by some as bordering on civil war.[20] For all its seeming homogeneity, it was far less politically stable than New Castle with its polyglot population similar to that of southeastern Pennsylvania. Sussex averaged a seventeen percent turnover in elected representatives compared with only 12.3 percent in New Castle.[21] The exact composition of the warring factions has never been determined with precision; politics centered around personalities rather than policies. But their presence was revealed in the 1767 case of *Rex* v. *John Clowes Jr.*, and historians ever since have interpreted that lengthy, disruptive case as promoting and solidifying political blocs which adopted opposite courses in the Revolution, the one side favoring independence, and the other rejecting it in favor of the Crown.[22]

John Clowes Jr. was a merchant and large landowner in the forest Hundred of Broadkill. His father had moved to the colony from Jamaica, New York in 1725, settled in Lewes and

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[19] William H. Williams, *Slavery and Freedom in Delaware, 1639-1865* (Wilmington, Del, 1996), 45.

[20] Brittingham, *John Clowes Jr.*, 27.

[21] Comparison of annual election results in *Pennsylvania Gazette,* 1729-1774.

[22] Rowe, "*Rex* v. *John Clowes Jr.*," 234-235.

proceeded to accumulate a fortune which John Jr. afterwards greatly augmented. In 1764, John Clowes Jr. formed a business partnership with two other men--John Jones and Benjamin Mifflin, a Philadelphian who subsequently removed to Sussex County. A prominent customer and friend of Clowes was an outsider to the colony, John C. Dagworthy. A transplanted New Jerseyite and a Presbyterian, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War Dagworthy had been appointed by Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe as a captain commanding the Maryland levies at Fort Cumberland, claiming to hold a royal commission given him in King George's War. His actual military contributions are unclear; most noteworthy perhaps was his dispute with Lt. Col. George Washington whom Dagworthy regarded no differently from any other officer holding a commission from a provincial governor--as a subordinate. Unfortunately, Dagworthy had locked horns with a man as proud and persevering as himself, and Washington's efforts to settle the dispute in rank resulted in General Shirley, the Commander in Chief, reducing Dagworthy to the position of a provincial captain.[23]

In 1759 in reward for services which, from the records at least seem rather undistinguished, the Maryland Proprietor granted Dagworthy almost 10,000 acres of forested land in what at the time was within the bounds of Worcester County. With the adjustment of the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary, "Wilderness," as the captain called his patent, fell within Broad Creek Hundred of Sussex County.[24] Along with other property Dagworthy had inherited from his father and acquired from local residents, his holdings totalled more than 20,000 acres

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[23] George W. Marshall, *Memoir of Brigadier General John Dagworthy* (Wilmington, Del., 1895), 8-12; Mary K. Meyer, "Maryland Muster Rolls, 1757-1758," *MHM* 70 (1975), 104-109, 224-226.

[24] Broad Creek was later divided into Baltimore Hundred (1775) and Gumborough (1873).

and were so vast that they actually surrounded the properties of smaller landowners.[25] He was not only by far the wealthiest man in Sussex County, but one of the fourteen richest men in the entire colony,[26] and his wealth must have seemed all the more disproportionate living amongst the "poor people of the forest." His brother-in-law and overseer, James Mitchell Sr., whom neighbors, ignorant of the family connection, complained "lived not on wages but on courtesy," patrolled "Wilderness" with a musket. These smaller landholders later petitioned the Delaware legislature, claiming that Dagworthy had acquired much of his property through trickery.[27]

Through a shared connection with Philadelphia merchant John Pennell, Clowes' business partners Mifflin and Jones had acquired two tracts of land that had originally belonged to Dagworthy called "Lebanon" and "Unity Grove," totalling about 3,000 acres.[28] Together, these four men controlled extensive forest property; yet they were strangely dissonant with respect to their surroundings. Of the many petitions submitted to the Assembly for "improving" swampland in the years between 1765 and 1776, only four came from Sussex County and of these by far the most ambitious in scope was sponsored in 1766 by none other than John Clowes Jr.[29] In an area where poverty and debt were endemic, the exceptionally litigious Clowes, through sheriff's sales, managed to acquire many tracts of land from small "encumbered"

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[25] Herman, *The Stolen House,* 75, 79.

[26] In 1782, his poundage was £180. Ralph D. Nelson, Catherine B. Nelson *et al, Delaware--1782 Tax Assessment and Census Lists* (Wilmington, Del., 1994), 52.

[27] Herman, *The Stolen House*, 76, 80.

[28] Dryden, *Land Records of Worcester County, Maryland*, 358-359, 653-654.

[29] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Government of the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware 1765-1770* (Dover, Del., 1931), 33, 45, 72.

landowners; the names of Broadkill men who lost land to Clowes because of unpaid loans are prominent among the 1776 and 1777 insurgents.[30]

Clowes was also politically ambitious; his father had been a respected justice of Courts of Oyer and Terminer and of the Supreme Court. He had been an extremely successful politician as well, serving thirteen one-year terms over a twenty-seven year period: among the longest times served by a Delaware Assemblyman in the colonial era.[31] While John Clowes Sr. was serving his final term in the legislature, his son hoped to be elected one of the sheriffs of the county; he failed, and his frustrated ambition resulted in a furious confrontation with the man who had succeeded in being elected to the post for the second time--Boaz Manlove, also of Broadkill Hundred--as well as with other leading members of the opposing faction, or "Court Party," who composed the majority of justices on the County's Court of Quarter Sessions. The case of *Rex* v. *John Clowes Jr.*, which involved Clowes' own imprisonment for a brief time, has been interpreted as a watershed in the county's pre-Revolutionary history. The case itself had not originated with Clowes, but rather had mushroomed from a legal dispute between Manlove and a William Walls, who was indebted to Manlove and accused the sheriff of cheating him after his goods were sold at public vendue.

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[30] To list a few: James Richardson, Paris Griffin, Nunez Deputy, Foster Donovan Jr., John Ennis, John Fisher, David Rortan, Samuel Rowland Jr. F. Edward Wright, *Land Records of Sussex County Delaware 1769-1782* (Westminster, Md., 1994), 25, 50, 113, 163; Elaine Hastings Mason and F. Edward Wright, *Land Records of Sussex County, 1782-1789* (Westminster Md., 1993), 37-38

[31] C.H.B. Turner, *Rodney's Diary Delaware Records* (Philadelphia, 1911), 87; Bruce A. Bendler, *Colonial Delaware Assemblymen 1682-1776* (Westminster, Md., 1989), 136-142.

The byzantine course of the case in which the grand jury, led by Clowes, adopted Walls' side while the court justices supported Manlove, is too complex to pursue here; even the date of its actual ending has never been precisely calculated.[32] It is important only to note that it attracted a great deal of attention and split the county elites, foreshadowing their division into Tories and Patriots during the Revolution. The Rev. Matthew Wilson, Presbyterian minister at Lewes, commented during the war that this was a predictable problem resulting from the small size of the government: "any contention here between a leading Whig and a leading Tory would immediately divide the whole State into two parties."[33]

Probably as a result of the trial, Clowes launched what at first appeared to be a successful political career. Elected to the Assembly the year his father died in 1769, he proceeded to be returned for four straight terms. As Delaware's governmental jurisdiction was extended to the "tangent line," both Clowes and Dagworthy contrived by other means to enhance their local authority--Clowes, by heading a popular petition to move the county seat from Lewes west to his own neighborhood at the head of the Broadkill (present-day Milton); Dagworthy, by petitioning that an entirely new county be created out of the lands acquired from Maryland.[34] Neither effort

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[32] Rowe, "*Rex* v. *John Clowes Jr.*," 217-218, 233.

[33] Wilson to William Bradford, July 29, 1778 in Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 320.

[34] Bushman *et al, Proceedings*, I, 58, 187-188; John Rodney to Caesar Rodney, March 3, 1770: George H. Ryden, ed., *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney* (Philadelphia, 1933), 32-34. With Dagworthy, this kind of self-aggrandizement almost seemed to run in the family: Joseph Yard, who had married his first cousin, nearly succeeded in having a town named after him (what was eventually named "Trenton"), and the nephew of the Presbyterian minister who resided next to his father and with whom the family was on close terms, tried by means of a monetary bequest to persuade the U.S. Congress to seat itself permanently in his immediate neighborhood. *NJArch,* ser. 1, vol. XIX (1897), 394 and vol. XXIV (1902), 254. Eventually, a separate Hundred was named after Dagworthy in 1873.

succeeded; when Clowes lost his seat in the Assembly for the first time in 1773, he presented a petition dredging up the four year old case in an effort to tarnish his opponents.[35] Chief among these was Thomas Robinson. The rivalry between Robinson and Clowes, as difficult as it is to divine the precise reasons for it solely on the basis of the *Rex* v. *John Clowes Jr.* case, did encompass at least one major difference between the two men. The Clowes family had been associated with political and court circles in Sussex County for almost fifty years and represented entrenched power there. John Clowes Jr. inherited not only his father's wealth, but the advantages that accrued from his father's many years as a member of the provincial Assembly.

Robinson, on the other hand, had only just begun to rise in affluence. When he was elected in 1763 as the member from Sussex with the fewest votes, he represented the first Robinson from the county ever to sit in the Assembly. Not nearly so literate as Clowes, his poor spelling betrayed the soft, broadly spoken syllables of the English South Country. Perhaps his poorer social background impeded his progress in the beginning, for he was not appointed to a single committee until 1768, and in 1769 was appointed to only two.[36] Within the next few years, however, his increasing stature in the House became evident as the number of committees to which he was appointed climbed to five and six each year. In 1773, for the first time, he headed the list of elected members for the county. He was highly enough regarded to be

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[35] Bushman *et al, Proceedings*, I, 123, 125, 127.

[36] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Government of. . .Delaware 1765-1770,* 164, 197, 235, 275.

appointed a member of the provincial Committee of Correspondence in October of that year.[37] Delaware was, in fact, unique on the peninsula for being the only colony in which the conservative, antirevolutionary party possessed seats in the legislature and a voice in colonial affairs. Sussex County had four politicians who became strong loyalists after two years of at least going along with revolutionary efforts, and one of these even attended the 1776 Convention by which Delaware became the first independent state.[38]

Loyalism, however, was not constant throughout the county; from the beginning disturbances tended to break out in certain Hundreds but not in others (See Map 7). The presence (or absence) of powerful, active politicians appears to have been at least one of the factors for this phenomenon. Two of the quietest Hundreds in Sussex were Northwest Fork and Little Creek, on Delaware's western boundary bordering Dorchester County, Maryland to the south and Caroline County to the north. They remain today among the most isolated sections of the state: uniform in poverty, neither was home to either a prominent patriot or a prominent loyalist.[39] It does not appear from extant records that a resident from either Hundred was ever elected to the Assembly before 1775. Perhaps because of its remoteness, this was an area--

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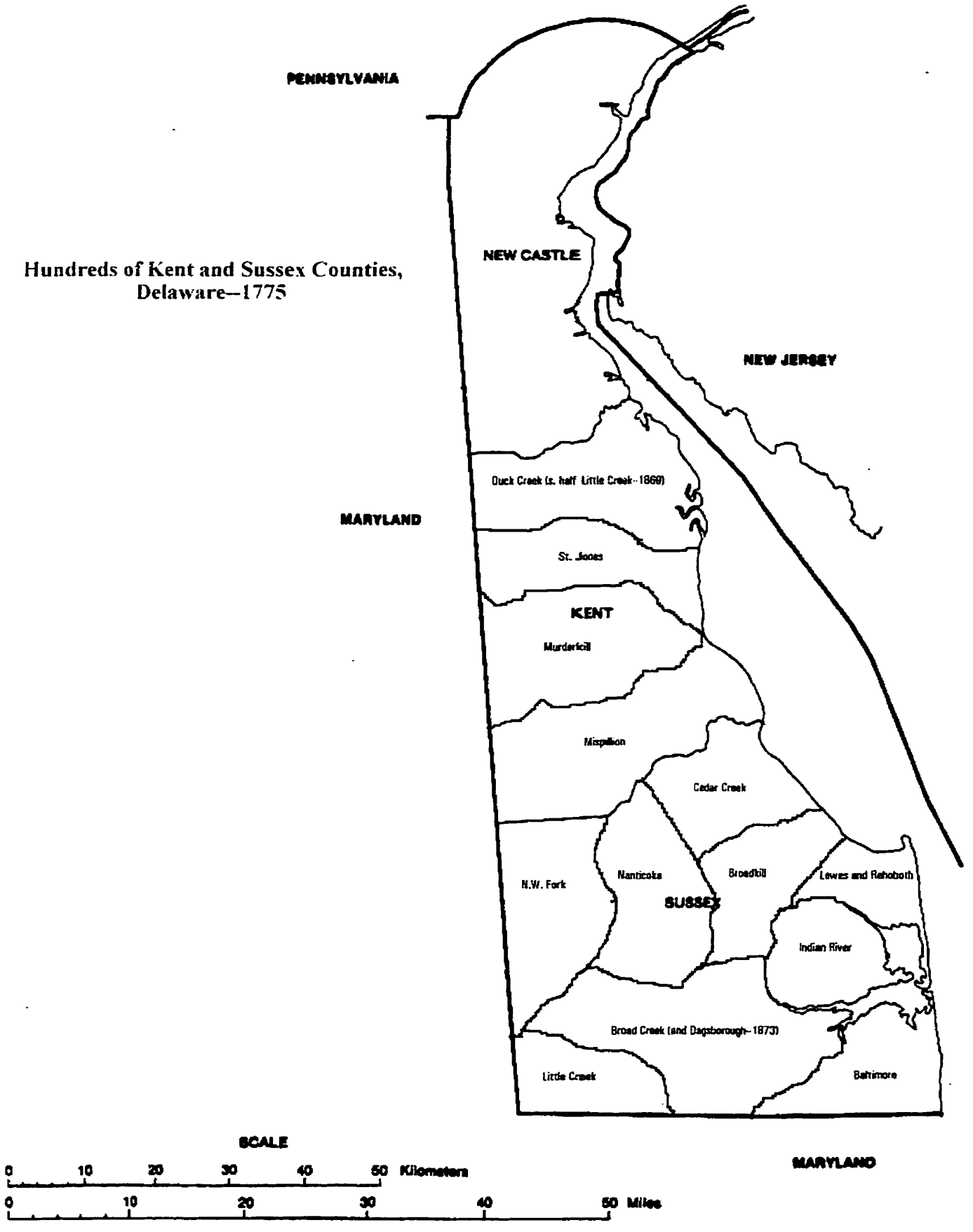
[37] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 122. The other members were George Read, Thomas McKean and John McKinly.

[38] Joshua Hill. The other three were Robinson, Boaz Manlove and Job Ingram, the only one of the four who was able to remain in Delaware after the Revolution. One might include Philips Kollock, who held various offices such as register of wills, clerk of the court and recorder of deeds in the county, and also was elected to the 1776 Constitutional Convention; however, he did nothing overt, and seems to have been suspected of Toryism only by Rev. Matthew Wilson. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 320. He also remained in Delaware after the war. [See Appendix A].

[39] The Little Creek attorney William Polk, first elected in 1777, was the only patriot of note from this area.

Map 7

Hundreds of Kent and Sussex Counties, Delaware–1775



together with the adjoining counties in Maryland--where the Nicholite religion was born in the early 1760's, unique for being one of the very few native American religions of this time. Founded by Joseph Nichols of Northwest Fork, many of the sect's tenets resembled those of the Society of Friends, their most distinctive feature being that they wore undyed white cloth instead of black. They were accordingly sometimes referred to as "White Quakers." John Woolman, the well-known itinerant Quaker preacher, met numbers of Nicholites on a trip to Maryland's Eastern Shore in 1766. Noting that they professed "nearly the same principles as our Society," his only remark was that they seemed to lack "skilful fathers."[40] Sharing the Friends' pacifist beliefs, the Nicholites naturally did not participate in the violence of the war. It was incidentally also the last home of the well-known Virginia free black family, the Games, in the Revolutionary era: a Betty and Levin Game were listed in the 1782 census as living in Little Creek Hundred, and the poundage of both was £2.[41]

The next two quietest Hundreds were Indian River and Lewes, the county seat--two of the most politically active in Sussex. Not surprisingly, between 1770 and 1776, Lewes residents composed the highest percentage of Sussex members in the Assembly.[42] The main concern were the number of pilots guiding British warships up and down the Bay and River Delaware. The Delaware, like the Chesapeake, contained enough ledges and shoals that incoming vessels required guides thoroughly familiar with the waters. Lewes was one of three main stations where

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[40] Phillips P. Moulton, ed., *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman* (New York, 1971), 145.

[41] Nelson *et al, Delaware 1782,* 79. In 1772, Betty Game had sold her 50-acre property "George's Pleasure" in Nanticoke Hundred, Somerset County. Davidson, *Free Blacks on the Lower Eastern Shore,* 13, 83-84.

[42] Bushman *et al, Proceedings*, I, 576-583.

these pilots were based.[43] From there, in response to signalling vessels, they would board ships and take them upriver, for which they collected a fee. Once aboard, the pilot temporarily became the ship's captain, issuing all navigational orders. In wartime, the Port Wardens of Philadelphia, the authorities who issued pilots their licenses, usually placed an embargo upon them, forbidding them from guiding vessels upriver. But such embargoes were not always heeded. The British warships which would frequent the bay and river during the Revolution would prove to be a great temptation for the more reputable pilots with licenses from the Port Wardens. Many Indian River men volunteered to join the Independent Company of Foot raised in 1777 "for the safe guard of the pilots and persons and goods" of the state's well affected "subjects" dwelling along the coast.[44] But this armed force, as well as the presence of a company of the Delaware Regiment in Lewes from 1776 on, was probably equally effective in deterring the pilots from cruising off the capes in order to "speak" a British warship; it discouraged individuals from openly expressing disaffection, since the probability of detection and arrest was so much greater. Even election violence at Lewes, which had plagued the county from its earliest days, decreased as a result. It may even be that earlier violence was partially stemmed for the very reason that there were present in the area strong and active loyalists, such as Robinson and Joshua Hill, both of whom had served in the Assembly and were attempting--and at first seeming to succeed--to combat the growth of revolutionary activity through such legal means as petitions;[45] they in turn

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[43] The other two were Cape May, New Jersey and Philadelphia, whose pilots usually took ships down river.

[44] *DelArch,* III, 1054.

[45] Harold B. Hancock, "The Kent County Loyalists," *Delaware History* 6 (1954), 9, 126-129.

were being supported by a coterie of wealthy men like Leatherbury Barker, who patronized Robinson's store, William Bagwell, Littleton Townsend and William Milby.

By far the most turbulent, and the centers of all three of the major insurrections, were the great forest Hundreds of Cedar Creek, Broadkill, Baltimore, Broad Creek and Nanticoke. They contained tens of thousands of acres of uncleared woods and swamp which were regarded by people not "of the forest" as dangerous and unhealthy--to be avoided if possible, to be drained whenever practicable to make them suitable for homes and agriculture.[46] One Anglican missionary sent into the region likened it to the Fens of Essex, and the unhealthiness of the swamps was real enough: the Rev. Samuel Tingley, who resided at Lewes during the war, wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel about how "remarkably subject" the inhabitants were to "Ague and Fever."[47] In addition to the perils of malaria, the forest was also a violent place in which to live. Assault was the most commonly prosecuted crime. Although a frontierless area, the peninsula shared many of the problems experienced in the Carolina backcountry, including disputes over land boundaries and titles and the theft and ownership of property.[48] Chronic debt and insecurity of land tenure fuelled rivalry between forest proprietors and had led to a type of gang warfare that sporadically erupted in the swamp.[49] John Dagworthy was not alone in being concerned about the security of his estate. Records of individuals as well

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[46] John V. Dennis, *The Great Cypress Swamps* (Baton Rouge, 1988), 1. It was believed that in the great Pocomoke Swamp on Maryland's Eastern Shore, the quantity of wood still standing there rendered the air "less wholesome." *The Gentleman's Magazine* 25 (1755), 500.

[47] Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 235, 240.

[48] Robert S. Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Columbia, S.C., 1987), 28.

[49] Herman, *The Stolen House,* 85, 89.

as groups trespassing on others' property, cutting down trees and stealing timber products go back to the county's establishment in 1682.[50] In the seventeenth century, the trespassing was based on conflicting land claims, a problem exacerbated by the difficulty of accurately surveying land in virgin forest by means of sightings from "pole to pole" and by the lack of stone for permanent boundary markers.[51]

Exactly who composed these gangs and what their motivation was is difficult to assess, but clearly land disputes were the principal cause of violence. The difficult situation faced by the forest's inhabitants has interesting parallels with gang violence which broke out in England during the early fourteenth century and which has been the subject of several illuminating essays.[52] In both cases, there was a very high incidence of land disputes, although in fourteenth century England, such disputes had their foundation in the increasing pressure of a growing population on the amount of land that could be bequeathed to children. Not only were peasants engaged in crime, but individuals who were rising in socio-economic status and lay somewhere between the yeoman and gentry class.

Although the organizing components behind many of the gangs is not exactly clear, feuding groups generally appeared to be organized around families. Leaders of gangs, such as Isaac Atkinson and William Bartlett Townsend, tended to be of higher socio-economic status--no

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[50] Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 62-64, 67, 69, 74, 77-78, 97.

[51] George H. Corddry, *Wicomico County History* (Salisbury, Md., 1981), 13; Cooper, *Profile of a Colonial Community*, 112.

[52] Barbara Hannawalt Westman, "The Peasant Family and Crime in Fourteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies* 13 (1974), 1-18; J.G. Bellamy, "The Coterel Gang: An Anatomy of a Band of Fourteenth-Century Criminals," *English Historical Review* 79 (1964), 698-717; E.L.G. Stones, "The Folvilles of Ashby-Folville, Leicestershire, and their Associates in Crime, 1326-1347," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* ser. 5, vol. 7 (1957), 117-136.

longer simply yeomen, but not yet of the county gentry. Their ability to attract a loyal clientele was further enhanced by the fact that the actual gentry on the lower peninsula was comparatively weak and remote.[53] Benjamin Mifflin, one of John Clowes' business partners, was informed by a neighbor in 1764 of a gang of trespassers on "Lebanon," led by John Wingate, who was appointed a justice of the peace in 1777,[54] and Thomas Ingram, later a participant in the 1776 insurrection. Wingate lived not far from John Dagworthy, and before the latter came to the area was one of the three wealthiest men in the Hundred. How much did residents know about their neighbors' land transactions, especially if there was any gap in status? "Lebanon" had once belonged to Dagworthy; and part of the tract had been resurveyed to "Wilderness" and so had remained in the captain's hands. Did Wingate lead the raid for reasons of spite? Did he realize the land had been sold, or did he think he was on that part of the property that still belonged to Dagworthy? Or was he simply being opportunistic, knowing that for the previous four years it had been owned by absentee landlords living in Philadelphia and was therefore likely to be poorly supervised? His connection with the rest of the raiding party is unclear. Two of the three other gang members, however, came from Cedar Creek families, some of whom were indicted for their activities in the 1777 insurrection. Mifflin succeeded in arresting one of the merchants who had accepted thousands of shingles stolen from the property, but the actual thieves escaped.[55]

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[53] See, for instance, E.J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (London, 1969), 79.

[54] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 282, 288.

[55] Mifflin, "Journal," 135, 139.

One thing would appear to be true about these types of activities: they were extremely local affairs. On the one hand, they would seem to indicate that the gentry in the area was relatively weak. Yet they do not fit the pattern that Pauline Maier set forth of mobs taking upon themselves the defense of the "public welfare" and through extralegal means, achieving the stated purpose of governments.[56] The examples which she used for illustrating the mob as the informal and spontaneous arm for defending a community's interests included resistance to the White Pine Acts in New Hampshire in 1734, the anti-inoculation riot in Norfolk, Virginia in 1768, as well as other imperial issues such as impressment and customs enforcement. But the press gang, the callousness of wealthy merchants in their concern for their own families and the untenable officiousness of royal forest officials had no real parallel in lower Delmarva. Such apparently mundane matters as land tenure, the erection of mills and bridges, the draining of swamps and the proposed routing of roads, all of which generated numerous petitions to the Assembly, did not involve a "larger community"--instead, such issues represented a division of interest between groups of nearly equal size. Mills built upstream benefited those living inland who needed their corn ground and lumber sawed. But at the same time such mills caused the rivers downstream to gradually silt up which in turn injured those dependant on the water for their livelihoods. Swamps drained to provide better forage for livestock hurt poorer individuals--"proggers"--who depended on hunting for at least part of their subsistence. A road routed through certain properties to give locals better access to mill and market might prove an

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[56] Pauline Maier, "Popular Uprisings and Civil Authority in Eighteenth-Century America," *WMQ* 27 (1970), 4-5.

imposition to others who would not use the road, and who feared being burdened by additional levies and possible demands for their labor by the road's overseer.

But gang warfare was not the only way conflict expressed itself in forest society; it also became manifest in religious contention and in election riots.[57] In earlier years, several Anglican missionaries dispatched by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) had experienced considerable difficulties with their congregations: William Black had complained that the people of Lewes "are so divided that they will not allow any maintenance to a Minister"--they're only offering was but a "precarious Contribution," though they willingly entertained "Itinerant Enthusiasts and Straglers."[58] Another, Aaron Cleveland, had the doors of St. Matthew's Church locked up against him: the congregation wanted no one to preach there but the Rev. Matthias Harris, who had "intruded himself into it without the Society's Leave." As a result of the "refractory conduct of the People," the mission at Lewes remained vacant for at least four years.[59] But the "Obstinacy" of the congregations seems to have gradually lessened over the years; just prior to the Revolution, Anglican missionaries had become very solicitous of the "poor people of the forest." The Rev. John Andrews informed the Society that he lived in great harmony with them, even though they were "rather deficient in a proper sense of Religion." This, he explained, resulted from the long absence of public worship while the mission was

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[57] Herman, *The Stolen House,* 79.

[58] William Black to the Bishop of London, June 7, 1709 and March 8, 1710 in Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 179.

[59] Aaron Cleveland to the S.P.G., November 3, 1756 in *ibid.*, 233-234.

vacant, and the people's illiteracy. John Lyon, before transferring to Accomack, Virginia, also left a petition "in favour of the Forest part of the Mission."[60]

Election riots, however, continued. Sussex County elections were notoriously violent and their validity occasionally challenged since the 1680's. [61] The forest areas produced several exceptionally strong Patriot leaders such as Clowes, Col. John Jones, General Dagworthy, Simon Kollock and Maj. William Peery, who lived near to Clowes in Broadkill and both raised and commanded the Independent Company of Foot at Lewes; for some reason, they did not seem to produce loyalists of equivalent stature. Boaz Manlove, who also came from Broadkill, was ordered arrested in January 1777 as a result of his keeping a large quantity of unsigned Bills of Credit in his possession, but he had almost certainly fled the county by then.[62]

Yet, if there were as many Tories in Sussex as some claimed--William Polk complained that five out of six inhabitants were disloyal and requested protection for himself[63]--then why were they not more successful? How did the revolutionaries manage to gain control and retain it in spite of three major armed insurrections?

The answer must lie in part with the joint control which the Patriots enjoyed of the legislature and the armed forces which that legislature created. It is interesting to point out that virtually *none* of those identified as Tories had had the least experience as militia officers in the previous war. This included the principal leaders of the "party"--Thomas Robinson and the

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[60] *Ibid.*, 235, 237,

[61] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 54-55, 61-62; Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 24.

[62] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 246, 252; *Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State from 1776 to 1792* (Wilmington Del., 1887), 48.

[63] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 581.

sheriff Boaz Manlove. Of the twenty-seven Sussex Countians listed as officers in the returns of 1756 and 1758, only two were to emerge as future loyalists: Capt. Joseph Cord of the southern district of Broadkill, and Lt. Peter Robinson of the northern district of Indian River Hundred--the younger brother of Thomas Robinson. As it happened, both Cord and Robinson were among the relatively few loyalists who had possessed offices of trust that were allowed to remain in Delaware after the Revolution.

A few years before the war, Cord had been appointed one of three overseers of the poor in his Hundred. There is evidence to suggest that this office was not a popular one in colonial times, since it was one of three positions which Tories were forced to occupy by law in Pennsylvania even after they had been disqualified from holding virtually any other.[64] Overseers did the job which vestrymen were responsible for where the Church of England was established--they levied taxes from the inhabitants in support of the poor, which on the whole seemed to be done with a seamless grace by the aristocratic vestrymen. Residents of the Hundred soon complained of Cord's zeal in levying the poor tax himself, without the knowledge of the other two. Perhaps he was using his position in party-rent Sussex County to pressure individuals with whom he had personal or political differences. It is tempting to suppose that these persons may well have been Whigs, since in December 1775 he was indicted by the Sussex County Committee of Observation and Inspection for publically declaring that he would give "the last drop of blood" for the King and for damning "Committees and Congress." Pardoned after making apologies, he seems to have escaped further censure, although in January 1777, a deposition from two Maryland militia captains stated that he had assisted a Captain McDonald

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[64] C. H.Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Gloucester, Mass., 1959), 193n.

and the infamous Goodriches of Norfolk, Virginia in making their escape from Baltimore Town jail to the British warship *Roebuck.* The Goodriches had given generous aid to Lord Dunmore after that gentleman's hasty flight from Williamsburg: their name appears intermittently throughout the official records, becoming a sort of byword for base conduct. Nevertheless, in spite of their odious reputation, no action seems to have been taken against Cord. Advanced in years, he died only a few years after the end of the war.[65]

Peter Robinson's position during the war, on the other had, baffled the revolutionary leadership, with the exception of Rev. Wilson who was clearly suspicious of him[66]; altogether quieter and more discreet than his brother Thomas, he remained very much in the background, but in spite of official ignorance concerning his activities, he was no less firm in his loyalty. It was at Peter's house in Indian River that Thomas Robinson returned from Nova Scotia in order to "spend the evening of his life among the friends of his earlier years"--dying there in 1787. Peter Robinson was destined to realize not only the prominence but the eminence that had so nearly been within his brother's grasp. He was elected to the Delaware Assembly in 1788 and 1789, and in 1791 was chosen to be a delegate to the State Convention whose purpose was to frame a new state constitution. Eventually he was appointed the first Judge of the Supreme Court under the Constitution of 1793, serving for five years. Thomas' son, Thomas Jr., who served with the Royal Navy during the war, became a member of the state legislature, while another son,

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[65] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 93, 95-96, 255; Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 27.

[66] Also suspected by Wilson were Benjamin Burton, James Cooper, Phillips Kollock, Jacob Moore, Anderson Parker, Isaac Smith and John Wiltbank. Rev. Matthew Wilson to William Bradford, 29 July 1778 in Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 319-320. [See Appendix A].

Peter, went to live in Georgetown after the county seat had been transferred there from Lewes, a move first initiated by John Clowes Jr. twenty years before, though none of the Clowes family were destined to live there. There he pursued a successful law practice and was a state cabinet officer for many years; he married his first cousin, Peter Sr.'s daughter, and began a legal dynasty that was to extend into the twentieth century.[67]

Of the twenty-five other Sussex County officers who served in the Seven Years' War, all would eventually side with the Revolution, a staggering ninety-three percent.[68] But if anything, Sussex County was unique for having so many as two future loyalists in the officer ranks: for among the thirty-nine officers of the Kent County Regiment in 1756, and the sixty-six officers of the two New Castle regiments in that same year, none would ever be labelled a Tory.[69] Just as striking was the percentage of officers who managed to obtain political office in the years following the war--for New Castle County, it was almost twenty-two percent; for Kent about 20.5 percent; for Sussex, only 11.1 percent. Among the twenty-four former New Castle officers elected to office, twelve or fully one-half were elected to the prestigious post of county sheriff; in Kent the figure was five out of fifteen, or a third. Sussex Countians, however, elected only one former officer to the post of county sheriff--Peter Robinson.

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[67] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 968; George H. Gibson, ed., *The Collected Essays of Richard S. Rodney on Early Delaware* (Wilmington, Del., 1975), 261; Scharf, *Delaware History,* I, 1269.

[68] *DelArch,* I, 11-16.

[69] For Kent County, Jacob Stout was accused in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of having been seen in the company of a deserter; for New Castle County, Dr. John McKinly, Delaware's first President, was to be accused of harboring Tory sympathies. Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 61.

These figures are suggestive of a basic underlying difference between the counties. They tend to confirm that the revolutionaries were not acting in isolation, but were responding to imperial pressures in solidarity with English Whigs--the position that has been favored by a group of historians such as Pauline Maier. In England itself, particularly in London, serious rioting over John Wilkes had preceded American resistance to the Stamp Act by almost two years. Troops who would eventually be sent to fight in the colonies were occupied in the thirty years prior to the Revolution in putting down 159 major riots and innumerable lesser ones across the English countryside.[70] It is doubtful that when the colonists began opposing the Stamp Act in 1765 that they really felt they were acting alone. It was precisely where transatlantic links were strongest--where there was better information about what was happening "across the water"--that resistance activities reached their peak: in New Castle County, for instance, there were over forty subscribers to the influential *Pennsylvania Journal*; in Sussex, there were fewer than ten.[71] It may have been as the decade progressed that American colonists began to perceive that the English patriots had failed, but as in a relay race, American radicals would be there to take up the fallen baton. When the Great Seal of the Delaware State was designed, it showed the transit of Liberty from England to America--but it was *British* liberty just the same. Continuing solidarity with British Whigs had been strongly expressed both in the Delaware and Maryland Conventions of 1774.[72]

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[70] David Hackett Fischer, *The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History* (New York, 1996), 141.

[71] Cappon, *Atlas of Early American History,* 35.

[72] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 147; Ninth Resolve of the Maryland Convention, June 22-25, 1774 in *AmArch*, ser. 4, vol. I, 440.

But if the patriots were following in the footsteps of British Whigs, what about those who opposed them? In November 1770, there was a celebration in Lewes of the three great British triumphs over Catholicism, so familiar to contemporary Englishmen--the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the exposure of the Gunpowder Plot and the success of the Glorious Revolution: besides the traditional bonfire, one of the young revellers had composed a song for the occasion in honor of John Clowes Jr. and the rest of the grand jury who had been imprisoned with him in the *Rex* v. *John Clowes Jr.* case. Apparently, the county had little experience with this traditional English celebration, for the gathering was broken up and two of the "rioters" arrested.[73] Were the arrests simply a political move? Or perhaps the "loyalism" of so many Sussex Countians during the Revolution was due as much to an isolation from currents running contemporaneously through the first British Empire, as it was to any compelling sense of composing an integral part of it.

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The political situation on Maryland and Virginia's Eastern Shore was quite different from that of Delaware. None of the loyalists who emerged during the war had attained political office. The county elites who had arisen in the early eighteenth century retained complete power and would, in many cases, preserve their political monopoly until well into the nineteenth century. During the Revolution, the same names invariably appeared as members of county committees of Observation and Inspection, Committees of Correspondence, County Lieutenants, Commissioners of Purchases, and so forth. Not until the latter half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth would other names appear, such as "Fooks," "Brattan,"

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[73] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 15.

"Shockley," "Carey," "Disharoon," "Parsons," and "Maddox"--names which had been synonymous with Toryism during the Revolution.[74]

As in Delaware, the level of disaffection on Maryland's Eastern Shore was not evenly distributed throughout the counties, but was concentrated in particular districts, while neighboring areas were almost completely quiet. By comparing lists of the disaffected who were actually arrested with militia lists and land records, it becomes clear that the vast majority did not, in the main, engage in traditional farming, but, as in Delaware, lived in marginal areas. The first of these were the swamp and forest districts, mostly further east on the peninsula, nearer to the Delaware border; the other were the flat sweeps of tidal marsh along the shores of the bay and on the numerous offshore islands. It is perhaps not strictly accurate to completely segregate the two, since the entire peninsula was intersected by tidal streams navigable for almost their entire length. In both areas, individuals pursued a variety of economic activities--in the forests, the harvesting of timber was the most important; nearer the shore, the rearing of livestock and bay-oriented activities such as fishing.

1. In the Forest

In Worcester County, the area of greatest concentration was to the west, bordering present-day Wicomico County in what are now called Atkinson's and Colbourne's districts (See

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[74] Edward C. Papenfuse, ed., *An Historical List of Public Officials of Maryland*: *MdArch*, new series, I (1990).

Map 8) . Much of this area is contained within the Pocomoke State Forest; in colonial times, the wetland hardwoods extended far to the north, and included what was at that time called the "Wicomico forest." Caroline County, established in 1774 out of the eastern section of Dorchester, though now intensively farmed, at the time of the Revolution also contained vast tracts of forest that were thinly populated. One of the largest concentrations of Tories in the county was in the considerable swampy area of Bee Tree Ditch, south of Marydel, which was almost completely inaccessible to trade.[75] Physically and culturally isolated from much of the rest of the peninsula, the county seems to have clung to British traditions far longer than many other places. For instance, excavations at "Potter's Hall" have apparently confirmed that the ancient ritual of burying shoes in dwellings to guard against evil and drought continued to be practised in Caroline into the nineteenth century.[76] Houses of the well-to-do were still displaying as late as 1800 such medieval architectural features as diamond chimney stacks and chimneys built on the side walls rather than the gables.[77] As for the poor, so remote was one area of swampland at Dover Ferry along the Choptank River that into the 1800's people there could be found living in conical log pole huts covered with clay: a type of prehistoric dwelling that represents the oldest form of habitation in Great Britain, dating back to the Neolithic period.[78]

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[75] Nelson W. Rightmyer, *The Anglican Church in Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1947), 57; Cochrane *et al, History of Caroline County,* 189-190.

[76] H. Chandlee Forman, *Early Buildings and Historic Artifacts in Tidewater Maryland* (Easton, Md., 1989), 6.

[77] H. Chandlee Forman, *Tidewater Maryland Architecture and Gardens* (New York, 1956), 23.

[78] H. Chandlee Forman, *Old Buildings, Gardens and Furniture in Tidewater Maryland* (Cambridge, Md., 1967), 6-7.

The land south of Caroline in general contains poor soils, not well suited for farming; in Colbourne's District the soil either tends to be droughty and of low fertility, easily eroded, or else, as in Atkinson's District, very poorly drained. Today, both types need considerable work before farming can be undertaken, including heavy fertilization and construction of drainage systems. In the colonial period, however, livestock was allowed to run loose in the forest, precluding the use of their manure, and drainage techniques were insufficiently developed for such soils, and expensive and laborious to maintain in any case. The small tracts of land which the poor inhabitants possessed and on which they generally planted peas, corn and grains and a little tobacco, must have yielded small crops, injured by moisture--and where the soil was very poorly drained, as in Atkinson's District, they must have resembled the fields which the Rev. John Lyon observed in the "forest part of his mission" in Sussex Delaware in 1773--"under water a great part of the year."[79]

As in Sussex County and further to the south in the Cypress Swamp, poverty was often extreme. When incidents of disaffection forced the Whig authorities to observe the circumstances of those living there, they were described as being such that "Humanity can scarce forbear to drop a Tear. . .With a poor wretched Hut crowded with Children, naked, hungry and miserable, without Bread or a Penny of money to buy any."[80] Poor as many were, however, Joseph Dashiell, later the Lieutenant of Worcester County, was forced to recognize that nevertheless there were individuals who had "their Influence within their own peculiar Sphere."[81]

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[79] Mason, *Region in Revolt,* 140-141; Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 237.

[80] Joseph Dashiell to Gov. Thomas Johnson, April 12, 1777 in Maryland State Papers (Red Books) S 989, MSA.

[81] *Ibid.*

Within most of the districts or Hundreds of the lower Eastern Shore, certain families emerged in the eighteenth century which came to predominate, not always in terms of wealth, but in terms of size and the number of connections which they formed with other local families through marriage, and more subtly, in the degree to which they were valued as friends and neighbors. Examples of these might be the Ballards of Fairmount, the Burtons of Indian River and the Cannons of Northwest Fork. Old wealthy families of the area such as the Dennis', Dashiells, Purnalls and Handys had lands in several different areas, extending across county lines, but two families in Atkinson's-Colbourne's are especially notable, not only for their size and rising affluence prior to the Revolution, but also because neither had achieved elite status, and had been denied access to political power. These two families were the Atkinsons, relatively recent arrivals to Worcester from Virginia, and the Townsends,[82] among the original settlers of Somerset and which had spread across the southern peninsula into Sussex County. They would become centers of disaffection, both families actively recruiting soldiers for the British. Their success in doing so puzzled the county gentry. Certain members of the two families had clearly prospered: Isaac Atkinson, the patriarch of the Atkinson family, lived in a swampy section on the north side of the Wicomico River called Muddy Hole and had an estate that was valued at £2,000 (in inflated currency) at the time of his death in 1776, while his younger brother Angelo Atkinson had accumulated over half a dozen substantial tracts of land in the district before the

[82] One branch of the Townsend family had reached elite status by the time of the Revolution: Joshua Townsend became a militia officer and a J.P., while James Townsend became a captain in the militia.

war.[83] None however approached the county gentry in terms of wealth: Littleton Dennis' estate in 1774 dwarfed Isaac Atkinson's with an estimated value of over £9,598 (in *un*inflated currency).[84]

The power and influence they were able to exercise over their neighbors rested on factors other than the traditional ones of wealth in real estate, office-holding and visibility, hidden away as they were in the forest. Yet they must have seemed wealthy indeed when compared to others such as Philip Rain, whose entire estate at the time of his death in 1786 was valued at only £6.12.1, or Philip Buley, a free black, whose estate the following year was valued at a mere twelve shillings, composed of only a saw, a prayer book, a drawing knife and "an old gouge."[85] Both these men became heavily involved during the war for "disaffected" activities.[86] Their names, along with many others taken prisoner in the insurrections of 1777, 1778 and 1780 were scarcely recognizable to the authorities; so obscure were some individuals that queries

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[83] Mason, *Region in Revolt*, 411-412; Dryden, *Land Records of Worcester County, Maryland,* 28-29; 64, 114, 173, 273, 541, 554; Pauline Manning Batchelder, *A Somerset Sampler: Families of Old Somerset County, Maryland 1700-1776* (Salisbury, Md., 1994), 9.

[84] 22 August, 1774. Worcester County Register of Wills (Inventories) C 2017, JW9, MSA.

[85] Worcester County Register of Wills (Inventories) C 2017, JW9, MSA.

[86] Rain exercised in Captain Schoolfield's company with more than sixteen others who "expressed their sympathy with the cause" and proclaimed their determination to protect members of the Townsend family, periodically training "for ultimate action": Reginald V. Truitt, *Worcester County, Maryland's Arcadia* (Snow Hill, Md., 1977), 428-429; Buley was arrested in 1780 for rioting: General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

occasionally had to be sent to local militia officers and wealthy Whigs living in the vicinity for information about their families and property.[87]

2. Beside the Bay

The second major area of discontent were those where the watermen lived--in the vast tracts of tidal marsh on the shores of the Chesapeake or on the islands off shore, several of which, once inhabited, have since disappeared into the rising waters of the bay. The principal area of disaffection was in "down country" Brinkley's District in southwestern Somerset County, an area roughly bounded by the Pocomoke and Little Annamessex Rivers, with Marumsco Creek to the east (See Map 9). This area had first been settled by contentious dissenters, and seems to have retained its distinction for rebelliousness. The concentration of loyalist recruiters and disaffected rioters in this area is in stark contrast with the relative quiet that prevailed in the more northerly "up country" section of the county centered around Princess Anne, which had a more solidly agricultural base. While all Somerset has earned a reputation for being exceptionally litigious over farm boundaries, with some quarrels having gone on for several generations, the worst conflict remains that which is fuelled by "down country" and "up country" rivalry, which may have been the ultimate cause of disturbances during the Revolution.[88]

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[87] "A List of Persons Outlawed for Treason in Somerset," Maryland State Papers (Brown Books) S 991, MSA.

[88] John R. Wennersten, *Maryland's Eastern Shore: A Journey in Time and Place* (Centreville, Md., 1992), 89.

Another region similar to Brinkley's lay in Dorchester County. Dorchester was divided into three Hundreds--Transquaking, Nanticoke and Straights--with Loyalist activity largely confined to the latter. In Nanticoke and Transquaking, though both had large marshy areas, soils were generally better and it was here that the largest plantations, worked by slaves, were located. More than thirty-four percent of all householders in Nanticoke owned slaves, and the figure rose to more than forty-two percent in Transquaking. All five of the largest slave holders lived in these two Hundreds: the largest, Henry Steele, with ninety-one slaves, lived in Nanticoke Hundred; the second-largest, Henry Hooper, with fifty-nine slaves, lived in Transquaking. All five would also, without exception, become the leading Whigs in the county during the Revolution.[89] On the other hand, Straights Hundred, less populous than the other two, which is composed of thousands of acres of flat tidal marsh bordering the bay and a number of small offshore islands, remains today one of the poorest areas in all Maryland (See Map 10).[90] Not only did more women head households here (18.1 percent compared to 16.47 percent in Nanticoke and only 13.2 percent in Transquaking), but not a single black, slave or free, resided in the entire Hundred.[91] It was a rough area--even nowadays watermen from Somerset complain that the people of Dorchester "are wild and don't care about things too much."[92]

The marsh was an area unrepresentative of colonial Chesapeake society as a whole. Few people cared to live in it; relatively little farming was possible, especially on some of the smaller

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[89] Bettie Sterling Crothers, *1776 Census of Maryland* (Westminster, Md., 1989), 38-53.

[90] Derek Thompson, *Economic and Social Atlas of Maryland*, 64.

[91] Crothers, *1776 Census of Maryland,* 43-47.

[92] Wennersten, *Maryland's Eastern Shore,* 237.

offshore islands, but names such as Hog Island, Cow Gap Island and Sheep Pen Gut indicate the extent to which the islands both in the bay and on the ocean side of the Virginia Shore were used as livestock ranges.[93] Its isolation probably resulted in a settlement pattern similar to that of the marshlands on the Western Shore, attracting runaway servants and other marginal people who were able to establish a free home beyond the scrutiny of landlords and sheriffs.[94] There, with some difficulty they eked out livelihoods that centered on the bay, which not only provided food but a host of other unlikely things such as "sea'ors"--grass that was washed ashore by the tide and which served as winter forage, insulation for dwellings, stuffing for beds and cushions, and when mixed with mud a fuel that resembled peat.[95] Residents included skilled craftsmen, such as coopers, carpenters and boatbuilders, who traded their services for such necessities as salt and sugar.[96] Small-scale trade was also carried on along the shore or to the West Indies with cargoes mainly of corn and naval stores and timber products from the forest districts. In this respect, they were in competition with such large Baltimore mercantile firms as the Purviances, the Van Bibbers, and William Lux, all of whom were early and aggressive Whigs. However, the island trade was one of the few areas in which poorer individuals could successfully hold their own against richer merchants.[97] They might also serve as pilots for incoming vessels--no licenses were required since the Maryland Proprietor, who claimed the sole right of regulating pilots, had

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[93] Nora Miller Turman, *The Eastern Shore of Virginia 1603-1964* (Onancock, Va., 1964), 106.

[94] Carolyn Ellis, *Fisher Folk: Two Communities on Chesapeake Bay* (Lexington, Ken., 1986), 144.

[95] Dize, *Smith Island,* 30.

[96] *Ibid.,* 5-6.

[97] Bruce A. Ragsdale, *A Planters' Republic: The Search for Economic Independence in Revolutionary Virginia* (Madison, Wis., 1996),

never acted upon it.[98] Pilots were particularly necessary to guide ships through Hooper's Strait, the great thoroughfare leading from the lower Shore to the upper Bay whose channel was treacherously crooked and narrow.[99] Gangs of watermen had also been known to cooperate in plundering raids up and down the Chesapeake.

The watermen of the Chesapeake have long possessed a reputation for flaunting the law and for inter-kindred violence. People today still make references to the "Wicked East." Valuing their independence, they shared with their modern-day counterparts a belief in the bay as a commons with the accompanying right to freely plunder its natural bounty--an attitude which is widely shared, it seems, among groups whose livelihood depends on primary resources.[100] This links the watermen to the people of the forest in Sussex, Worcester and Wicomico with their dependence on "commons" of uncleared stands of timber. Attempts at crackdowns by the authorities have led to contemporary observations concerning their general secretiveness and suspicion of outsiders, but it is doubtful that these are very recent developments. The fund of knowledge which every waterman possessed about the changeableness of the weather, the position of dangerous shoals, the mysterious habits and breeding of crabs and shellfish, was never the result of structured or instituted learning, but information gained from experience or else passed down within a family, or shared among a limited number of neighbors and friends: information that was best hidden from rivals. Unlike much of the rest of Chesapeake society, in which rank within the social hierarchy depended upon self-advertisement and visual displays, in

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[98] Middleton, *Tobacco Coast,* 83.

[99] Adam Wallace, *The Parson of the Islands* (1861; reprint, Cambridge, Md., 1961), 40.

[100] Wennersten, *Maryland's Eastern Shore,* 187; Ellis, *Fisher Folk,* 110, 138, 140-141.

the watermen's world, a premium was placed on keeping certain things secret. The mansions of the large planters with their lofty vistas were physically an antithesis to the remoteness of places like Tangier Island in Accomack County, rendered virtually inaccessible to shipping by the surrounding shoals. This cultural difference was reflected in the tense social relationship between the two groups: at best, the Chesapeake watermen were regarded with disdain by the slave-holding planter gentry; at worst, they suffered treatment normally accorded only to slaves.[101] The watermen sought revenge either by becoming brokers of trade with British warships, which was both easy and profitable, or else turned pirate and raided the homes of the despised Whig planters--a course of action which was by no means alien to the region.[102]

The area's physical isolation and the scanty, marginal population living there made both the lower Delaware and Chesapeake bays favored haunts for pirates. The atmosphere of criminality is enhanced by local names such as "Devil's Island" and "Dame's Quarter" (which is said by local residents to have originally been "Damned Quarter"). The pirate Blackbeard, whose decapitated head was triumphantly brought to Virginia from North Carolina in 1718, is believed by some historians to have come from that colony's Eastern Shore: for many years after 1700, Parramore's Island on the seaside of Accomack County was shown on maps as being Teach's Island.[103] Legends about him are legion throughout the lower Shore, and his treasure is said to lie hidden in more than half a dozen places, including what was once the site of the proprietor's

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[101] John R. Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of Chesapeake Bay* (Centreville, Md., 1981), 8.

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] Donald G. Shomette, *Pirates on the Chesapeake: Being a True History of Pirates, Picaroons and Raiders on Chesapeake Bay 1610-1807* (Centreville, Md., 1985), 216; Ralph T. Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore: A History of Northampton and Accomack Counties,* 2 vols. (1951; reprint, Camden, Maine, 1989), II, 780.

Wicomico Manor (present-day Fruitland). Modern-day Smith Islanders still recite tales about Marmaduke Mister--a loyalist in the Revolution--and his discovery of a pot of Blackbeard's gold.[104]

As early as 1700, William Penn was complaining of the daring of the pirates and of certain inhabitants for going aboard their vessels to trade.[105] When Captain Kidd came up the Delaware in that year, five of Sussex County's most substantial inhabitants, at least three of whom were magistrates, were seen going on board and receiving prohibited East India goods which they later sold "without acquainting the government or the King's Collector of the Port of Lewes."[106] Kitt's Hummock in Kent County, Delaware has been as thoroughly searched for Captain Kidd's treasure as Oak Island in Nova Scotia's Mahone Bay.

The region's distance from provincial capitals, its many creeks and tributaries, convenient as hiding places, not only attracted active pirates, but also those who were retiring and wanted to live out their lives far from the prying eyes of officialdom. Those whom the Judges of the Vice Admiralty Court dispatched to capture known pirates were "abused" by the local residents "and called enemies of the Country for disturbing and hindering honest men from bringing their money and settling amongst them."[107]

By 1720, piracy in Delmarva had declined, largely replaced by the threat of Spanish and French privateers, and by small boats manned by escaped slaves, poor whites and outlaws who

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[104] Carey, *A Far Away Place and Time,* 150-153.

[105] John W. Beach, *Pirates on the Delaware* (Lewes, Del.,1993), 85-86.

[106] Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 42.

[107] Beach, *Pirates on the Delaware,* 8-9.

made marauding raids up and down the bay.[108] Accustomed to being relatively free from official scrutiny during the colonial years with British-born crown officers possessing comparatively little knowledge of the local inhabitants, the situation changed radically when in the early stages of the revolution these were replaced by the county gentry whose familiarity with the region was far greater. The expressed interest which many revolutionaries had for increasing the efficiency of the legislative process was not shared by the suspicious, secretive watermen. During the war, old patterns of small-scale piracy would reemerge with the revolutionary leadership becoming victimized.

3. The Virginia Shore

The Virginia Shore was an ancient place. Accomack, which at first also embraced what was to become Northampton County, was one of eight counties that sent delegates to Virginia's first Assembly in 1634. But in spite of the fact that it was the "nursery" in relation to the settlement of the rest of the lower peninsula, it differed from the rest of southern Delmarva in several significant ways (See Map 11). To begin with, it was the only area that was part of a royal colony, and as such, it was potentially subject to far greater governmental interference and regulation than the rest of Delmarva. For instance, the pirates who frequented the Chesapeake until the early eighteenth century found no welcome on the Shore: a local watch of militia men had been constantly kept at the capes and had become a routine fixture by the time of the

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[108] Middleton, *Tobacco Coast,* 328.

Revolution.[109] Furthermore, unlike other parts of the peninsula, it did not enjoy any degree of semi-autonomy other than that which the channel between the capes provided. Delaware, on the other hand, had long been independent of Pennsylvania's Assembly, and an administrative division between Maryland's Main and Eastern Shores had been in existence since the seventeenth century, with separate Treasurers, Registers of the Land Office and General Courts. To accommodate these separate governmental and judicial functions, a second "capital" had been established on the Eastern Shore, first at the ephemeral town of "Dover" and later at Easton in Talbot County.[110]

The Virginia Shore was also relatively unimportant in terms of physical size and population when compared to the rest of the colony, and political clout of the Shore's gentry had declined precipitously--while in the seventeenth century, three Shoremen could be found in the first rank of Virginia leaders and a fourth in the second rank, by the eighteenth century no Shoreman occupied a position of colony-wide importance.[111] On the other hand, Maryland's Eastern Shore composed half of the entire province, and until 1800 Sussex was the most populous of Delaware's three counties. When combined with the southern half of Kent County, the lower section of Delaware contained an absolute majority of the colony's inhabitants.[112]

However, the Shore actually did enjoy considerable independence from the rest of Virginia due to its physical separation from the rest of the colony. That isolation resulted in the

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[109] Turman, *Eastern Shore of Virginia,* 106-107.

[110] Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia,* I, 454, 456-457.

[111] Leonard W. Johnson, *Ebb and Flow: A History of the Virginia Tip of the Delmarva Peninsula 1561-1892* (Verona, Va., 1982), 56.

[112] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 147.

inhabitants manifesting comparatively primitive manners and behavior to the extent that Shoremen were sometimes referred to by outsiders as "buckskins." Long-time residents believe that people of the Shore tended to be more tolerant of others and were more likely to be free thinkers, although a certain degree of anti-intellectualism pulsed through the veins of the local gentry.[113] Perhaps it is due to one or more of these factors that elections on the Shore were among the most competitive in all Virginia--a feature the area shares with rowdy Sussex County, Delaware. A recent detailed study of 882 elections held in sixty-five Virginia constituencies during the period 1725-1775 which measured electoral competitiveness on six separate indices, found that Accomack ranked as the single most competitive constituency in Virginia throughout the entire period, with more petitions disputing election results sent to the House of Burgesses, a higher average number of candidates running per seat, losing candidates emerging with a generally higher percentage of votes, and a higher average turnout of voters.[114] This kind of extreme competition was further reflected in the large number of turnovers in the commissions of peace. Interestingly, although Northampton County also ranked high in terms of electoral competitiveness, it nevertheless trailed behind Accomack, placing fifteenth in the overall standings.[115]

This curious difference may be the result of a slightly divergent development between the two counties that caused Northampton to be less culturally isolated and which in turn might have promoted greater political maturity. To a certain extent, the Shore's physical remoteness was

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[113] Johnson, *Ebb and Flow*, 48, 108.

[114] Kolp, "Flame of Burgessing," 133, 135, 142, 153, 333.

[115] *Ibid.*, 133.

mitigated by its maritime character which had involved it in extensive intercolonial and overseas trade even before the middle of the seventeenth century. The Shore historically enjoyed close ties with both New England and New Netherland, a pattern quite distinct from the rest of the lower peninsula. In the seventeenth century, tobacco was sent either directly to New England or via Manhattan, and Col. Edmund Scarburgh formed a partnership with Major General Gibbons of Massachusetts. Members of the Bowdoin family of Boston actually settled in lower Northampton County where they acquired extensive tracts of land on both the bay and sea side of the peninsula and became involved in the salt interests of the Custis family.[116] Pruson and John Bowdoin were frequently appointed justices of the peace in the decades prior to the Revolution.[117] A subsidiary result of this early contact with New England was the infiltration of New England Puritanism into the Anglican churches in Northampton County, a trend which was also occurring across the straits in Norfolk. Because of the difficulty of procuring rectors, nonconformist New England ministers began to be invited to the parish, although a similar development did not occur in Accomack County. William Berkeley's exile on the Shore during Bacon's Rebellion appears to have brought this chapter in the established Church's history to a close, but at least one thoughtful local historian has seen this as a possible reason why

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[116] Originally, both John and James Bowdoin, sons of Pierre Boudouin, a French Huguenot, came to the Shore, but in 1707 James sold out to his brother and returned to Boston. Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore,* I, 132; Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia,* I, 94-95.

[117] "Justices of the Peace of Colonial Virginia 1757-1775," *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library* XIV (1921), 59, 85, 90.

Accomack's ministers were loyalists during the Revolution, while the Northampton clergy favored the Whigs.[118]

Accomack also possessed another distinction denied to Northampton--in the eighteenth century, the county was "held in odium" as the home of plundering robbers. Winter storms wrecked many a vessel on the infamous shoals off the marshes and sand dunes extending between Fenwick Island and Chincoteague Inlet which at that time was referred to as Assateague Island. But the owners seldom had time to salvage their boats. On the information furnished by interested "Island people," wrecks were promptly stripped and looted by "bankers" in Virginia and the neighboring Sinnepuxent area of Worcester County.[119]

Aside from these types of robberies, however, control of the small compact population on the Virginia Shore was generally made easier by the physical narrowness of the peninsula, averaging only about eight miles in width. Many of the dissonant elements on the Shore had either waned in importance, such as the Quakers and Presbyterians, or like the free blacks, Indians and poorer whites, had long since left for the less confined spaces of Somerset County, Maryland. Except for a small number of inhabitants who were of Dutch ancestry, the population was probably even more homogenous than elsewhere in Delmarva. Parochialism was pronounced, and the different occupations which the settlers pursued according to where they lived on the peninsula led to a traditional division between "Sea Siders," who were oriented toward the ocean for their livelihood, "Bay Siders," who were Chesapeake watermen, and the

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[118] Kirk Mariner, *Revival's Children: A Religious History of Virginia's Eastern Shore* (Salisbury, Md., 1979), 4-5.

[119] William B. Marye, "The "Sea Coast of Maryland," *MHM* 40 (1945), 94-95, 113-114; *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* III, 572.

"High Woodsmen"--inland dwellers who were farmers and timbermen.[120] Even agricultural practices presented a dramatic difference. Though much soil had been exhausted, staples such as tobacco, corn, oats and wheat could nevertheless be much more successfully grown than elsewhere because the dominant soil types were so much lighter and better drained.[121] It must have been a great disappointment for prospective settlers who had gone to Maryland in search of better land, only to find the heavy poorly drained soils that characterize much of the lower Shore. With a smaller area of salt marsh confined mostly to the seaside of Accomack, no cypress swamps and few extensive uncleared tracts of hardwood forest left standing, by the first decade of the eighteenth century Virginia's Shore was said to resemble that of rural England.[122]

Communications were probably also superior to that existing in the rest of the lower peninsula. The distance between the lower Shore and the colonial capital was inconsiderable in comparison with that of neighboring areas in Maryland and Delaware--only about twenty-five miles from southern Northampton to the nearest mainland port, with less than fifteen miles from there to Williamsburg. A ferry service between the capes had been in operation since at least 1705 and there were sixteen ports on the bayside and six more on the seaside for smaller vessels, which provided shuttle services to the major ports on the Western Shore.[123] The greater ease of

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[120] Cooper, *Profile of a Colonial Community,* 30-31.

[121] E.H. Stevens, *Soil Survey of Accomack and Northampton Counties, Virginia* (Washington D.C., 1920). 9, 37, 42, 44-45, 52-53.

[122] Turman, *Eastern Shore of Virginia,* 96.

[123] *Ibid.*, 94-95, 110.

communication is further evidenced by the larger number of newspaper subscriptions, in spite of the Shore's relatively small population.[124]

Generally speaking, there was little to differentiate the Shore from the Virginia mainland, except in the relative size of plantations that could be established there. The absence of micro-environments that were otherwise uncharacteristic of Chesapeake society as a whole may help to explain why, in spite of the proximity of British forces periodically through the war, the incidence of Loyalism was so much less than in neighboring areas in Delmarva. However, in comparison to the rest of Virginia, levels of disaffection were probably greater than anywhere else except for the Norfolk area. Norfolk's growth had exploded in the years immediately prior to the Revolution. It was Virginia's only sizeable port; some contemporaries estimated it to have been the third busiest in the mainland colonies.[125] The bulk of its trade, carried on by Scottish factors, was with the West Indies and consisted of almost everything but tobacco.[126] The Shore, where there was virtually no British trade, formed part of Norfolk's agricultural hinterland and was consequently dependent on that town's mercantile firms.[127] Loyalism was almost totally absent among Sea Siders, where much of the land and offshore islands served as livestock ranges and had been patented by some of the wealthiest Shore inhabitants; it was most pronounced among the Bay Siders, particularly among the islanders who lived on Watt's and Tangier.

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[124] Cappon, *Atlas of Early American History,* 35.

[125] *Dorchester County Loyalist Notes,* 22, MS. 308, MHS.

[126] Joseph Brown Thomas, "Small-Scale Settlement Development on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1680's-1730's" (M.A. diss., University of Maryland, 1990), 30.

[127] John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia 1775-1783* (Williamsburg, Va.,1988), 59.

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To summarize, patterns of disaffection in Delmarva differed not only from one county to another but even within the same Hundred. Generally speaking, heavily forested areas and stretches of tidal marsh along the shore were where most of the region's disaffected were concentrated. In these places, the livelihoods and social framework of the inhabitants diverged most sharply from the patterns evident within the dominant tobacco culture. Within the forests, there had begun to emerge by the time of the Revolution several families who were rising in prosperity but had not yet achieved gentry status. Where the heads of these families lived became the focal points of wartime disturbances, as they were able to rally the support of friends and neighbors. Their influence does not appear to have extended for very great distances from their homes, however, and members of the gentry who espoused the revolutionary cause were able to command at least the outward neutrality of many of those living in their immediate vicinity. A similar social pattern did not emerge in the marshy areas, where many of the Chesapeake's watermen lived. Instead, they engaged in a type of small-scale piracy that had become endemic in the bay during the earlier part of the century.

One of the most difficult questions to answer is why there appears to have been so much less disaffection on the Virginia Shore than elsewhere in the lower peninsula. Part of the explanation no doubt lies in Lord Dunmore's unpopular proclamation of November 1775 freeing slaves belonging to rebels who made their way to the Royal Standard. But its different political development as part of a royal colony, which meant that whatever physical autonomy it possessed was offset by its full political integration within the colony's political structure, as well

as its smaller area and the comparative absence of tidal marsh and virgin forests, which would otherwise have supported atypical residents, must also be taken into account.

Chapter III: The First Instances of Disaffection

Conflict developed first on Maryland's and Virginia's Eastern Shore in 1775 and had its roots in the respective colonial capitals and on the activities of the two governors--Robert Eden and Lord Dunmore.[1] Similar resistance did not develop in Kent and Sussex counties, Delaware until the following year. This may well be because of the inactivity of Governor John Penn and his brother Richard. Both men had enjoyed the support of proprietary sympathizers during the previous decade–individuals who had supported the Penns in their fight against antiproprietary forces who had agitated for the Crown's revoking the colony's charter and the establishment of royal government. Although proprietary appointees could continue to be relied upon as firm allies, many independent supporters of the proprietaries had since aligned themselves with those resisting imperial measures. Perhaps this placed the Penns in something of a quandary, given their distraction over mounting boundary disputes, their fears about the Assembly's powers and their own increasingly unsuccessful efforts to enforce their authority within the province. Both John and Richard Penn were by nature cautious and while Richard had made friends among some of the delegates to the First Continental Congress, neither joined in any extralegal activity nor did they attempt to bolster their authority against the growing power of the Whigs.[2] Added to this fact was that local conservatives such as Thomas Robinson and Joshua Hill had continued to hold office, and Robinson's helping to formulate the instructions to the province's delegation to the Second Continental Congress indicated at least some abiding capacity to influence events.

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[1] Adele Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia: The Norfolk Area and the Eastern Shore* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979), 46.

[2] Lorett Treese, *The Storm Gathering: The Penn Family and the American Revolution* University Park, Pa., 1992), 131-140, 203.

Consequently, this chapter will focus on activities within the provinces of Maryland and Virginia from 1775 to June 1776. Both Maryland's Robert Eden and Virginia's royal governor, Lord Dunmore, attempted to recruit supporters in response to the challenge of mounting colonial resistance--and both, reflecting their different strategies, succeeded in doing so. The principal source of the two governors' support came not, predictably enough, from members of the gentry, but from a group of men of increasing prosperity who were emerging from the yeoman class but were as yet denied access to political power. They in turn utilized a form of organization traditional in the "forest" for raising volunteers among neighbors and friends for the King's service.

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Lord Dunmore, like fellow royal governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina, was determined to meet the challenges facing him in 1775 with a spirited show of strength. Besides Thomas Gage, he was the only governor to succeed in applying armed force in an attempt to retrieve his lost authority. Eden, on the other hand, kept a uniformly low profile. While stripped of effective power by the Convention in the summer of 1774, Eden was amiable and personally popular, and his office was officially, if not in fact, unaffected. He met the extra-legal bodies with apparent accommodation and strengthened the hopes of moderates; one of his few attempts to openly exert executive power in June 1776, when he issued writs of election, was politely rejected by the Convention. Since he declined to make any bellicose show of strength, he managed to remain in the colony until shortly before the signing of the Declaration of Independence with at least the trappings of his authority intact--the longest of any of the royal and proprietary governors.

In December 1774, Dunmore had returned in triumph from a five-month long punitive expedition war against the Shawnee Indians on the Virginia frontier that had the additional purpose of strengthening Virginia's claim to the upper Ohio river valley against that of Pennsylvania. Having signed a convention with chief Cornstalk that would provide for a lasting peace on the frontier, his popularity crested as officials of Williamsburg and Norfolk showered him with ornate praise, moved as they said by impulses of "unfeigned joy."[3] A salutation from Boston the following February pointed out what the writer believed was the brief war's most important lesson: Lord Dunmore commanding his "brave Virginians" had proven that there was no need for Britain to maintain a standing army in America, since the colonies were obviously "able and willing" to defend themselves.[4]

Dunmore's popularity was not enough, however, to stem the tide of resistance that surrounded the convening of the Second Virginia Convention late in March, 1775. First trying to forbid the election of delegates to the Second Continental Congress, and then ordering the removal of a quantity of gunpowder from the magazine at Williamsburg to a British warship, the number of popular disturbances increased through April until news arrived of Lexington and Concord. The governor grew particularly concerned for his own safety when Patrick Henry raised a company of men to capture the colony's receiver-general as a hostage. On June 8 he temporarily abandoned all efforts to contain the crisis and retreated to a British warship off Norfolk. Dunmore would remain in the Chesapeake until August 1776 while British military reinforcements dribbled in. As the headquarters of Scottish factors for Glasgow tobacco firms,

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[3] *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. I, 1014, 1019-1020.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1018.

Norfolk became the largest center of disaffection in Virginia during the war and because the Shore was part of its hinterland and depended upon it as a port, it was reported that Dunmore had "many friends" in Northampton County.[5] This was not the first time the Shore had supported an exiled governor: William Berkeley had found refuge there in 1676 after Bacon's Rebellion had erupted.

An uneasy situation existed as Dunmore sought to regain his authority over what he called the "first Colony on the Continent" in terms of riches and power, while reinforcing his position in order to secure supplies for the fleet. To effect the latter purpose, a fort was finally erected late in November at the pass at the Great Bridge on the southern branch of the Elizabeth River; garrisoned by twenty-five men and a few volunteers, it secured the only land route to Norfolk. In the meantime, local residents were allowed to supply Dunmore's fleet which the Convention ordered not to be attacked, and the governor continued to disseminate his views of the situation by means of the printing press he had ordered seized in September from the *Norfolk Gazette*.[6] He even strove to secure the western frontier of the colony by dispatching into the back country his agent in the negotiations for a peace treaty following the recent war, Dr. John Connelly, who was charged with making an alliance with the defeated Indian tribes.[7] Dunmore's presence also tended to polarize local rivalries so that disputes between individuals became

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[5] *MdArch* XI, 191.

[6] William Bell Clark, *Naval Documents of the American Revolution,* 10 vols. to date (Washington D.C., 1964-1996), II, 1211.

[7] *MdArch* XI, 92-93.

merged with the imperial struggle:[8] from both shores, Dunmore attracted a range of informants often with motives quite distinct from those that were outwardly stated.[9]

On November 7, Lord Dunmore greatly clarified the situation when he signed, though did not immediately release, a proclamation instituting martial law. Only after the British had succeeded in routing the colonial militia at Kemp's Landing the following week did the former governor order its publication.[10] By its terms, all who were capable of bearing arms who did not immediately repair to the King's Standard were declared to be traitors. And in order to stir up the fears of the rebellious planters, Dunmore further declared that all indented servants and slaves belonging to rebels who were able and willing to bear arms and joined the King's troops would be freed.[11]

Unlike the author of the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, Dunmore would receive no kudos either from contemporaries or most modern historians. He himself had always feared the colony's blacks, estimating their number to be five times greater than they really were.[12] Ironically, although he had threatened the Assembly as early as April 1775 about being able to count on the support of the slaves should it ultimately prove necessary to raise the King's Standard, the reason he had publically advanced for removing the gunpowder to the *Fowey* had been to alleviate the planters' fears of an intended insurrection of the slaves "who had been seen

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[8] Selby, *Revolution in Virginia,* 59.

[9] For instance, a legal dispute between William Nevin and Robert Riggs in Anne Arundel County led to Nevin's offering his services to Dunmore. *MdArch* XVI, 71-72.

[10] Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961), 23.

[11] Clark, *Naval Documents,* II, 920.

[12] Ragsdale, *Planters' Republic,* 134.

in large numbers, in the night time, about the magazine."[13] Among the first British troops to join him off Norfolk were elements of the 14th Regiment, which had been "at the Negroe hunt at St. Vincents."[14] Nevertheless, the slaves, who had been escaping to the fleet from the beginning, started flocking in "from all quarters." It was estimated by the Northampton County Committee that two hundred had joined Dunmore immediately after the Proclamation,[15] and they would continue to do so for as long as he remained in the Chesapeake, for which he was dubbed "king of the blacks" in Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette.*[16] The total number of slaves who escaped to Dunmore up until the summer of 1776 has been estimated to have been eight hundred.[17]

Many slaves in the Chesapeake area were in fact skillful sailors and pilots who served aboard the multitude of small coasting vessels. They apparently greatly outnumbered free white seamen, a situation which Virginians attempted to change in the 1784 Port Act, which required two-thirds of all ships' crews to be freemen.[18] Throughout the war, slave-owners rightly feared that their valuable property would take the first opportunity to escape to the British.[19] Even as early as September 1775, it was noted that the crews aboard Lord Dunmore's tenders were manned "mostly" by runaway slaves.[20] This is confirmed by the numbers of Norfolk-based

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[13] Benjamin Quarles, "Lord Dunmore as Liberator," *WMQ* 15 (1958), 496; Clark, *Naval Documents,* I, 275.

[14] Clark, *Naval Documents*, I, 1064.

[15] *Ibid.*, II, 1136-1137.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1053.

[17] Quarles, "Lord Dunmore as Liberator," 507.

[18] Ragsdale, *Planters' Republic,* 270.

[19] *MdArch* XVI, 372; *MdArch* XXI, 11-12.

[20] Clark, *Naval Documents,* II, 111.

slaves who were "ordered as pilots" in the fleet, though the figures may have to some extent been affected by the fact that simply in order to reach the British fleet riding out at anchor, some skill in handling a boat was required.[21]

As the phenomenon of small-scale piracy reemerged during the war in the form of "barges" manned by local residents, witnesses reported that sometimes more than three-quarters of the crews were black, though it appears that whites were invariably in command.[22] Unfortunately, little is known about these individuals. Few blacks submitted claims for compensation after the war, and even if they had, there was little chance of receiving any, since the Commissioners based their estimates upon the amount of real estate possessed by the claimant. Blacks had always been treated more harshly than whites--during the Revolution, escape to the British lines exposed them to punishment both as "Tories" and as runaway slaves,[23] precluding the possibility of ever returning home. However, few if any contemporaries ever called the blacks who joined the British "Tories." Given their legal status, enslaved blacks were seldom ever tried for treason; having no legal personality, they had never been British "subjects" to begin with: because they were supposed to lack, under the law, an independent will, they were as incapable of becoming subjects of the new states as they were of "binding" themselves to the British. In the rare instances where a slave was charged with treason, the word treason was

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[21] Blacks were prized as pilots by both the British and Americans. Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution,* 87-88, 152.

[22] Barges were vessels that could be propelled by oars alone or by oars and sails. Clark, *Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia,* I, 340. On Capt. John Robinson's barge, for instance, only eight of the 35 crewmen aboard were white: *MdArch* XLVII, 334.

[23] Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia,* 185.

sometimes placed in quotation marks, and frequently there was dissent among the judges concerning a slave's ability to commit it.[24]

The activities of blacks were viewed as being largely reactive in nature and essentially negative: in one interesting American appraisal reflecting both the colonists' fears and hatred, the promotion of black officers in a "Royal African" regiment was seen as lying in factors beyond their control such as the size of their lips or the comeliness of their wives.[25] These circumstances, probably sensed by the blacks themselves, may have served as an additional psychological deterrent against even those who had been free from later filing a claim. However, one of the few claims submitted by a free black originally from Accomack County, Virginia illustrates the kind of risks these persons faced. In 1781 Shadrack Furman was taken prisoner for having "entertained" and provisioned British troops, and was so seriously whipped and beaten with an axe by his white captors that his right leg was shattered and he lost his eyesight. Granted a small annual allowance of £18 by the Commission as compensation for subsequent service in a pioneer unit in the British army, the last we hear of him is as a blind, lame pauper playing a fiddle on the streets of London.[26]

Dunmore's proclamation produced a knee-jerk reaction in the Maryland Convention, which soon prohibited all correspondence with Virginia by land or water due to "our similar

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[24] For instance, see the case of Bill, a slave of Dettingen Parish, Prince William County, Virginia in May, 1781 in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, II, 91.

[25] *NJArch*, ser. 2, vol. II (1903), 156-157.

[26] Claim of Shadrack Furman, *Loyalist Transcripts*, A.O. 13/29 and A.O. 12/102, Ontario Archives.

circumstances with respect to Negroes."[27] A growing "Insolence" among the blacks on the lower Shore had been noted back in May 1775, and had induced the Dorchester County Committee of Inspection to disarm them. A deposition by James Mullineaux against John Simmons, a Dorchester cartwright, that same month intensified nightmarish fears of a slave insurrection led by poor whites whose "malicious and imprudent speeches" were leading the slaves to believe that their freedom depended on British military success. Simmons had complained to Mullineaux that the "Gentlemen" wanted to make the poor people "fight for their Lands and Negroes"--a strikingly similar contention to that made by southern non-slaveholding yeomen at the beginning of the Civil War a century later. Simmons thought that with enough white people to join him, he could get all the blacks in the county to back them. Ammunition would have to be found, but the rewards of such an uprising would be great, for "if all the Gentlemen were killed we should have the best of the Land," and he spoke about the good use he would be able to put one of Col. William Ennalls' "Baggs." Given Simmons' "intimacy and connection with the negroes," and probably anxious as well to retain their "Baggs," the Committee felt it would be imprudent for him to remain, and he was hastily packed off to Baltimore.[28] No more is heard of Simmons for the rest of the war, but if the proposition was not seriously intended, it was nevertheless a feasible one. Poorer white residents on the lower Shore freely intermingled with their poor black

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[27] Clark, *Naval Documents,* III, 980-981.

[28] Deposition of James Mullineaux in *Gilmor Papers,* vol. 4, MS. 387.1, MHS. Twelve members of the Ennalls family in Transquaking owned nearly twenty percent of all the slaves in the Hundred: Crothers, *1776 Census of Maryland,* 47-53.

neighbors, especially in the forest where slaveholding was concentrated among the largest landowners for the year-round production of naval stores.[29]

The intensifying situation in Virginia dramatically contrasted with Governor Robert Eden's efforts to maintain his own position in the face of the extra-legal Convention that had convened following the adjournment of the First Continental Congress. He later declared to Lord Dartmouth his confidence in being able to do so: the members of the Convention were nearly all representatives in the General Assembly as well, and he believed they were far too "attached" to the present form of government to copy Virginia's rash example.[30] However, he was no more prepared to accept the Convention's authority than Dunmore. After returning from England in November 1774, he had first attempted to secure a nucleus of loyal supporters in the various counties who would follow his, rather than the Convention's, orders. Subsequently, he tried to form a paramilitary association. This defensive organization was grounded on a pledge which the members took to act collectively when one of their number was threatened. A Frederick County loyalist later told the Commission for Investigating Claims that by the end of 1775, the Association's total number had reached 1,900 men capable of bearing arms, enjoying especial popularity on the lower Shore.[31] Known as the Maryland Royal Retaliators and commanded by Lt. Col. Hugh Kelly, the unit's professed goal was to support and defend the King's person and

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[29] Herman, *The Stolen House,* 211-216; Mason, *Region in Revolt,* 145.

[30] Clark, *Naval Documents,* III, 980-981.

[31] Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1973), 144-145; Claim of Hugh Kelly, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 12/7, Ontario Archives.

to try and put an end to the growing rebellion.[32] Officially, however, the total number of recruits differs dramatically from Kelly's estimate, being listed as only a small unit of less than 100 men.[33]

The defensive Association appeared to increase in popularity as the Maryland Convention drove for more stringent measures following Lexington. Responding to the Congress' request, resolves were first passed in December 1774 for the formation of militia companies--probably reorganized units of the royal militia[34]--culminating in the passage on July 26, 1775 of the Association of the Freemen of Maryland, which both approved of and exhorted the use of arms against Great Britain. On September 12, all qualified freeholders were to meet at their respective county courthouses to elect a county committee of observation. This committee was to offer the Association to all resident freemen, who were required to sign it. If they did not do so within ten days, their names would be returned to the Convention. Forty companies of minutemen were ordered raised, eleven to come from the Eastern Shore, including one each from Somerset, Worcester and Caroline counties, and two from Dorchester. All able-bodied freemen between the ages of sixteen and fifty were required to enroll in a company of militia by September 15. Non-enrollers would be reported to the Convention by the committees of observation, who also had the responsibility of apprehending persons "guilty of any high and dangerous offence tending to disunite the Inhabitants of this province. . . ." and sending them for trial before the Council of

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[32] His. MSS. Comm., *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain,* 4 vols. (London, 1904-1909), I, 20 and III, 46-47.

[33] Philip Katcher, "The Provincial Corps of the British Army, 1775-1783," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 54 (1976), 168.

[34] S. Eugene Clements and F. Edward Wright, *The Maryland Militia in the Revolutionary War* (Westminster, Md., 1987), 3.

Safety.[35] Little more than a week earlier, on July 17, the Virginia Convention had similarly ordered the immediate raising of two regiments for the defence of the province, while it was not until September 11 that the Delaware Council proceeded to regulate the county militias and appoint officers for the nine battalions that were to be raised.[36]

There seems to have been little resistance on the Virginia Shore against these war-like moves, but tensions soon became apparent in Maryland, where reluctance to muster that bordered in some cases on resentment was brought to the attention of the Whigs.[37] Mustering men had also been difficult during the Seven Years' War; the gentry which composed the Assembly had bridled at granting gubernatorial requests for money, following Pennsylvania's example, and "did all within their power" to prevent Eastern Shore militia companies from marching in 1758.[38] The unpopularity of the company commanders among the Maryland planters and the pressure that was brought to bear on them not to report men who refused to muster was quite unlike the situation in Delaware, where the imperial-minded had raised companies, and may have been a contributory factor for why less-prominent men in Maryland were able to obtain commissions in the county militias in the Revolution.

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[35] *MdArch* XI, 15-28.

[36] *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. III, 397, 689.

[37] Deposition of John Mullineaux in *Gilmor Papers,* vol. 4, MS. 387.1, MHS; in June, opposition also appeared in Caroline County, where John Williams had tried to dissuade men from mustering and had formed a company with John Cooper, a grand juror of the county court and a sub-sheriff, to oppose the Convention, censuring several of the privates in his company for being fools in taking "up Arms against their King." A John Williams later enlisted as a private in Caleb Jones' company of the First Battalion of Maryland Loyalists. *MdArch* XI, 14, 48-49; Horsey, *Origins of Caroline County, Maryland From Land Plats*, II, 171; Cochrane *et al, History of Caroline County,* 14; Mary K. Meyer, "The First Battalion of Maryland Loyalists," *MHM* 68 (1973), 204.

[38] Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia,* I, 375-376, 379.

Because of the fact that in Delaware, leading conservatives occupied positions of authority as justices of the peace, sheriffs, and members of the Assembly, it struck leading Whigs that their principal ploy for foiling patriotic measures was in "playing off the civil law, as an engine, against the Sons of Liberty." The disturbing case of "J.C." (Joseph Cord) was reported to a Kent County Whig by a Sussex informant. Cord had been brought before the Sussex County Committee of Inspection in September for having cursed the Congress "and all that would not d--d it." One of the people in attendance remarked that it "sounded like a death warrant," to which "J.C." retorted to "put it in execution." Signing a lukewarm retraction, he was afterwards pelted with eggs thrown by a pair of schoolboys while a drum was briefly beaten. Jacob Moore, the King's Attorney and a member of the Assembly, was involved in laying a charge of riot and indicting a number of Whigs for insulting Cord.[39] Moore, later appointed Attorney General for Sussex and Kent counties, was to come under fire for being a trimmer. In March 1776, he drew his sword in an attempt to defend Thomas Robinson from arrest while travelling to New Castle in order to take up his seat in the legislature. Several months later Moore was accused of giving a speech in support of the King in a tavern belonging to one of the 1776 insurgents.[40]

In Maryland, however, the situation was rather different. Locally recognized elites were entirely deprived of political power, though several did manage to obtain commissions from the Maryland Convention, whereas in Delaware, elite conservatives were almost completely left out

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[39] *AmArch*, ser. 4, vol. III, 1550-1551.

[40] James Tilton to Thomas Rodney, March 4, 1776, James Tilton Folder, HSD; Harold B. Hancock, "Thomas Robinson: Delaware's Most Prominent Loyalist," *Delaware History* 4 (1950), 13; Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware*, 26.

from the appointments for militia officers.[41] Angelo Atkinson, a prosperous member of the Atkinson clan, obtained an ensigncy in Capt. Benjamin Dennis' company on May 31, 1775.[42] Job Todd and Levi Willen, both of whom would be charged in 1775 and 1776 for committing acts of disloyalty, obtained commissions as ensign and first lieutenant respectively in Capt. Henry Lake's militia company in Dorchester County.[43] Due to this presence in the militia, it is understandable that it became the first arena in which to express discontent once family, friends and neighbors had discussed among themselves the new measures adopted by the Convention in the summer of 1775. Typical of pre-industrial peasantries, importance was attached to discover the prevailing view within the community because of a great reluctance to be distinguished as 'sticking out.'[44] Since the patriarch of the Atkinson family was among the first on the lower Shore to be openly defiant, it would do well to examine his activities and motives in greater detail.

For a time, at least, it must have seemed to many that the Eastern Shore would escape the spiralling growth of revolutionary resistance. Up until January 1, 1775, the provincial committee of correspondence had failed to plant a single county committee of safety on that side of the Chesapeake. Extralegal activities that had already occurred further up the Shore, such as the burning of the *Totness* in Talbot County in November 1774, had been successfully curtailed by Governor Eden by his surrendering provincial arms to the new Whig militia.[45] At the same

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[41] Job Ingram being one of the very few exceptions.

[42] *MdArch* XI, 457-458.

[43] *Ibid.*, XII, 151, 285, 394.

[44] Deposition of William Stewart, December 1, 1775 in *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. III, 1585.

[45] Robert M. Calhoon, *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America* (New York, 1965), 468.

time, Eden had secretly begun to organize a defensive paramilitary association. Toward the end of August 1775, after the King had proclaimed the colonies to be in rebellion and declared an embargo upon them, it became clear that several individuals on the lower Shore had been in contact with Governor Eden's Associators. Like John Williams and John Cooper in Caroline, Matthew Cannon and Stephen Horsey of Somerset had each begun raising a company.[46] Horsey was a direct descendant of the Stephen Horsey whom Lord Baltimore had appointed in 1661 to help expedite settlement of the lower Shore. With respected individuals taking opposite courses of action, people began to seek advice from others who were in a position to know what was the best thing to do. Levin Carey sought out one such person: Rev. John Scott. Having come from England as Governor Eden's own personal chaplain, few were in a better position to know the governor's activities and motives. It may have been that Reverend Scott was simply adhering to the governor's own low-key conduct, but surprisingly enough he informed Carey that the governor would never issue commissions of the sort Horsey and Cannon claimed to have for raising a company. At this point, Isaac Atkinson entered the parson's home. He asserted that the "people down his way" were of Horsey's opinion. Scott told Atkinson not to "set up his judgment against those of superior knowledge," and advised him to attend the meeting that was scheduled for choosing a county committee of observation. Atkinson grumbled that "he wanted no committee, nor did the people in his neighborhood, for they apprehended it was a Presbyterian scheme."[47]

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[46] Deposition of William Stewart, December 1, 1775 in *AmArch*, ser. 4, vol. III, 1586; *Maryland Gazette*, December 7, 1775.

[47] Deposition of Levin Carey, November 25, 1775 in *AmArch*, ser. 4, vol. III, 1586. We shall, unfortunately, never know what Atkinson actually meant by employing this term. Both

Toward the end of September, the Whitehaven Company in which Atkinson was enrolled was set to muster at the Lower Ferry on the Wicomico River for the purpose of choosing officers according to the resolves of the Convention. Atkinson seems to have arrived late: he had been a sergeant in the company since it had first been formed. His attendance had always been regular, and he seems to have taken some pride in his position, helping to pay for the company's colors and fife.[48]

Not all the men who mustered on the appointed day were dressed according to their usual form--some wore red rather than black cockades, and a few others had oak boughs stuck in their hats.[49] When the drum was beaten to signal the men to arms, about half of the company formed up under Captain Scott on one side of the road, while the men with red cockades and oak boughs formed up under Atkinson.

The company adjutant, Thomas Shiles, ordered the men to ground arms. Captain Scott, understandably perturbed, stepped over to Atkinson, asking the men who were with him "in what he had offended them, that they should refuse to muster under him. . . .?" Atkinson at first

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English and Scottish Presbyterians had settled on the Virginia Shore before being forced to emigrate to Somerset County in 1660. There, as we have already seen, they became the wealthiest segment of the local population and in so doing attracted considerable resentment among poorer Anglicans. But New Englanders were also known in the rest of the colonies as "Presbyterians." Was Atkinson revealing Shore parochialism by alluding solely to local conditions, or was he viewing the situation within a wider context, in much the same way as more articulate loyalists such as Joseph Galloway?

[48] Deposition of George Ayers, December 2, 1775 in *ibid.*, 1584.

[49] The color red tended to symbolize British sympathies during the Revolution. Interestingly, oak boughs were a well-known Jacobite symbol; ironically, the last reported observance of Restoration Day in England and the decoration of houses with oak boughs was made by the loyalist Samuel Curwen. Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1989), 182-183, 204, 209.

appeared cool, but the scene around them rapidly dissolved into chaos as the men began crowding around, making a "great noise and hubbub."[50] Atkinson soon fell into arguing with several of the privates who asked him what he was about--had he come to raise a company for the Congress and Convention, or to oppose them? It was to oppose them, he replied.[51] He had been told by a "gentleman" that his fortune would be "doubled ten times" if he raised a company "from Home," but he "despised such a thing."[52]

Nevertheless, his actions seemed in contradiction to his words. It became obvious that a fair amount of preparation and planning had preceded the demonstration at the Whitehaven ferry--not only with respect to the differently colored cockades and the oak boughs, but he also said that he had ordered the men who had joined him to have "sharp flints" in their guns, swearing that he would protect any set of men who refused to sign the Association. It was rebellion what the people of Boston were doing--they "wanted a King of their own in America"--and his opinions were those, he said, of as "wise a man and of as great a property as any in the Country,"[53] which leads one to suspect that the Reverend. Scott's rebuke of him the month before had rankled. Witnesses later deposed, however, that there were few guns. Of the fifteen or twenty who joined him, only about six were armed.[54] Atkinson showed the company adjutant a

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[50] Deposition of Thomas Shiles, December 1, 1775 and of Littleton Ayres, December 2, 1775 in *AmArch*, ser. 4, vol. III, 1582-1583, 1585.

[51] Deposition of William Dashiell in *ibid.*, 1573.

[52] Deposition of George Ballard in *ibid.*, 1573.

[53] Depositions of George Ayres, Thomas Brumfield and Littleton Ayres in *ibid.*, 1573.

[54] Deposition of Littleton Ayres in *ibid.*, 1585. The shortage of arms, however, was a problem that prevailed throughout the lower Shore. *Ibid.*, ser. 5, vol. I, 522.

little horn of powder that was only partially filled and said he was going to burn it that day "as a huzza" at the breaking up of the company.[55]

When asked how he could expect to gain his point with just a handful of men, he bet a doubloon that in a week's time he could raise three hundred who would back him, to which William Hickman, a private in the company, rejoined that Atkinson would be able to raise five hundred, and that he was the only one who had opened everyone's eyes. By this time, Atkinson was apparently "in a passion," and another private in the company warned him that he would be sorry for the things he had said that day, but making no reply, Atkinson turned away and went back to his men.[56]

Several things are striking about this scenario. First of all, Atkinson had never said anything about loyalty to the King, nor had he, besides remarking that he had "not liked" anything the Congress had so far done, accused it of being unconstitutional or treasonous. Furthermore, he had acted completely alone: no family member was with him in support, no neighbor or friend. The men with red cockades and oak boughs appeared to some to be strangers to the company. Though not a single witness inferred in their testimony that he had personally orchestrated matters at the ferry, the group who rallied around Atkinson resembled a typical forest-type of gang. Several people swore that in the weeks prior to the muster, they had had many conversations with him about the "dispute" with Britain--but in spite of his apparent support of Horsey, never once had he attempted to solicit their support as if he were personally raising a company. His principal objection seemed to center around the coercive aspects of the

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[55] Deposition of Thomas Shiles in *ibid.*, ser. 4, vol. III, 1582.

[56] Deposition of William Dashiell, December 1, 1775 in *ibid.*, 1583.

Association of Freemen, which he said on several occasions he would not sign "unless forced." Rather than attempting to raise a company, he seemed more intent upon breaking up the one in which he was already enrolled.

On October 6, the Continental Congress resolved that it be recommended to the various provincial assemblies and conventions to arrest any individual whose going at large endangered the safety of the colonies.[57] The Maryland Convention adopted the proposal. Atkinson was among the first to be brought before the Somerset County Committee for examination as a result of the new resolution, and depositions were taken from a number of witnesses. To the charges, Atkinson pleaded not guilty, claiming that he had never opposed the actions of the Congress and Convention, but that he was only opposed to the "proceedings" of the people of the "Presbyterian persuasion." One witness deposed that Atkinson had "always" believed that the troubles were "about religion." In reporting the case to the Council of Safety for the Eastern Shore, the committee clerk, Peter Waters, who belonged to a Presbyterian family, felt obliged to admit that "this County has been long divided in religious sentiments, and that the division has been productive of much disturbance. . . ." Members of the Church of England believed that Presbyterians were "enemies to their present establishment, greedy of power, and oppressive in executing it." As a result, they suspected Presbyterians in their every move, "however laudable."

The committee gave Atkinson every chance of exculpating himself, putting his trial off from day to day, giving full weight to all his self-justifications. Peter Waters described him as an "unhappy man," and remarked that the committee had "always pitied him." It may be that, given the rhetoric of the day, Atkinson was judged by Whigs such as Waters to be unhappy because he

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[57] *JCC*, II, 280.

was apparently blind to the truth and infatuated with tyranny and "slavery." But the evidence is suggestive that this may not have been the case here. There is a certain lonely fatefulness in Atkinson's actions.

Sent to trial before the Council of Safety for the Eastern Shore he was found guilty of the charges at the beginning of December and was sentenced to imprisonment in Talbot County until the Convention adjourned, which was scheduled for the middle of the month. By that time, the men who had mustered under him in September had since gone back to Captain Scott.

At about the same time that Atkinson was being examined by the Somerset Committee, in the middle of November, depositions were being sworn before the Worcester County Committee that an Association was forming in the county to resist the measures of the Committee and to support one another in case of arrest. The most energetic in circulating the Association about was Benjamin Shockley, a middling planter of Coventry Parish from an old Anglican family. Two relatives from a different branch of the family would serve as officers in the Wicomico Battalion, Capt. Elijah Shockley in particular proving to be an "officer of spirit."[58] Benjamin would prove to be equally spirited--one of the most violent of the "old offenders" on the lower Shore. Like Atkinson, Shockley was opposed to the Association of Freemen: Associators, he told one witness whom he threatened with a broad axe, weren't "worth a damn," and he invariably encouraged people not to sign it.[59] The articles of agreement which he passed about bound the signers to "stand together in behalf of their King," to oppose the measures of the

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[58] Thomas Balch, *Papers Relating Chiefly to the Maryland Line During the Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1857), 85-86.

[59] *MdArch* XII, 376-377.

Committee, and to be ready at all times to support each other in case of capture. If anyone had signed the Association of Freemen and "were sorry for what they had done," he wanted them to come to him so that he could "clear them from it."[60]

A few seemed to have been induced by fear to sign the articles: they had heard about the Congress' resolves to raise ten companies of riflemen, and Maryland was required to provide two which were then to join the army outside Boston. Nicholas Hayman and his cousin Isaac of Atkinsons District were "determined not to go themselves" or "suffer any of their neighbors to go, if they could prevent it."[61] Bartlett Townsend, whom Shockley unsuccessfully tried to inveigle into becoming their company's captain, commented that the articles of Shockley's group resembled those of his own company--they were "for the King and Country." Shockley responded pointedly, "Yes, but we're against Boston," after which they all "huzza'd for the King and pulled off their Hatts."[62]

Interestingly, Bartlett Townsend was the eldest son of William Bartlett Townsend, a good friend and near neighbor of Isaac Atkinson. By the middle of November, the Worcester County Committee was being informed that William Bartlett Townsend was involved in a "diabolical scheme" for acquiring salt, arms and ammunition from the British warships off Norfolk. Townsend was a well-to-do planter, possessing several tracts of land totalling over a thousand acres, a couple of town lots in Snow Hill, slaves and livestock, and the schooner *Seaflower* in which he took cargoes of corn, livestock and planking to the West Indies. His wealth was

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[60] *Ibid.*, 375-377.

[61] *JCC,* II, 89; *MdArch* XII, 376; Esther Mohr Dole, *Maryland During the American Revolution* (s.l., 1941), 69.

[62] *MdArch* XII, 375.

substantial enough that he was able to bequeath over £200 in personal estate alone to each of his five children in 1782. He was further connected with at least one prominent Delaware loyalist, Joshua Hill of Sussex County, for whom he had acted as surety for a loan.[63]

While Atkinson seems to have acted alone, Townsend was assisted from the beginning by all his sons except apparently for Bartlett, and in typical forest fashion, attracted the support of a gang of between fifty to seventy neighbors and friends. It is quite likely that these consisted of the men whom Shockley had enrolled in his association, and may even have included the red cockade and oak bough men who had mustered under Isaac Atkinson at the Lower Ferry in September. Either on November 7 or shortly afterwards, Townsend's youngest son, Levin, had actually gone down to Norfolk in a boat and spent five days with the fleet. Whether he sold provisions to the fleet or not is unknown--up till that time, of course, it had not been forbidden by either the Maryland or Virginia Conventions to supply the British. Following the Virginia Convention's prohibition of individuals supplying the British fleet in late December, it became a well-known fact that the British were continuing to be supplied by Annamessex residents. One of the earliest and most important items these Annamessex traders received from the British was salt, vital for the curing and preservation of meat.

Even before the war, salt had been in short supply. Because of a desperate need of it in 1773, a customs official had advised a ship master to "break bulk" before entry in order to distribute it--an infringement of the law for which the vessel's owner, Samuel Purviance, later to

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[63] Dryden, *Land Records of Worcester County,* 106, 171, 181, 227, 428, 431, 473, 543, 586, 590, 613, 641; September 1769: Oxford Port of Entry Account Books, MS. 638, MHS; Claim of Levin Townsend, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/62, Ontario Archives; Eleanor Slivins to Gov. Thomas Sim Lee, October 5, 1782 in Maryland State Papers (Red Books) S 989, MSA.

become the radical chairman of the Baltimore County committee of observation, had to suffer the condemnation of his vessel by the Court of Vice Admiralty.[64] The Continental Association of nonimportation increased the difficulties, and the situation was not made easier by Lord Dunmore's blockade. Vessels from New England loaded with salt to trade for Virginia corn and grain were frequently being captured by the British.[65]

Neighbors were told that quantities of the precious commodity could be had cheaply at the Townsends' along with powder and shot. Repeating what he was told by one of the wives of the men who went for salt, one witness reported that "what they call Torys," were told to meet at William Bartlett Townsend's house to get their share of it as well as ammunition, since Townsend felt it was dangerous to keep so much powder and shot all in one place.[66] Among the men to go were neighbors Josiah Robins, Benjamin and Solomon Butler, William Dickerson and Hugh Vestry. Benjamin Shockley requested some of his neighbors to meet Captain Schoolfield's company at the Nassawango Bridge carrying their guns and ammunition; about fifty gathered at the appointed place and were told to go to Townsend's to defend him in case he was sent for by the county committee. Townsend feared that his activities would come to the committee's attention and that his house would be pulled down.[67] Those who went to the house were sworn to secrecy by Levin Townsend before a second trip to Norfolk was undertaken for obtaining a load of salt that was ready for them.

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[64] *Gilmor Papers,* vol. 4, MS. 387.1, MHS.

[65] Larry G. Bowman, "The Scarcity of Salt in Virginia During the American Revolution," *VMHB 77* (1969), 464; Clark, *Naval Documents,* II, 899; III, 703.

[66] *MdArch* XII, 369.

[67] *Ibid.*, 372-373.

The lure of salt was used to gain confederates, and arms were necessary to prevent others from destroying or stealing it.[68] There was also talk of a "paper" which Levin had brought back from Norfolk. This may have been the oath that Dunmore himself framed and administered to those who joined the fleet. It was to be signed by everyone who was "for the King," and Levin said that if there were enough names on it, the men of war would send them "assistance," so "that the matter might be put an end to in a short time, sometime between this and christmass."[69]

On the 16th, with seventeen armed men, the Townsends proceeded to Norfolk. Among the company was Isaac Costin, who acted as Levin's lieutenant. Several men accompanied the group on the journey after being asked if they needed salt. These more timid individuals were not told at first they were going to Norfolk, but were assured that it could be gotten cheaply at the mouth of the Pocomoke. When they arrived and the promised supply of salt was not there, William Bartlett Townsend and his sons reportedly laughed and said they would have to go further for it. Those men who indicated a desire to go home were quickly secured in the hold until they reached Norfolk.[70]

Whether these men were brought by the Townsends as unwilling recruits for Dunmore's forces is unclear, but at this point the business of recruiting began in earnest. Lord Dunmore was ordering five hundred men to be raised into a corps called the Queens Own Loyal Virginia Regiment.[71] Dunmore applied a familiar system of recruitment called "raising for rank," at least

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[68] Personal communication from Prof. Barry Neville, Eastern Shore Community College, Melfa, Virginia.

[69] *MdArch* XII, 370.

[70] *Ibid.*, 377-382.

[71] Clark, *Naval Documents,* II, 1210-1211.

for the white volunteers. Those who raised numbers of men for service were rewarded with a commission, depending on how many volunteers they procured.[72] Unpopular among career officers, the system was a boon to active recruiters like the Townsends and Atkinsons. Levin Townsend asked the group aboard if they were willing to enlist; if so they would receive a "suit of regimentals, a gun, a guinea and a crown entrance with their standing pay."[73] At least nine did so, including two of Townsend's sons Levin and Levi, and two nephews Elias and Zadock, sons of Solomon Townsend who owned several tracts near to William Bartlett Townsend.

Levin Townsend and Isaac Costin later became captains in the First Maryland Loyalist Battalion under the command of Lt. Col. James Chalmers, the troops of which were initially recruited in and near Philadelphia during its occupation by the British in the winter of 1777-1778. Of these nine, however, only Benjamin Butler is listed as being enrolled in the battalion in Captain Costin's company. Benjamin Shockley enlisted as a private in Capt. Caleb Jones' company, but this may well have been a son of the old offender.[74] However, those who had been confined aboard the vessel during the trip to Norfolk--at least five in number--refused to join Dunmore's forces and said they wanted to return home. Among them was Barclay (Bartlett) White. According to his deposition, William Bartlett Townsend tried to encourage him to enlist and told him that "he never would do anything better for himself." Townsend was about to make a telling admission--he confessed it was for the purpose of revenge that he was taking this course

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[72] Edward E. Curtis, "The Recruiting of the British Army in the American Revolution," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association For the Year 1922,* 2 vols. (1926), I, 318-319.

[73] *MdArch* XII, 380.

[74] Meyer, "The First Battalion of Maryland Loyalists," 199, 203, 205.

of action: he resented the county committee for its looking "upon him as a Tory," and he felt "very sorry" for Isaac Atkinson and "wished he had it in his power" to avenge him.[75]

For the nine who joined Dunmore, the adventure was only just beginning. His Lordship had already been in contact with "Bay-Siders" Edmund and William Scarburgh Sr., scions of one of the oldest and respected families on the Virginia Shore.[76] William promised that if Dunmore sent him a tender with thirty soldiers, he would pilot the vessel to every leading man's house on the Shore and carry them as prisoners to the governor. Levin Townsend must have heard about this plan in a roundabout way, since he had revealed a similar scheme to the company that had sailed with him to Norfolk for capturing the Worcester County Committee while they were asleep and bringing them as prisoners to Dunmore. Although the men who had refused to enlist under the royal governor were allowed to return home after taking the governor's oath of allegiance, Levin Townsend told them to watch out for him on his return to the Pocomoke, which he expected to be in a week or two weeks' time, so that they could assist him in his plan.[77]

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[75] *MdArch* XII, 377-378.

[76] Edmund Scarburgh, son-in-law of another suspected loyalist, Edward Ker, was the wealthiest member of the once powerful Scarburgh family, a direct descendant of the arrogant and erratic Col. Edmund Scarburgh, who had established Accomack virtually single-handed and had patented over 27,000 acres in it, which approaches ten percent of all the land in the county. The family's decline in political importance toward the end of the seventeenth century had coincided with the rise of the Custis'. By the time of the Revolution, the family had not sent a single member to the House of Burgesses for over thirty years. Evidently, the Colonel's staunch royalism was inherited by his descendants. Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore,* I, 628; *MdArch* XII, 377.

[77] *MdArch* XII, 378-383.

Significantly, few Virginians answered Dunmore's call to rally behind the Royal Standard. His proclamation freeing rebel-owned slaves who took up arms for the King was completely repugnant to most Virginians, and it did significant damage to the governor's efforts to recover his authority within the colony. His presence had also determined Congress to request that the Maryland Convention dispatch three companies of Minute Men to the exposed Shore; two of these marched from Kent and Queen Anne's counties and arrived in Northampton in early February 1776, where they were ordered to remain until March 1. Together, the two units were no doubt responsible for deterring some who might have otherwise elected to join Dunmore.[78] Besides that, communication with the Eastern Shore became difficult as the heavy winter frost set in.

With the exception of the Scarburghs, only one other Accomack Countian is known to have joined Dunmore at this time--and he was a transplanted Philadelphian who had settled in Accomack County only the year before. John Collett was descended of Richard Collett who had come to Pennsylvania with William Penn in 1684, and was a distant cousin of the eminent physician Dr. Benjamin Rush.[79] Unlike Rush, however, Collett had been an early opponent of plans for a Continental Congress, and had fled Philadelphia after John Kearsley was tarred and feathered. Striking south through more congenial Maryland, Collett eventually opened up a "thriving" store in Accomack County. The enterprise was soon destined to end, as he hastily disposed of his store goods to "Captain" Scarburgh on credit.[80] Together with the Scarburghs,

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[78] *JCC,* IV, 40-41; *MdArch* XI, 149, 159, 172-173, 191-192, 299-300.

[79] Robert Bethell Brown, contrib., "Descendants of John Rush," *PMHB* 17 (1893), 325-326.

[80] This could have been either Edmund or William Scarburgh, but was probably Edmund.

Collett devised a plan for engaging a boat to take loyalists the thirty-seven miles to Norfolk where they would join Lord Dunmore. The plan was discovered by the rebels, but Collett managed to reach the Western Shore with fifteen companions. "Captain" Scarbugh was forced to give up his escape plan–his wife had been threatened that the house would be burned down if he did not return to the Shore; but almost certainly accompanying Collett were William Scarbugh and his son William Jr. [81]

The volunteers who had joined Dunmore under Collett and Levin Townsend eventually marched with British regulars to the battle of Great Bridge in the middle of December, and at least one of them–Collett–was wounded in the action. The loss of the fort that guarded the approach to the city put an end to any plans which might have been devised for ferrying loyalists to Norfolk. Supplies, however, still needed to be collected for the burgeoning fleet, and soon after the battle a number of volunteers that included the Townsend group and two runaway slaves, with Collett at their head, manned a small boat outfitted with arms and military stores for a "pirating voyage" to the Eastern Shore. Caught in a snow storm while at anchor, the boat ran aground off Hampton and the whole crew was captured by a rifle company. The Virginia Convention ordered them to be held as prisoners of war,[82] while the two runaways were "doubly

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[81] Peter Coldham Wilson, comp., *American Loyalist Claims* (Washington D.C., 1980), 98. Although he told the Virginia authorities that he wanted to leave the British service, Collett eventually raised an Independent Company that was afterwards incorporated into the Prince of Wales American Regiment; serving in Collett's company were both William Scarburgh Sr. and Jr. *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. IV, 125; Claim of John Collett, *Loyalist Transcripts*, A.O. 12/76, Ontario Archives; Murtie June Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War,* 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1981), III, 232-233.

[82] *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. IV, 125.

confined" and were to be tried for their lives.[83] The Virginia authorities correctly supposed that the voyage to the Eastern Shore had been to plunder provisions for the fleet, but were never able to confirm their suspicions; Levin indicated to them a desire "of making his escape from the service," and he and the other prisoners related a false story about having been "taken" by a party of Dunmore's men and forced to march with the troops to Great Bridge.[84]

Townsend's eldest son, Bartlett, was the only one to remain behind in Maryland, and seems to have taken no part in these "disaffected" activities. In December 1775, he successfully petitioned to take over the management of his father's estate and to prevent his father from taking away the slaves, apparently for service in Lord Dunmore's "Ethiopian Regiment."[85] As a result, the estate was saved and never confiscated. That Bartlett was probably acting under his father's orders is suggested by the fact that he remained in his father's will and received his full share of the property.

In spite of these early volunteers, Dunmore found recruiting for his white regiment slow and unpromising in comparison to the progress made in the "Ethiopian" corps, into which the hundreds of blacks who had fled to the fleet were organized--the uniforms ordered up for them blazoned with the provocative motto "Liberty to Slaves."[86] In fact, during its short life the Queen's Loyal Virginians remained a very small unit, never numbering more than one hundred.[87]

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[83] Clark, *Naval Documents,* II, 873.

[84] *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. IV, 125.

[85] Clark, *Naval Documents,* III, 102. In 1781, Bartlett Townsend received the commission of militia captain in the Snow Hill Battalion.

[86] Dunmore to Germaine, March 30, 1776 in *AmArch,* ser. 5, vol. II, 160; North Callahan, *Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution* (Indianapolis and New York, 1963), 82.

[87] Katcher, "Provincial Corps," 169.

Forced to leave the Norfolk area in late May because of an outbreak of smallpox and by a reported plan to decimate the fleet with fire ships,[88] Dunmore sailed north to the Potomac. Gwynn Island, at the mouth of the river, was chosen as a base because it was easily defensible, had an excellent harbor and plenty of fresh water and its inhabitants, like most other islanders in the bay, were reported to be "Friends of Government" (See Map 4).[89] Indeed, the island was referred to as a recognized Tory settlement in the July 12, 1776 edition of the *Virginia Gazette.* Obliging islanders supplied the British with food, undertook night traffic during times when day traffic was too dangerous and furnished pilots to British vessels, for which the Kuble family was particularly noted.[90]

But what was most urgently needed were barracks ashore for the sick men and women crowded aboard the nearly one hundred small boats and rafts that had accompanied the British north. To provide for them, dwellings, entrenchments and ovens were soon under construction. Five hundred people would eventually be buried on the island as the contagion raged during the six weeks the British occupied it. Had sickness not developed aboard the fleet, Dunmore estimated that he would have had two thousand effectives in his "Ethiopian Regiment" alone--more than a match for the ill-trained and poorly armed militiamen opposing him. Not only would it have allowed him to remain in the Chesapeake with impunity, but also to mount an offensive into the "heart of the Colony."[91] However, the disease--identified as being either small

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[88] Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia,* 104.

[89] Hamond Naval Papers (#680), UVL.

[90] John Alonzo George, "Virginia Loyalists, 1775-1783," *Richmond College Historical Papers,* I (1916), 206-207.

[91] *AmArch,* ser. 5, vol. II, 162-163.

pox or "jail fever," otherwise known as typhus[92]--proved to be particularly virulent among the blacks: Dunmore reported that every ship in the fleet threw between one and three bodies overboard every night; on shore, patrols found the banks of the river "full of Dead Bodies chiefly negroes."[93]

With few white volunteers joining Dunmore, the British suffered a continual decline in their armed strength until they were unable to match the Americans in numbers--before their departure for New York in August, only 108 men remained capable of duty.[94] Not until late in June, while he was still at Gwynn, did Dunmore hear about there being large numbers of "well-affected subjects" on Maryland's Eastern Shore. He dispatched three tenders, piloted by a native of Dorchester County, Maryland named Joseph Wheland, to pick up as many men as possible who were willing to join him. On June 25, 1776 the vessels returned with between fifty and sixty volunteers, and Dunmore had to dispatch five more tenders to pick up the "many more" who had been left behind for lack of space.[95]

The havoc these vessels created extended beyond the Maryland border into Delaware, where pressures had been building following the failure of Thomas Robinson's counter-petition. With independence becoming a certainty, residents along the tangent line could look forward to expensive resurveys of property that had to be undertaken to obtain Delaware warrants for what had originally been Maryland land. A despairing letter from the Sussex County Committee on

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[92] *Annual Register,* vol. 19 (1776), 158.

[93] *AmArch,* ser. 5, vol. II, 162-163; *MdArch* XII, 97-98.

[94] *AmArch*, ser. 5, vol. II, 164-165.

[95] Dunmore to Germaine, June 26, 1776 in *ibid.*, 162-163.

July 5, 1776 described the "critical situation" in the county, where a "large majority" appeared disaffected. The *Fowey* and four tenders were in the Nanticoke; three other tenders had gone far up the river, plundered the house of the wealthiest man in the area, stealing all his cash and slaves, and kidnapped him. Both rivers were "blocked up," and it was impossible to get cargo-laden vessels into the bay. It was harvest-time, and no resistance was offered because most of the people along the river "from the mouth to the head" were glad of the opportunity to trade. Many Sussex men, along with Somerset and Dorchester County inhabitants, were on board the men of war, "either trading, inlisting, taking the oath of allegiance. . . ." or purchasing goods from the tenders "very low." "Numbers" had volunteered into Dunmore's service, and bore commands on the tenders. The committee estimated that there were six disaffected to every "firm man for America."[96] Congress responded to the committee's plea for men by immediately ordering Col. John Haslet to march one of the eight companies in his battalion to Lewes.[97]

Those taken aboard the tenders were the first significant body of recruits which Dunmore managed to raise for the Queen's Own Loyal Virginia Regiment, and the Marylanders, at least, were led by Isaac Atkinson, who had also brought along two of his sons. Atkinson had been brought before the Maryland Convention on December 16, 1775, to which he had apologized for what he had done, explaining that "he had never meant to injure America, his native country," and was willing to "make any concessions and atonement to his country, which were in his power." He had accordingly been ordered released from confinement upon giving a bond of £1,000 currency for his future good behavior, and the next day a Talbot County friend, Samuel

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[96] *AmArch*, ser. 5, vol. I, 9-10.

[97] *Ibid.*, 11.

Sharpe, became surety for that amount, given to the President of the Convention, Matthew Tilghman.[98]

There is something heart-felt about Atkinson's apology to the Convention: one cannot help but believe his assertion that he meant no harm to his "native country." Doubtless, he felt compelled to take the course he did, in all probability employing the six-month period between the order for his release and his joining Dunmore for reestablishing contact with supporters. Appointed a captain by Dunmore, he followed the former governor to New York when the latter left the Chesapeake in August. But he was destined not to live long in the British service. Both he and his son Joshua were killed in a skirmish outside of Philadelphia in 1778.[99]

Dunmore would probably have been disappointed in receiving many more volunteers, as the taking aboard of Atkinson's group was mistaken in Delaware for being a British invasion of the peninsula. Enoch Scudder, travelling from Philadelphia to Cedar Creek, was overtaken by four men and asked for information about Dunmore's landing men in Maryland--one estimated that in the event 1,500 men could be raised in Cedar Creek alone. He overheard harvesters in the fields complaining about "gentlemen" who had been "calling the Tories to account" and that they should not be "suffered to pass without a guard."[100] This would be a recurrent problem for loyalists on the Shore: dependence was placed on the presence of British troops, and relatively little thought was given to initiating independent action. In the end, Dunmore may have done

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[98] *Ibid.*, ser. 4, vol. IV, 719 and ser. 5, vol. III, 98. Several years later, in April 1780, Sharpe received a £100 fine for trying to ship flour out of the state without permission.

[99] Claim of William Atkinson, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 12 v.102/34, A.O. 13/39 and A.O. 13/60, Ontario Archives; "A List of Persons Outlawed for Treason in Somerset," Maryland State Papers (Brown Books) S 991, MSA.

[100] *AmArch*, ser. 5, vol. I, 11.

the loyalist cause in Virginia irreparable more in carrying away to New York the first large group of Virginia loyalists to have come together. It meant that the most zealous British sympathizers were withdrawn who might otherwise have been able to recruit additional supporters from among the local population, providing a pool of potential volunteers to serve with British forces in any future campaign in the area.[101]

In reviewing the earliest incidents of "disaffection" on the lower Shore, it is clear that ideology formed at best only a very minor part. While this may be due to the time factor, 1775 being transitional, with both radicals and conservatives espousing loyalty to the King, opposition to the Association of Freemen was unquestionably the main source of discontent. Of course, refusal to subscribe first to the Association and then in 1777 to the oath of fidelity required by the "Act for the Better Security of Government" was not confined to the Eastern Shore: almost one third of the entire population of Maryland would be nonjurors,[102] who together with non-enrollers were assessed a fine by the county committees.

The need for salt drove others to associate with the disaffected families. Interestingly, there are only a couple of records of very small-scale attacks on leading Whigs of the lower Shore to obtain salt which occurred October 1-2, 1776: two Somerset County planters, John Pridix and Benjamin Johnson, broke into William Winder's storehouse and took away salt, while the next day three others, John Pusey, Josiah Knight and Levin Dorman, broke into David Polk's place. Brought to trial four years later, four of the five were fined £20.[103] None appears to have

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[101] George, "Virginia Loyalists," 189-190.

[102] Albert W. Werline, *Problems of Church and State in Maryland During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (South Lancaster, Mass., 1948), 185.

[103] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S477-1, MSA.

had any connection with other rioters, or with the Maryland Loyalist Battalion. The absence of these attacks is understandable since salt was acquired by means of trade with the British and distributed among confederates and their families. Further up the Shore, however, the situation changed. Wealthy Whigs, because of their connections with Baltimore traders, were able to accumulate large amounts of salt for their plantations. As supplies of it began running desperately low towards the end of 1776, large scale salt riots began taking place: an attack on Robert Wilson led to charges of riot being brought against a dozen individuals, and over sixty men from three counties were brought to trial for stealing 14½ bushels of salt from the storehouse of James Murray, chairman of the Dorchester Committee on November 1, 1776. The men involved in these disturbances were for the most part very poor.

Only one of these salt raids may possibly have been Whiggish in nature. In December 1777, a mob composed of men from Talbot County and two Caroline County militia companies of the 28th battalion raided the home of the conservative Talbot County aristocrat, Brig. Gen. James Lloyd Chamberlaine. Seventeen bushels of salt were taken from the storehouse. Among the ringleaders was James Dwiggins, a first lieutenant in one of the Caroline County militia companies, and Talbot militiaman Jeremiah Colston. Those captured were tried for "rioting." Moderate fines of £5 were imposed by the court. Far from receiving censure from revolutionaries, Colston's cause was taken up by the radical Whig politician John Gibson, who was working to oust conservatives like Chamberlaine from the county committee.[104]

Up and down the colonies, a series of "tests" were applied between 1774 and 1776 to gauge how strong an individual's fidelity was to the "cause of America." Among such tests,

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[104] Mason, *Region in Revolt,* 293-294.

which culminated with the Declaration of Independence, were support for Boston following the passage of the "Intolerable Acts" and adherence to the Continental Association.[105] Unfortunately, maritime interests in the area were not only vying against New England in the West Indies trade, but also against the large mercantile firms of Baltimore which were early and zealous supporters of New England.[106] Anti-Bostonian sentiment was pronounced throughout the Shore, and can be seen in the case of Capt. Custis Kellam, a mariner of Accomack County, Virginia. The very large and moderately prosperous Kellam family owned both bayside and seaside property; nearly all the family had horses and herds of cattle, about half owned slaves and several possessed carriages.[107] They also engaged in trade with the Rogers family, with whom they had intermarried, but, like the Townsends and Atkinsons of Maryland, they did not compose part of the county gentry. On January 15, 1776, a complaint was lodged against Captain Kellam for having opposed the Virginia Convention's resolves for raising troops and for having attempted to prevent men from enlisting. Witnesses testified to having heard Kellam say, "Damn the Bostonians, what are they but a pack of G-d damned Rebels?" While unanimously condemned by the Accomack County committee for having acted "as an enemy," he avoided punishment by

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[105] Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York, 1969), 34-35, 39, 42.

[106] William H. Nelson, *The American Tory* (Oxford, 1961), 107; Robert Livingston Schuyler, *The Fall of the Old Colonial System: A Study in British Free Trade 1770-1870* (New York, 1945), 28, 84.

[107] Netti Schreiner-Yantis and Florene Love, *The 1787 Census of Virginia: Accomack County* (Springfield, Va., 1987), 83, 96-97.

signing a recantation in which he confessed that his "former opinion of the Bostonians. . .was founded on mean and narrow principles."[108]

Be that as it may, Kellam was heavily involved with others who fled the state to avoid being tried for treason. His brother Esau (Ezer) Kellam became a pilot for the British while Dunmore was still off Norfolk, and Custis was the master of his sloop the *Betsy.* In April 1778, during the British occupation of Philadelphia, Esau and Custis were granted a protection from the British for transporting flour and corn from the Virginia Shore to the city.[109] Daniel Rogers was also involved in the trading scheme, which the Whigs soon uncovered, and both he and Esau Kellam were charged in the Accomack county court with treason. Esau temporarily escaped to the West Indies while his business partner stood trial. Though found not guilty of the charges, Rogers moved to Milford in Sussex County, Delaware, at the heart of rebellious Cedar Creek Hundred, where he farmed and carried on in trade; in the 1782 assessment his poundage was £20, one of the highest in the Hundred.[110] At the end of the war, he appointed Custis Kellam the executor of his will.[111] Another member of the Kellam family, John Kellam, left Virginia and went to British-occupied New York some time during the war. Custis' name appears as one of the witnesses to a certificate which John Kellam wrote on Long Island in 1783, annulling all previous wills.[112]

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[108] *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. IV, 679-680

[109] Hamond Naval Papers (#680), UVL.

[110] Nelson *et al, Delaware--1782 Tax Assessment*, 188.

[111] Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia*, 150.

[112] Stratton Nottingham, *Wills and Administrations of Accomack County, Virginia 1663-1800* (Bowie, Md., 1990), 334-335.

Along with the dislike of Boston was a distrust of Presbyterianism. The roots of this hostility are rather complicated; in part they were due to traditionalism and partly to bigotry and racism. The term "Presbyterian" was an old seventeenth century term of abuse for those who dissented from the Anglican establishment at the time of the English Civil War. It was these self-proclaimed Presbyterians who had emigrated to Maryland following the reestablishment of the Anglican Church in 1660 and the subsequent law passed in Virginia which penalized Dissenters. They attracted animus on the lower Shore for having managed by their timely emigration to get the best of the land, but over time they declined in numbers. Since Presbyterianism along with Congregationalism had formed the heart of the early Dissenter movement within the Anglican Church, with the "Great Migration" to New England in the 1630's they together composed New England Puritanism. Accordingly, there was a strong connection with New England in the popular mind. Yale-trained clerics had strongly supported the revivals in the middle colonies beginning in the 1730's and composed a significant number of the ministers serving in the "New Side" presbyteries of New Brunswick and New York. New Englanders leading revivals, such as Jonathan Edwards, were in close communication with the so-called "Log College Men."

When the imperial crisis began, the Presbyterians on the lower Shore, because they had once been part of the Anglican establishment, were able to forge ties with the Anglican gentry who, like themselves, had earlier denounced French ambitions in the Seven Years' War, and now resisted British claims.[113] Even the most distinguished loyalists, such as Joseph Galloway,

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[113] Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia, 1949), 15, 65, 133, 152.

noted that Presbyterians were generally in the forefront of revolutionary activities in support of Boston following the passage of the Port Bill.[114] But those of a more cynical frame of mind may have contrasted Presbyterian fervor in 1774 with what they remembered of their behavior when a fire had burnt down a large part of Boston in 1760. A subscription for the relief of Boston's inhabitants had similarly been raised by the various colonies, but at that time, Presbyterian contributions had ranked a poor third behind the amounts given by Anglicans and Quakers.[115] Scotch-Irish immigrants also brought Presbyterianism with them. Very few of these, however, ever settled on the lower Shore; those going up the Delaware River debarked during the earlier period at the town of New Castle and later on at Wilmington. In general, they were not liked by the Anglican gentry of the lower counties. The aristocratic Thomas Rodney even wrote a sour rhyme about this "dreg of Europe's Hostile Shore."[116]

Below the gentry level, Anglican hostility toward Presbyterians tended to be deep-rooted throughout the Delmarva Peninsula, and to a large extent had dictated party affiliations. In Sussex County, Thomas Robinson had not only sided with the Proprietary Party, but was the acknowledged leader of the Anglican "Church Party."[117] It is hardly coincidental that nearly all of the associators who sided with the Townsends and Atkinsons belonged to the Church of England. In Delaware in October 1775, Daniel Varnum was brought before the Kent County committee for having said that he would "as lief be under a tyrannical King as a tyrannical

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[114] Nelson, *The American Tory,* 51.

[115] Werline, *Problems of Church and State,* 80.

[116] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 186-187.

[117] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 105.

Commonwealth, especially if the d--d Presbyterians had the rule of it."[118] The Presbyterian chapel in Broad Creek was burned during the war, the fire afterwards blamed on Tories,[119] and it was probably the Rev. Matthew Wilson who wrote in the manuscript record of the Lewes Presbyterian Church of there being "certain intelligence" that the Tories intended to kidnap him and send him to New York for "Exemplary Punishment."[120]

For the Whigs, these early instances of disaffection proved problematic. In the transitional period from 1775 to the early months of 1776, social ostracism was the usual way for dealing with resistance. However, in a region where there were no urban centers and no newspapers, such a method was rendered impracticable, although the Virginia Shore enjoyed more success on this score because of its closer proximity to the capital and larger newspaper circulation. Deference could only be restored by face to face contact between disaffected individuals and Whig elites, but this was cumbersome and time-consuming. However, if Delmarva Whigs had difficulty coping with these early expressions of disaffection, they would find it even more so when growing economic hardship and internal divisions clearly manifested themselves in open support for the British with the declaration of American independence.

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[118] *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. III, 1072.

[119] Corddry, *Wicomico County History,* 117.

[120] Rightmyer, *Anglican Church in Delaware*, 167.

Chapter IV: Rioters and Ranters

Until 1776, the bulk of disaffected activity in the Delmarva Peninsula consisted of words rather than deeds: relatively few joined Lord Dunmore while the former Virginia governor remained in the Chesapeake. But with Independence, this scenario underwent dramatic change. Although they did not participate in the succession of insurrections which erupted on the Shore, the wrath of the Whig authorities fell first upon British supporters who fell into categories long-recognized by scholars: crown officials, recent British immigrants and Anglican clergymen. What concerns us in this chapter are not so much these early and obvious adherents to the British, many of whom were eventually compelled to leave the country, as those who engaged both in small acts of defiance and who took part in the half-dozen large insurrections that broke out between 1776 and 1780, all of which were concentrated in the counties of the lower peninsula.

Insurrections were of course not the only expressions of disaffection: following the British capture of Philadelphia, hundreds of men from the lower Shore went to the city to join provincial army units which had begun to form there. Equally troubling to Whig leaders was the simultaneous spread of Methodism, especially in the northern part of the peninsula. Here the gentry was more powerful, and activities directed against the Whigs were much more surreptitious in nature. Along with the night time burning of mills, the presence of pacifist Methodist ministers at militia musters was interpreted as a cloaked and potentially dangerous form of Toryism.

Strife in the entire region displayed a peculiar and limited form. Almost completely nonviolent, the nature of disaffected activities varied dramatically from one part of the lower

peninsula to another. It is understandable that, being the only area on the peninsula which had loyalists sitting in the Assembly, Sussex County should have been virtually alone in suffering elections riots. Much less clear is why only the Virginia Shore was racked by draft riots towards the end of the war, which never troubled the rest of the region. While Caroline County saw only the most restricted sort of group action, such as assaults on public roadways involving no more than a handful of people, and larger weapons and salt raids that drew their organization from the classes of the county militia, in Worcester, Somerset, Sussex and southern Kent Counties, Delaware there were much more extensive riots in which hundreds of people participated.

The extreme fragmentation and non-continuity of disaffected activity is one of the hallmarks of Delmarvan disaffection, and not easily explained. The focus of this chapter will be to examine the various forms loyalism exhibited in this area, and by means of detailed illustration, advance certain interpretations about its nature.

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In the third week of June 1776, Barkley Townsend and Job Ingram, formerly a member of the Delaware Assembly and now a militia captain, crossed into Maryland from Lewes to warn the people of Somerset that a "large number of men were coming. . .to compel them to assent to independency."[1] Accompanying Ingram and Townsend were Boaz Manlove and Thomas Robinson.[2] Robinson, who up till this time had sat on the Sussex County committee of safety,

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[1] Barkley Townsend ought not to be confused with William Bartlett Townsend's eldest son; the son of a Thomas Townsend, he was in fact the founder of the town of Laurel in Little Creek Hundred, owning the tract of land on which it was established and which, coincidentally, had originally been surveyed in 1683 by Marmaduke Mister's direct ancestor and namesake. *AmArch,* ser. 5, vol. III, 99; "Barkley Townsend," Genealogical Surname File, HSD.

[2] Hancock, "William Adair's Diary," 156.

had now thrown in his lot with those who opposed Congress' June 7 motion for independence. Word of the four men's arrival in Maryland was spread principally by Isaac Costin who visited the homes of his neighbors. Costin, who was related by marriage to William Townsend of the Delaware branch of the family, had acted as Levin Townsend's lieutenant in 1775, and now he persuaded about two hundred men to assemble with him at Marumsco Dams, along the eastern boundary of Brinkley's District--one of the principal centers of disaffection in Somerset (See Map 6). It was later reported that on June 20, in the company of "several persons," he "damned the Whigs and Rebels," huzzaed the king with the rest who then swore they would "wash the shirtmen's shirts for them."[3]

The Whig leadership would not have been caught by surprise by this development. For up to a month before Richard Henry Lee moved for independence on June 7, there had been increasing tension on the lower Shore. Few could have been more familiar with this fact than the Whigs of Kent County, Delaware. When Congress ordered the exchange of Lt. George Ball, an officer of the British warship *Roebuck*, for Capt. William Budden of Philadelphia in May of that year, the "Dover Whigs" had been almost too afraid to release him. They had witnessed during the course of Lieutenant Ball's imprisonment the correspondence he had held "with Persons, who have discovered very little Zeal in Defence of American Liberty." They had seen how large his circle of acquaintance had become and heard him many times expressing "great Satisfaction on finding so many true Subjects to his Majesty" within that circle. He knew now how defenceless the province was; if allowed to return to his ship while it continued in the bay, it was feared that with no more than 150 well-armed men he would be able to "desolate" a great part of

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[3] *AmArch*, ser. 5, vol. III, 99.

"this seemingly Devoted County." Perhaps even more disturbing was the possibility that agitation for his exchange had arisen out of an "Inclination" among supposedly Whiggish Wilmingtonians "to Ingratiate themselves with the Commander of the *Roebuck*."[4]

Nevertheless, whatever the degree of loyalism had been revealed by episodes such as this, it was of a passive nature. Now Tories began taking active steps to acquaint the British in the Chesapeake of their sentiments. On June 10, several persons went aboard the *Roebuck* and informed Captain Hamond that "a great majority" in the lower counties of Delaware "had come to the resolution to take up arms in favor of Government." Two weeks later, another embassy composed of "three sensible men" went on board the *Liverpool* and told Captain Bellew that with a few Regulars to put them in order, they would march directly to Philadelphia with six or seven thousand men that could be raised in a week. It's possible that the three were Ingram, Townsend and Robinson and that they had earlier visited the *Roebuck*: such "ambassadors" who represented the state of their particular counties to British officers were most likely to have been community leaders. A man from Somerset County also went aboard the *Roebuck* and assured Hamond that nine out of ten in his county and those neighboring it in Maryland were similarly weary of the "Tyranny and Oppression of the times. . . ."[5] This was almost certainly Isaac Atkinson, for it was around this same time that he and his supporters were picked up by warships dispatched by Dunmore.

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[4] *JCC,* IV, 345-346; John Haslet to Caesar Rodney, May 13, 1776, Rodney Collection, box 6, folder 9, HSD.

[5] Hamond Naval Papers (#680), UVL.

As for raising volunteers from among the allegedly willing masses of Delmarvans, Hamond and Dunmore were more cautious. Hamond saw the necessity of their remaining quiet for the time being until there was more certainty of their numbers and they could be adequately supplied with ammunition. After the *Fowey* had picked up Governor Eden, Hamond dispatched it to Tangier Sound for the purpose of dealing out ammunition to several unidentified persons "appointed to receive it."[6]

Hamond understood that Congress had already taken steps to disarm the insurrectionists, but was doubtful of their ability to succeed. In fact, Congress had dispatched Col. John Haslet's battalion to put down the hundreds of rioters in Sussex County and the insurrection there had by this time been effectively suppressed.[7] It was the culmination of the first of five general riots that convulsed southern Delaware and the lower Shore between 1776 and 1780. A second insurrection took place in Worcester and Somerset Counties in February 1777; a third occurred a year later in the spring of 1778 in Sussex and Kent, with the largest so-called "Black Camp Rebellion" erupting in Sussex in 1780. As was hardly surprising, in Delaware the first two insurrections of 1776 and 1777 were accompanied by severe election violence at Lewes. During this same period, the Virginia Shore was almost completely quiet, which serves as yet another contrast between the various sections of the peninsula. The sole exception was a draft riot that occurred first in Northampton and then in Accomack in the spring of 1781.[8] It is interesting to note, however, that in western Virginia, an insurrection there in that same year was led by a

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Hancock, "William Adair's Diary," 156.

[8] Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia,* 152-153.

Delaware man named Joseph Claypole, who had emigrated from Sussex County some time between 1745 and 1753.[9]

Because widespread rioting first occurred in southern Delaware and because conservatives and outright loyalists held public office there, Sussex County was sometimes seen as the true source of corruption behind the insurrections which broke out in the rest of the peninsula. The Rev. Matthew Wilson even went so far as to advise the Board of War in 1778 to destroy the state.[10] Including these five general riots in Sussex and Kent counties, there were altogether at least 22 documented instances of violent opposition to Whig authorities on the Eastern Shore between 1775 and 1778 alone, ranging from actions involving several hundred individuals, to small-scale attacks on property belonging to prominent Whigs, down to robberies of arms and food from public stores.[11] These outbursts of violence surged and receded according to the movements of the British in the area and closely coincided with incidents of water-based crime to be described in Chapter V, although they differed considerably from the latter. For instance, unlike the roving watermen who raided waterside plantations on both shores and ventured considerable distances from their homes, insurrections usually took place within a particular neighborhood. Most of the rioters were small, impoverished planters who did not want to leave their farms and families for extended periods, which probably also explains the general unpopularity of militia duty. And while runaway slaves made up a considerable

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[9] "Notes and Queries," *VMHB* 25 (1917), 404.

[10] Ronald Hoffman, "The 'Disaffected' in the Revolutionary South," in Alfred F. Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb, Ill., 1976), 303.

[11] Keith Mason, "Localism, Evangelicalism, and Loyalism: The Sources of Discontent in the Revolutionary Chesapeake," *Journal of Southern History* 56 (1990), 24.

proportion of the crews aboard marauding vessels in the bay, they seldom took part in land riots. Although frequently encouraged to leave their Whig masters by rioters, they were encouraged to go off and join the British. After all, for a runaway slave staying in the immediate vicinity invited recapture. Joining the bay raiders got them out of the neighborhood and provided opportunities for revenge and profit. Moreover, such small scale piracy had a long history in the Chesapeake. Other slaves, however, were simply taken away during plundering expeditions: how many of these were later sold or simply kept by the individuals involved is impossible to estimate.

Land riots were not organized affairs; rather, they were spontaneous and convulsive in nature, virtually leaderless and although often of a very threatening nature, with armed individuals gathering menacingly in old farm fields and taverns, they were invariably bloodless. No one was ever killed in them, and besides a few rare instances of beatings and clubbings, few were even hurt. Unlike the lightning nighttime raids on riverside plantations by "picaroons," which left many a great house in ashes, almost no damage was done to the homes and property of prominent Whigs by land-based insurrectionists. Even the angry salt raids undertaken by poor Caroline, Dorchester and Talbot County farmers invariably ended in payment given for the seized article. Probably the greatest danger the Whigs faced in putting down such riots came from the British warships that incessantly hovered offshore.[12] Furthermore, since so little damage was done by insurrectionists, acts of violent retribution were virtually nonexistent. This was indeed one of the outstanding characteristics of the "violence" on the lower Shore. Nothing about it was comparable to the bloody civil war that broke out in the Carolina back country, or even the

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[12] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 48.

gang warfare that raged between "Skinners" and "Cowboys" in the fluid Neutral Zone in Westchester County, New York or between the "Patriots" and the "King's Bravos" in the Pine Barrens of New Jersey. Also, unlike these areas, the violence in Delmarva did not abate towards the end of the war but continued with undiminished vigor; indeed, nowhere else within the boundaries of the original thirteen colonies did the war last as long as in Delmarva, both on land and sea: the last land action involving *groups* occurred in Duck Creek, Delaware on March 17, 1783, and the final naval engagement of the war took place off Devil's Island, Somerset County three days later.[13] What makes these insurrections particularly difficult to describe is that initial reports about them were always received after rioting had already begun, and so it remains impossible to provide a detailed anatomy of their beginning, their gathering momentum and their final collapse.

There are, however, several striking similarities between these insurrections and the type of uprisings by "primitive rebels" that have been described by E.J. Hobsbawm. Like the strikes by Andalusian anarchists in the early twentieth century, Eastern Shore riots were spontaneous in nature; there were no demands issued, no petitions, and little if any attempt to spread the movement by means of propaganda. River transportation might be blocked and patriot militiamen guarding magazines temporarily surrounded by armed men, but there was never any killing. And there was certainly never any attempt to depose local Whig authorities. At most there were only individual efforts undertaken to *impede* the execution of official business.[14]

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[13] Howard H. Peckham, ed., *The Toll of Independence: Engagements & Battle Casualties of the American Revolution* (Chicago and London, 1974), 99, 128.

[14] See E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester, 1959), chap. 5, esp. 89-90.

Could these too have been manifestations of an "old-fashioned millenarianism"? Both the sudden gatherings at times when it seemed that the British were on the point of landing in the immediate area, and the equally sudden dispersals when it became clear that there would be no change in the war situation point to an almost *Field of Dreams* type of anticipation among the participants–"if we gather, they will come."

More concretely, these disaffected activities have been interpreted as examples of growing discontent with gentry control in a society which had traditionally been deferential, although this theory has recently begun to be challenged.[15] Even contemporaries were often uncertain about their cause and nature. Thomas Robinson was positive that the immediate catalyst for the 1776 insurrection had been a counter petition opposing independence which he had set on foot at the beginning of the month. While supporters of independence had procured the names of three hundred subscribers on their own petitions, Robinson claimed that his influence in the county was sufficiently great that 5,000 people had signed. Although the revolutionary leaders soon learned of its existence, the loyalists succeeded in keeping it from the eyes of the "Dover Whigs."[16] John Clark Esq., a wealthy farmer of Kent County, was charged with taking the petition to Congress, but on his way to Philadelphia he was seized, whipped and pilloried by a mob and the petition allegedly destroyed. Although accused by Dr. James Tilton of being "subservient to direction,"[17] Robinson maintained that upon hearing this, 1,500 rose up under his "direction and command." Ultimately, however, they were forced to disperse

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[15] Hoffman, *Spirit of Dissension,* 224; Mason, "Localism," 25.

[16] Thomas Rodney to Caesar Rodney, June 2, 1776, Rodney Collection, box 6, folder 9, HSD.

[17] Hancock, "Thomas Robinson," 15.

when Sir Andrew Hamond, probably still unsure about the number of insurgents involved, was unable to provide them with weapons and ammunition.[18] On the other hand, some did not believe it had been an actual Tory uprising--only the enraged reaction of local residents seeing "a Verry good man in that Neighbourhood" whipped and pilloried "for No reason upon earth" other than that he opposed independence. Isaac Bradley, however, was more inclined to see the root cause within the dynamics of the society itself and believed the first insurrections in Kent and Sussex had to do with settling "some Internal matters" which the inhabitants believed they had been "agrieved in."[19]

In fact, all three of these explanations are entirely compatible. There *was* a great deal of internal conflict in both Sussex and Kent, and the poor and uneducated folk there were very similar in temperament to the inhabitants of the western back country: lacking any veneer of gentility, they were used to venting their feelings without inhibition. Witnessing the punishment of a valued neighbor peaceably on his way to Philadelphia by hated rivals might well have infuriated individuals to the point of rioting. The anger thus generated probably pulsed with equal intensity in the hearts of neighbors and friends of those who were the first to take up arms, and in that way, the disturbance gathered momentum.

Those who participated in the insurrection certainly did so for a variety of reasons. Many, however, lived in the forest areas of Indian River and Cedar Creek, among them men who held land in the previously disputed area between Delaware and Maryland, where conflicts over ownership were most persistent. An ancestor of Peter Dolby of Nanticoke had been awarded a

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[18] Claim of Thomas Robinson, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 12/39, Ontario Archives.

[19] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 50-51.

patent from Lord Baltimore. Dolby along with ten others, most of whom were from Northwest Fork, had attacked the home of Joshua Polk, a prominent militia colonel. They stole Polk's firelock and six pounds of powder and left a three pound note as payment. The lands of John Laws, a justice of the peace in 1775 and one of the members of the Committee of Inspection who had supported Thomas Robinson, had originally been in Worcester County, Maryland. Zachariah Jones' land in Gumborough had formerly been in Maryland. John Wooten, a "planter," had been given a grant of land in what had been Worcester County but which in 1775 fell inside of Little Creek Hundred. William Ross and his son had originally believed they were residents of Dorchester County; so had Peter Rea, a school master in what was otherwise an educational wilderness.

Others owned adjacent tracts of land and joined the rioting in support of friends and neighbors. Pemberton Carlisle owned land on Herring Branch in Cedar Creek and was a neighbor of Thomas Carey who was joined by his two sons Edward and Nehemiah. Andrew Simpleor, a millwright, owned land in the Indian River forest next to Levin Walls' property. Joseph Cannon of Northwest Fork lived next to the school master Peter Rea.

Resentment toward Whig leaders also seems to have percolated to the surface. Joshua Polk, a member of a wealthy family who, with the sole exceptions of Joseph Polk Sr. and Jr., backed the Revolution, was attacked in his house by a group of six men. The most likely reason for this particular attack was the simple procurement of arms, of which there was a shortage throughout the peninsula. But without question, resentment against the Broadkill proprietor John Clowes figured prominently as a motivation. Not only had he been a focus of county agitation throughout the *Rex* v. *John Clowes Jr.* trial, he was also a prominent Whig leader.

Two of his neighbors, Thomas Pettyjohn and Thomas Evans, were involved in the rioting that summer. Evans, like Clowes, owned a mill and a tavern, and was therefore in competition with the large landowner. Evans was very poor, and to add to his difficulties he was obliged to take care of his brother- and sister-in law, both of whom were blind in one eye and lame from birth and could only get about by crawling on their hands and knees. Benjamin Mifflin had dined at his "Miserable Tavern" in 1764 when he had the opportunity to view Evans' saw and grist mills, which he obviously found to be no threat to Dagworthy's enterprise: "Wretched Performances," he noted scornfully in his journal.[20]

In all, forty-eight persons involved in the 1776 insurrection subsequently petitioned the Delaware Convention for pardon, and having duly submitted to authority, were "restored to the Favour of their Country," their arms returned to them and the militia officers among them permitted to resume their commands.[21] About one-third of the petitioners came from Cedar Creek and another ten percent from Broadkill. Seventeen percent came from Northwest Fork. Two of the subscribers--Peter Dolby and Luke Watson--were able to become justices of the peace less than a year later, in February 1777. Several joined military units, though whether they were somehow obligated to enlist, or did so for money is not known. Joseph Cannon enlisted as a private in Capt. John James' Company in the Whig Battalion in 1778.[22] Zadock Nutter enlisted in Samuel Patterson's Flying Camp and was with his company at Perth Amboy by September,

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[20] Mifflin, "Journal," 135.

[21] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 225-226.

[22] *DelArch,* III, 1084.

1776.[23] Thomas Millikin, originally of New Castle, was listed as a deserter from Col. David Hall's regiment in 1777.[24]

Several went on to misbehave. Painter Stokely of Indian River, who had at one time been a county coroner, was imprisoned four years later in Cumberland County, New Jersey as a refugee. The vessel he was in with seven others, among whom was William Dutton of Broadkill, a Black Camp rebel leader, had been driven ashore at Nantuxent Cove by Col. Charles Pope, a relative of Stokely's.[25] Robert Laws joined the Maryland Loyalist Battalion. Most, however, would not appear in future Courts of Oyer and Terminer.

As might be expected, the move to establish state governments and the subsequent severance of the colonies from the British empire weighed most heavily on those who owed their livelihood to the Crown. The burden was most keenly felt among crown officials and the erastian Anglican clergy, the King being the head of the Church of England to whom priests had to take an oath of allegiance at their ordination. Unlike the Presbyterians, the Anglican Church was an integral part of provincial administration in areas where it was established by law--the parish being the smallest unit of ecclesiastical and civil government--and everywhere the clergy depended heavily upon political patronage from colonial governors in order to advance their religion.

The method of inducting parsons differed among the three colonies. Particularly vulnerable were the ministers in Delaware, where the Anglican church was not established.

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[23] *Ibid.*, I, 73.

[24] *Ibid.*, III, 1249.

[25] *NJArch*, ser. 2, vol. V (1917), 19.

Parishioners requested that priests be sent and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would then dispatch one. However, parishioners managed in turn to exert a certain amount of control over the parson. It was often difficult for the ministers to secure adequate subscriptions from churchgoers and reliance had to be placed upon money provided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. As a result, these S.P.G. missionaries underwent pressure to cling to their only reliable source of income, which came from England. But in order to carry on with their work and to ensure the support and thus their income from churchgoers, it was also necessary for parsons not to alienate their congregations. This second circumstance accounts for the more Whiggish sympathies of priests in Pennsylvania, a trend mirrored in New Castle County, where support for the revolution was strongest. Patriotic ministers such as Aeneas Ross of New Castle tended to come from American-born families--in Ross' case, his brother George was a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Clergymen were not required in Delaware to take the state oath, making it a haven for nonjuring clergymen in surrounding areas. Nevertheless, the 1777 Treason Law made the customary prayers for the royal family a capital offence. It was not permissible under any circumstances for ministers to alter the liturgy at their own discretion,[26] and as the prayer for the royal family was part of the Bidding Prayer which introduced all church services, this law was difficult even for those in complete sympathy with the Whigs: even Aeneas Ross refused to say the state prayers, instead allowing itinerant Methodist ministers to give them from the pulpit before the sermon.[27]

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[26] Leonard W. Labaree, "The Nature of American Loyalism," American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings* 54 (1944), 27.

[27] Rightmyer, *Anglican Church in Delaware,* 171.

In southern Kent and in Sussex County, the disaffection of churchgoers produced the opposite effect, and encouraged loyalism among the clergy. In Mispillion mission in Kent County, Sydenham Thorne was proscribed for praying for the royal family, but managed to carry on through the rest of the war by employing a reader to recite the state prayers.[28] In keeping with lower Shore congeniality, Samuel Tingley in Sussex manufactured a suitably ambiguous prayer of his own after the Declaration of Independence which both Whig and Tory listeners could interpret according to their lights: instead of praying "O Lord save the King," Tingley said "O Lord save those, whom Thou hast made it our especial duty to pray for."[29] The minister later reported that in his mission, "a few families" excepted, all were loyal and so he managed to keep his churches open throughout the war. He claimed to be the most active clergyman in the region, travelling daily and covering as much as 3,000 miles each year.[30]

In Maryland, ecclesiastical control had been granted to the lord proprietor by royal charter. However, the salary to be paid to the clergy was determined by the provincial legislature and additional taxation for repairs of churches necessitated a petition from the vestries for an Act of Assembly. Maryland vestries accordingly wielded little authority over the ministers of the established church, and during the Revolution exerted little influence over their political stance.[31] But because their salaries were controlled by the Assembly, clergymen, particularly on the Western Shore, had nevertheless succeeded in establishing important connections with county

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[28] *Ibid.*, 67.

[29] *Ibid.*, 170.

[30] Perry, *Historical Collections,* IV, 135, 137.

[31] Burnaby, *Travels,* 84.

elites.[32] The great majority were natives of Great Britain; only a handful were native-born Americans. The latter, however, definitely tended to support the Revolution. Only three of the American clergymen became loyalists, two of whom lived on the Eastern Shore. The third, Henry Addison, was related by marriage to the family of Daniel Dulany and was a brother-in-law of the wealthy Whig Col. George Plater.

Nevertheless, the extent of loyalism among the Anglican clergy in general has often been exaggerated, by contemporaries as well as historians. Robert Goldsborough of Talbot County ascribed the large number of nonjurors on the Shore to the influence of "Romish priests"--a reference, not to Roman Catholic clergymen, but to Anglican ministers who had refused to take the Maryland oath of fidelity.[33] And yet, only half the ministers on the Shore were loyalists, with the majority being incumbents on the lower Shore where the salaries were higher--the other fifty percent supported the Revolution.[34] In Goldsborough's own county of Talbot, both rectors were Whigs. Nor did these figures differ very much from those west of the Chesapeake, where the ministers were also equally divided in their loyalties.[35] On the lower Shore, patterns of loyalism differed from one county to another: in Worcester, all three of the rectors were loyalists, but in equally disaffected Somerset two of the three incumbents were Whigs. Goldsborough's certainty that the Anglican clergy were central in preserving loyalty to the King is not borne out. Indeed, the war proved even more destructive to the church on the Western

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[32] Nelson W. Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore, 1956), 107, 110, 155.

[33] Tilghman, *History of Talbot County,* II, 86.

[34] Perry, *Historical Collections*, IV, 343-344.

[35] Figures based on Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church,* 119-120.

than on the Eastern Shore: by 1780, twelve of the Shore's twenty parishes had incumbents, while only eleven of the Western Shore's twenty-four parishes were filled.[36]

A particularly interesting case which occurred in Coventry Parish in Somerset County highlights the peril in interpreting prewar incidents as foreshadowing things to come, and in utilizing personality tests to determine political affiliations.[37] From 1766-1767, it became the focus of a heated duel between the governor and the vestry. The vestry had been attempting for some time to remove the incumbent, the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, described as an "abandoned character." Although the governor was sympathetic, the proprietor refused to remove Whitaker which resulted in the vestry's withholding the rector's stipend in an effort to force his resignation. Death alone removed the parson from his living, at which point John Ross was inducted. Ross had been officiating at All Hallows Parish in Worcester, where he was popular; however, in Coventry he found himself opposed by many of the parishioners because of his reputation of possessing a bad character. The vestry refused to receive Ross who afterwards returned to All Hallows where he later emerged as a stout loyalist during the war.

Governor Sharpe next inducted Philip Hughes, who unexpectedly found the doors of his church locked against him. A note directed to the governor by Hughes' opponents stated what they believed to be their rights and declared that they would, if necessary, meet "force with force." Hughes was mobbed by "Church Wardens in Arms. . .with Swamp Men and Shingle Makers and the rest of their Banditti," led by a principal vestryman. The rejected cleric sought

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[36] *Ibid.*

[37] N.E.H. Hull, Peter C. Hoffer and Steven L. Allen, "Choosing Sides: A Quantitative Study of the Personality Determinants of Loyalist and Revolutionary Political Affiliation in New York," *Journal of American History* 65 (1978), 344-366.

advice from Daniel Dulany, later to become one of Maryland's most distinguished loyalists, who gave his opinion that the governor's appointment of a minister did not need to be approved by the parish's vestry. The Council subsequently ordered the arrest of the justice of the peace who had led the opposition to the governor's appointments. Hughes, transferred first to Chesterton in Kent County and then to Dorchester, became a nonjuror during the war. A later writer described his Coventry Parish ordeal as anticipating the Spirit of Seventy-Six, and so it otherwise might appear: the proprietary governor joined forces by the conservative Daniel Dulany and the Council on behalf of a Tory clergyman against an individual boldly challenging the establishment. Except that the recalcitrant J.P. in question was William Allen Esq., a passive loyalist during the war and moreover a friend of William Bartlett Townsend whom he advised in 1775 to appear before the county committee to avoid prosecution.[38]

In Virginia, the power of the vestries was virtually unparalleled. By the 1660's they had taken on their classical form as closed, self-perpetuating bodies which taxed parishioners directly, without having to procure Acts of Assembly. In 1703, their right to present ministers was confirmed, the governor being empowered by the Bishop of London to actually induct priests into cures. Unworthy rectors could not be removed by the governor, however, nor could they be tried in an ecclesiastical court, since none were ever established in America. The vestries accordingly solidified their control over the rectors by appointing them *locum tenens*

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[38] Werline, *Problems of Church and State,* 88-93; John R. Wennersten, "Travail of a Tory Parson: Reverend Philip Hughes and Maryland Colonial Politics 1767-1777," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 44 (1975), 413-414; *MdArch* XII, 371. In 1778, Allen signed the oath of fidelity.

through the adoption of year-long contracts which could be renewed indefinitely.[39] Deprived perhaps for many years of any security of tenure, a parson's fortune depended almost entirely on the county elites, who overwhelmingly supported the Revolution. It is hardly surprising under such circumstances that in much of the state the Anglican clergy firmly adhered to the Whig side.[40]

In Accomack County, John Lyon, a New Englander who had been appointed to the Sussex County mission before his induction at St. George's parish in 1773, was able to stay out of trouble until 1781. On August 8 of that year, he was court-martialed on the charge of having aided and comforted the British, and furnishing them with provisions. He was also charged with having dissuaded the militia from taking up arms in defence of the state during that dangerous period. But the particular deed which brought about his prosecution was his boarding one of the British barges which the following night carried on a plundering raid at Pungoteague. It was conjectured that Lyon had been aware of the barge commander's plans. Found guilty of the charges, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.[41]

Whether Lyon was an actual loyalist remains doubtful, although George Corbin, who served as Judge Advocate at the court martial, considered the parson to be unfriendly to American independence. However, Lyon, while himself not a wealthy man, had nevertheless made an excellent match by having married shortly after his arrival on the Shore one Sarah Smith, daughter of a prominent county justice of the peace named John Smith. His sister-in-law,

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[39] Arthur P. Middleton, *Anglican Virginia: The Established Church of the Old Dominion* (Williamsburg, Va., 1954), 39.

[40] Van Tyne, *Loyalists in the American Revolution,* 112.

[41] *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* II, 306, 339-341.

Elizabeth, had soon afterwards married Peter Hack Jr., scion of another wealthy Shore family of German ancestry.[42] Lyon's personal connections with the Accomack County gentry may well have been central to his subsequent release. A group of five influential citizens of the county soon submitted a petition to the Governor pleading for the remission of his sentence. Among the five were James Arbuckle, who had run into considerable trouble with the county committee in 1775 and Edmund Custis, soon to be accused of trading with British subjects; George Parker, a cousin of Lyon's deceased father-in-law, and Levin Joynes, who had been surety for the marriage between Elizabeth Smith and Peter Hack Jr.

The five claimed that nine-tenths of the people in their county were Anglicans, and that a large majority wanted Lyon to continue to be their minister.[43] Interestingly, however, although an Anglican, Lyon was nevertheless a minority within the dominant Anglican planter culture; while the Shore, particularly Northampton County, had had a history of encouraging New England Nonconformist ministers to take up cures, Lyon was a convert from New England Puritanism. Perhaps for no other reason than this, he was suspected of being unfriendly to a cause which so many associated with Boston. In neighboring Northampton County, the Rev. Samuel McCroskey was held in such high esteem for his support of the Whigs that he was elected Chairman of the Northampton County Committee. Unlike Lyon, whose family depended upon his income as rector, McCroskey was a wealthy man and fit in well with his gentry

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[42] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, II, 1399; "Justices of the Peace," 83, 105-106, 110, 114, 121, 128; Nottingham, *Wills and Administrations,* 317; Stratton Nottingham, *Marriage License Bonds of Accomack County, Virginia 1774-1806* (Baltimore, 1978), 13; Schreiner-Yantis and Love, *1787 Census of Virginia: Accomack County,* 96.

[43] *Cal. Of Va. State Papers*, II, 340, 344-345.

parishioners, owning fifty-one slaves. Only four other planters in the county possessed more.

Holders of public office, including crown officials, also had to take an oath of allegiance to the king. But of the various crown officers on the lower Shore, only one was to throw his lot in with the Whigs--the Surveyor of Pocomoke, Levin Gale, member of an old and respected Shore family. The rest, mostly immigrants, all became loyalists, and except for Gale, all of them eventually left the Shore. J.P.'s also had to take an oath, however it was only in Delaware that any significant amount of disaffection could be found within their ranks. Elsewhere, the fact that they were drawn from the county gentry and in Virginia, at least, had come to enjoy what had virtually become an hereditary office, loyalism was rare. An unusual case, however, sprang up in Somerset. Thomas Handy Sr. was a substantial planter in Lawson's District, on the south shore of the Annamessex River. Member of a wealthy Presbyterian family that was as old and respected as the Gales, no less than ten close relatives served as Whig officers during the war. Yet in 1777, George Dashiell testified that Handy had said "he held himself bound in Allegiance to the King of Great Britain by means of the Oath he had taken as a justice of the peace under the former government."[44] Unfortunately, it remains unclear why he became one of only two members of the family to have been charged with treason.

Loyalist office-holders generally tended to keep a lower profile than their memorials would otherwise seem to indicate and their life under the rigors of "American Tyranny" was often less dramatic than related. Crown officials fared best of all in Delaware: there, affable and elderly Theodore Maurice, who had come to Pennsylvania in 1754, held a plurality of the "most considerable and lucrative" offices, including that of Prothonotary, Register of the Probate of

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[44] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

Wills, and Comptroller of the Customs.[45] In the years before the Revolution, the governor had frequently met committee members from the Assembly at Maurice's house in New Castle to consider amendments to bills and to execute their passage.[46] There could have been few places more congenial for such gatherings, since the "emoluments" of his various offices--those useful fees which made office-holding so attractive--enabled Maurice to maintain an expensive lifestyle, and as he himself later claimed, all the government leaders were his friends. Unlike office-holders in other colonies, never once was Maurice denounced as a "placeman." Though the Whigs discontinued the offices he held, perhaps remembering his former hospitality, they were far from wanting to "harry him out of the land" and even tried to persuade him to stay. He left Delaware in 1778, "determined," so he claimed, "not to remain there after the King's Government was overthrown"[47]-- though it had been overthrown fully two years before. Due to the overall moderation of the government, Joseph Galloway believed Maurice could have easily remained in the state "quietly without trimming." Maurice's claim was not embellished with tales of vigorous defences of the King's authority and hairbreadth escapes; witnesses could only testify that they "considered" him to be averse to the revolution. He himself frankly confessed the absence of any persecution, and ascribed the reason for his leaving the state to his not having had "any particular Services to boast of."[48]

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[45] Hugh Edward Egerton, ed., *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists 1783 to 1785. Being the Notes of Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, M.P., One of the Commissioners During that Period* (Oxford, 1915), 289.

[46] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 101, 193.

[47] Egerton, *Royal Commission,* 289.

[48] Claim of Theodore Maurice, *Loyalist Transcripts*, A.O. 12/39, Ontario Archives.

Elsewhere, relations between the crown officers and local elites were much less cordial. In Virginia, Walter Hatton, who had come to America in 1760 as the collector of customs for Virginia and Carolina, had settled and married into the wealthy Muir family of Accomack County. First commissioned a justice of the peace in 1771, he ran into trouble in 1776 when a letter to Nathanial Coffin in Boston was intercepted and printed in Purdie's *Gazette*. In it he complained about the "confused usurpation of power" and "damn'd committees"--observations deemed "disrespectful" of the "American cause." Examined by the Committee of Safety at his own request, the case against him was dropped when he issued a written recantation and promised not to make any more "prejudicial remarks."[49]

In Maryland, William Bacon had been appointed Collector of Pocomoke on November 3, 1774, when times were already uneasy.[50] Prior to that, he had apparently kept a coffee house in Ireland, though two of his brothers had had close connections with the Shore. An elder brother, Thomas, was a clergyman who had acquired a rectorate in Talbot County, and later achieved fame with the publication of his *Laws of Maryland.* Another brother, Anthony, was a merchant who had kept a "great store" on the Choptank River before moving to London.[51] He owned over a thousand acres in Worcester County, which William held in fee for him. The Collector first attracted the notice of General Smallwood in March 1777, when his involvement in the previous month's insurrection surfaced. Brought before the Council, he took the Oath of Allegiance and

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[49] "Justices of the Peace in Colonial Virginia," 106; *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. IV, 1470-1471; *Cal. Of Va. State Papers,* VIII, 95; H.J. Eckenrode, *The Revolution in Virginia* (Boston and New York, 1916), 115.

[50] Claim of William Bacon, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/60, Ontario Archives.

[51] Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia,* I, 296, 345-346.

was released.[52] Not until 1780, he later claimed, was he at last able to "Escape at the Risk of his Life in a small open Boat by Sea from Maryland to New York," although on May 27 the Council had given him permission to go there.[53]

Andrew Ragg, Comptroller of Customs at Pocomoke since 1766, lived in Transquaking Hundred in Dorchester County, where he kept five slaves. His brother claimed that Ragg managed to live quietly at home until 1780, paying the treble tax, "with the hopes of keeping alive the spirit of Loyalty which was very general in that district," but the Maryland Council granted him permission to go to New York with his daughter on March 31, 1779. It is not known why he chose to leave at this time, for he seems to have attracted little odium. On the voyage to Britain, Ragg fell overboard and was drowned, leaving his nine year old daughter an orphan.[54]

In the midst of the uneasiness generated by independence and the first incidence of armed rioting, the Shore's particularism surfaced on the political front. Even while the Maryland Convention was debating on the form of the Declaration of Rights, the first attempt was made by the Eastern Shore to gain recognition for its right to secede from the rest of the state. The Shore had enjoyed semi-autonomy since the 1660's, when a separate Land Office Register was appointed for the Shore; later, the Shore also had a separate Treasurer and the General Court alternated between it and the main Shore. In 1776, one of the Queen Anne's County delegates, Turbutt Wright, moved that a paragraph be inserted in the Declaration which would acknowledge

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[52] *MdArch* XVI, 179, 303.

[53] Claim of William Bacon, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/39, Ontario Archives; *MdArch* XLIII, 184.

[54] Claim of Andrew Ragg, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/62, Ontario Archives; *MdArch* XXI, 331.

the right of the Eastern or Western Shore to separate from the other according to the "interest and happiness" of the inhabitants. Amended by a Cecil County delegate, the Convention rejected the motion.[55]

On the face of it, the motion would appear to have been intimately connected with the disturbances which had broken out on the Shore over the summer in anticipation of Independence; however, this would be too simplistic an interpretation. All told, by 1851 there would be no fewer than five serious efforts made by Eastern Shore politicians to secede from the rest of Maryland and to unite with Delaware. Most of the early attempts, however, were not initiated by the lower Shore, but by the upper Shore, such as Queen Anne's and Cecil County, where loyalism had been much less in evidence, and these in turn were supported by several small Western Shore counties which resented Baltimore's growing wealth and influence in the state. In fact the most serious attempt, undertaken by Delegate Martin L. Wright of Dorchester County in 1833, was most strongly opposed by Somerset County delegate Isaac D. Jones. Though both came from the lower Shore, Wright was the descendant of a pro-Revolutionary Dorchester County family, while Jones was descended from an equally loyalist Somerset family, three ancestors having enlisted in the Maryland Loyalist Battalion.[56] It would seem that just as the family had opposed severing ties with the British empire during the Revolution, so in the nineteenth century it was hostile to a proposed division of Maryland. As the lower Shore began spearheading the later attempts to secede, it was clear that the major reason for doing so was

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[55] *AmArch,* ser. 5, vol. III, 143.

[56] Daniel Jones of Somerset, and Elijah and William Jones of Worcester. Caleb Jones, the Somerset County sheriff before the war, was a company commander in the same battalion. Meyer, "First Battalion of Maryland Loyalists," 202, 204, 206

rooted in antislavery and anti-Democrat sentiment: Thomas Holliday Hicks of Dorchester led the last attempt to separate in 1850, but becoming Governor at the outbreak of the Civil War, he struggled valiantly to keep the state within the Union.[57]

Turbutt Wright's motion is therefore only superficially related to the insurrection of 1776: as a wealthy slave-owner, Wright had more in common with the dominant planters of the Western Shore than with the "Swamp men" of Worcester and Somerset.

In Delaware and Maryland, reaction to the new frameworks of government passed by their respective Conventions was both swift and violent in the disaffected areas of the two states. The anniversary election of that year at Lewes was the most tumultuous in living memory; in a letter to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, Henry Fisher, who had been appointed by the Council to command the alarm post at Lewes, reported in full detail the violence that took place that day. The Whigs, he wrote, "convinced that further struggles were fruitless, determined for some time not to concern in the Election," with the result that between 500 and 600 "Tories" flocked into town early in the day. John Hill, a visiting Maryland physician, reported that at the courthouse a man named Clark called for men who were able and willing to serve the king, and removing his hat, said "God bless King George," after which several of those standing nearby did the same. This may have been the same individual whom Fisher reported to have had stood at the courthouse door with a "large Hickory Club," blocking entrance to all who did not "declare himself for the King." Dr. Hill heard many people that day walking in the streets "repeatedly avow their attachment to King George and Damn the Congress," including one Paul Simpler, an impoverished farmer of Indian River, who had had much of his property seized the previous year

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[57] Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia,* I, 467-477.

to pay off his debts and who had no fewer than three relatives participate in the 1776 and 1777 insurrections. Fisher himself was grabbed by the collar by a "Bully" who demanded an ax for cutting down the liberty pole. Finally procuring one, the pole was felled with huzzas for King George and General Howe and afterwards the top of it, where the "independent flag" had been hoisted, was carried through the streets in derision, after which it was purchased at a public sale for thirteen pence, which Fisher presumed was meant to represent hangmen's wages. Dr. Hill was so intimidated by the Tories that he was forced to take refuge in Fisher's house from eleven o'clock in the morning until nightfall. Confirming what the three "embassies" had asserted to British officers in June, Fisher predicted that if the British landed a thousand men anywhere within their reach, the local residents would "flock to them almost to a man."[58]

In Maryland, reaction to the new state constitution centered in Worcester and Somerset counties. The arrival in about the middle of January, 1777 of a captain of the Queen's Rangers is interesting in how it shows the way opposition could materialize when individuals arrived in the area and became foci of discontent. John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth did no actual duty in the Queen's Rangers, but had been attached to the regiment as a recruiting officer and as such had performed meritorious service in bringing in more men "than the Rangers had consisted of."[59] Taken prisoner and briefly confined in Baltimore, he had escaped along with two other men and sailed southward in a sloop to the lower Shore. No British warship was in the Chesapeake at the time, and the nearest in the entire area was the *Roebuck*, off Cape Henlopen. Smyth decided to

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[58] *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 1, vol. V, 54; Deposition of John Hill, October 21, 1776, H.F. Brown Collection, box 18, folder 11, HSD.

[59] Egerton, *Royal Commission,* 129.

try and reach the *Roebuck* by travelling overland from the Maryland Shore to Lewes--a distance of about eighty-five miles. Anchoring the sloop in the Nanticoke River, he hired an old man named Timmons[60] to take him by boat five miles up the Wicomico River, to a settlement where he "understood a great many friends to government resided."[61] Retracing his route, this could only have been Whitehaven Ferry. It will be remembered that Whitehaven was where Isaac Atkinson and his followers had lived, Atkinson himself having been a sergeant in the Whitehaven Company. Since the Atkinsons and the men who had volunteered with them were eventually amalgamated into the Queen's Rangers, it was undoubtedly from this source that Smyth had learned about it.

Whether it was the sight of his red coat, or simply the reported "greediness" with which strangers in the area were sought, Smyth's presence provoked instant ferment, and it became obvious that not all of the well-disposed residents of the settlement had gone off with the British in 1776. If Smyth can be believed, most of the people "were happy beyond expression " because of the confidence he had in them to assist them, and an offer was impetuously made to provide him with a guard of two hundred men. Every night, "respectable friends of government" came to

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[60] The exact identity of this person is unknown, since his residence was not identified by Smyth: was he the father of Michael and William Timmons, who were lieutenants of Joseph Wheland? Or was he a relative of John Timmons, who also served under Wheland and was found guilty of treason in 1781 and sentenced to be hanged? The only clue given to his possible identity was that one of his sons was a miller. Smyth simply states that in 1778, the route he and his party took to Sussex County was discovered, and this same Timmons was arrested, but afterwards released. John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America,* 2 vols. (London, 1784), II, 324.

[61] *Ibid.*, 318-321.

visit, including Job Ingram, Hugh Dean--a local Scottish merchant who became one of Smyth's two guides--and Caleb Jones, the high sheriff of Somerset County.[62]

Travelling with his two guides by night, Smyth reached Cape Henlopen on February 8, a week after the *Roebuck* had left the vicinity. Once again, he was visited by the "principal gentlemen" of the county, who came from "60 to 80 miles around." They included Thomas Robinson, Boaz Manlove and probably Joshua Hill, who had given up his seat in the Assembly the month before. The group stayed together for protection and were all well-armed. Soon they were joined by two others who wanted to take refuge with the British: Dr. Patrick Kennedy of Baltimore, later a captain in the Maryland Loyalist Battalion, and a future captain in the Loyal American Regiment--Simon Kollock of Sussex County, a cooper who had served his apprenticeship in Philadelphia.[63]

Although many men travelled great distances to help them and to furnish them with information, Smyth also reported that the whole "country" was infested with marauding parties. One night, they were awakened by the master of the house where they were staying and told that the house was surrounded by the enemy and "that they must be taken." It was a tense moment for the party as they saw numbers of men outside the house silhouetted in the moonlight.

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[62] *Ibid.*, 326-327.

[63] Col. Richardson to the Board of War, August 9, 1777 in Ryden, *Letters,* 210-212. Though his parentage is in doubt, Kollock was a member of a very old Huguenot family that had first settled in Lewes in 1689; from at least 1729, there had always been a Kollock serving in the General Assembly, the nearly 50-year long reign abruptly ending in 1771. Like so many other families in the region, the lineages were segmented. A cousin, also named Simon, was a leading Whig and a member of the legislature; two other staunch Whigs--Col. David Hall and Col. Henry Neill--were related to him by marriage. J. Bennett Hill, "The Simon Kollocks of Sussex in the Eighteenth Century," *Delaware History* 9 (1960), 52-55.

Raising their guns in preparation for self-defense, Boaz Manlove suddenly called out that he recognized his brother among those surrounding the house.[64] Smyth believed that the men had gathered in such great numbers sheerly by accident in order to deliver intelligence about the Americans, but it seems apparent that they had travelled in small groups under different leaders, one being Manlove's brother, since this seems to have been the prevailing pattern behind such assemblages.

Naturally, these kind of movements alarmed local Whigs; Hugh Dean, whose connection with Smyth was soon discovered, was attacked and shot through the thigh. It is interesting to wonder if Smyth had not been in the area at this time whether the great riot that was soon to erupt in Somerset and Worcester Counties would ever have occurred. But late in January, 1777, numbers of individuals otherwise hostile to various measures taken by the Whig authorities began to flock in support of more confirmed loyalists outside the town of Salisbury–after all, the presence of one red coat in the vicinity might well presage the future appearance of others. By the following month, up to 1,100 men had assembled and "blocked up" three hundred militiamen in the town.[65] Although Sir Andrew Hamond had preferred Shore loyalists to remain quiet for the time being, a British warship appears to have supplied the insurgents with the King's Standard and a drum.[66] One of the figures who may have wielded considerable influence in the

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[64] Smyth, *A Tour in the United States,* 336-337.

[65] Mason, *Region in Revolt,* 308; Harold B. Hancock, ed., "A Loyalist in Sussex County: The Adventures of J.F.D. Smith in 1777," *Delaware History* 16 (1974-75), 328-329.

[66] Smallwood to the President of the Senate, March 3, 1777 in Balch, *Maryland Papers,* 74.

insurrection was the former Pocomoke Collector, William Bacon, but it was Smyth who was contacted by courier on February 11 with a request to join the insurgents and lead them.

Although too numerous for the Whigs to attack, the insurgents' position was equally precarious: news of the siege had already reached the Council of Safety and Congress; compared to the well-armed Whigs, the undisciplined insurgents were without artillery, ammunition, tents, forage or provisions. The cold winter season was hardly the time to press on with an attack of this nature. Smyth turned down the proposal after consulting Robinson, Manlove and others who felt it was best to remain quiet until "a proper support should arrive."[67] Instead, he dispatched a messenger--one "Hoffington," who in reality was probably William Huffington of Broad Creek Hundred--with a letter hidden in the hollow of a stick addressed to leading men in the county urging *both* sides to disperse. Huffington was stopped half a dozen times during his mission and searched by suspicious militiamen, but the letter was never found. He succeeded in delivering it to those who had been designated and even managed to penetrate inside Salisbury to reconnoitre the Whigs' strength and disposition. By the 16th, he reported back to Smyth that both sides had dispersed, though whether this was the result of Smyth's circular letter or the Assembly's proclamation of the 13th is not clear.[68]

The severity of the 1777 insurrection and the apparent inability of the local Whigs to crush it provoked Congress into dispatching Continental troops under the command of Gen. William Smallwood. It also persuaded the Maryland legislature to initiate definitive steps to reduce the spirit of disaffection that prevailed on the lower Shore. These efforts were, however,

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[67] Smyth, *A Tour in the United States*, 331-332.

[68] *Ibid.*, 333-334.

hampered by divisions between radicals and moderates within the General Assembly as well as between the House and the Senate. Radical opinion was more pervasive in the lower chamber. Generally speaking, the radicals wanted to ensnare as many suspected persons as possible, including passive or "secret" loyalists. Individuals who reported on the hardships of soldiering or exaggerated New England's role in fomenting the revolution were to be stigmatized as Tories. Maximum penalties, including the death sentence, were to be exacted and a general test of allegiance administered.

Moderates, on the other hand, believed that dissent was either impossible to snuff out entirely or permissible when it was completely nonviolent. They were inclined to be more lenient toward passive loyalists, and succeeded in defeating an attempt to prohibit non-associators from holding office.[69] They also disliked the harsher penalties advocated for nonjurors. The law levying a treble tax on nonjurors was suspended twice in 1779, then collected only from absentees until November 1781, when it was again suspended.[70] And although the Congress recommended to the states on November 27, 1777 that the real and personal property of loyalists should be confiscated and sold, Maryland's cautious legislators managed to ward off any confiscation law until the end of 1779.[71] More radically-inclined bills

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[69] Richard A. Overfield, "The Loyalists of Maryland During the American Revolution" (PhD. diss., University of Maryland, 1968), 173-174.

[70] Van Tyne, *Loyalists in the American Revolution,* 323-324.

[71] *JCC,* IX, 971.

were often watered down in amendments passed by the more conservative state Senate, which worked consistently to reduce the penalties levelled against nonjurors.[72]

The Tory Act which was finally passed in 1777 was just such a compromise between conservatives and radicals. The Senate objected to a general test, and reflecting customary practice, only office-holders, lawyers and qualified voters were required to take the oath. The earlier Treason Act, passed by the Convention, was incorporated into the new law and so the death penalty continued to be the punishment for levying war, aiding, informing or adhering to the British, and counterfeiting.[73] On February 13, the General Assembly issued a proclamation exhorting the insurgents to disperse and deliver up their weapons within forty days and take the state oath of allegiance and fidelity. Fourteen individuals were exempted from pardon, including two militia officers--Angelo Atkinson and Jesse Gray--and two clergymen--John Odell Hart and Rev. John Bowie.[74]

If he can be believed, it was Smyth who wrote to the "leading men" among the loyalists urging them to disperse the insurgents around Salisbury. In case the Whigs were bent on destroying them, an auxiliary plan was in place in which the magazines and artillery at Lewes would be seized and the Sussex loyalists raised and embodied.[75] But according to General Smallwood's letters, the insurgency had already collapsed by the time he reached the area and the

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[72] Richard A. Overfield, "A Patriot Dilemma: The Treatment of Passive Loyalists and Neutrals in Revolutionary Maryland," *MHM* 68 (1973), 154.

[73] Overfield, "Loyalists of Maryland," 192-194.

[74] Balch, *Maryland Papers,* 68-69.

[75] Hancock, "Loyalists in Sussex County," 329.

situation required rounding up suspects and waiting for others to claim the benefit of the proclamation.[76]

While the Whig elites may have been at a loss to define the kind of power exerted by such local leading families as the Atkinsons and Townsends, they were clearly baffled by the influence of insurgents such as John Bennett and Stanton Adkins, both of whom had been captured and were held for examination. The Townsends and Atkinsons were, after all, obviously transitional figures, temporarily trapped in the limbo between the yeomanry and gentry, but Bennett and Atkins plainly belonged among the lower classes. It was men such as these whom Joseph Dashiell had reluctantly admitted possessed "Influence within their own peculiar Sphere." He was nevertheless exasperated with it. Both Bennett and Atkins had been called before the county committee for misbehavior--Bennett more than once, he explained querulously in a letter to Thomas Johnson. "Bennett in particular is an old offender and has always been very obstinate." Dashiell was irritated by their composure in the face of authority; their steadfast refusal to take the oath of fidelity. According to his own conception of the kinds of men who had attended the "Tory Camp," Bennett and Atkins both belonged to that special group of malefactors whose "wish and inclination was still to fall down and worship the golden Image of Royalty."[77] It's interesting that the Whigs of the peninsula seemed just as ready to cling to the King's authority as the Tories. Even when discussing the source of Congress' power, local Whigs rather simplistically subscribed to the view that it "ought to be esteemed as

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[76] Smallwood to the President of the Senate, March 3, 1777 in Balch, *Maryland Papers,* 74-75.

[77] Joseph Dashiell to Thomas Johnson, April 12, 1777 in Maryland State Papers (Red Books) S989, MSA.

King."[78] Perhaps it was because the obvious lack of deference to local leadership could more easily be accepted if a higher authority--rejected, perhaps, in the local "realm," but still accepted as a legitimate institution--continued to be tacitly recognized.

But individuals such as Bennett and Atkins must have been in the minority, for soon General Smallwood was reporting to Jenifer that many of the excepted persons were young men, and were "objects of pity, rather than resentment." They appeared to him to have been deluded by others "better educated, and whose offences have been more artfully concealed," and wondered if it might not "absolve and wash away the offences of the young fellows. . .should they enlist," which he believed they would "readily come into."[79] This was actually a course of action that was frequently resorted to in many of the states, including Maryland and Delaware, with respect to not only disaffected persons but also individuals who had committed crimes.[80] The insurgents, however, were rather tardy when it came to bringing in their arms and claiming "the benefit of the proclamation."

Local Whigs only tended to further undermine the effectiveness of the Act; in 1778, J.P.'s in Talbot County were removed for administering the oath after the deadline had passed, and that same year the General Assembly overturned the election in the county because the sheriff had allowed nonjurors to vote.[81] Although a subsequent act had been passed "to prevent and

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[78] Samuel McMasters to Dr. James Tilton, November 14, 1775 in *AmArch*, ser. 4, III, 1550-1551.

[79] Smallwood to the President of the Senate, March 3, 1777 in Balch, *Maryland Papers,* 76.

[80] An outstanding example of the latter was William Smoot of Charles County who advanced from being a convicted criminal to obtaining an ensigncy in the Maryland Line.

[81] Overfield, "Patriot Dilemma," 152.

suppress Insurrections," the fines levied were so small that they did not prove to be a deterrent. Other fines levied against delinquent militia men were not collected--sheer numbers alone might have caused county J.P.'s to realize the futility of issuing warrants for their collection, since an estimated seventy-five percent of the militia on the lower Shore were considered to be unreliable.[82]

In the end, Smallwood was not sanguine that the measures adopted by the Assembly would prove effective unless similar ones were enacted by Delaware. "Such is their (the insurgents') confidence in each other from their communication and vicinity," he wrote, "and from their particular situation and intercourse with the British Navy, that unless this intercourse, and the principle and spirit of disaffection can generally be removed, the purpose of any particular post will not be effected."[83]

But the boundary between Maryland and Delaware was not the only one freely crossed; the way was also open between Maryland and the Virginia Shore. The punishment of these persons, however, was problematic, since Virginia, although a leader in the revolutionary movement, was at first controlled by conservatives and was quite lenient to her disaffected. The disaffected may well have grown in time had not Dunmore's bellicosity driven the local county committees to punish them more severely. County courts often passed harsher sentences than the General Court at Williamsburg, which generally acted with strict attention to justice and usually preferred prisoners to be tried in their own counties. In May, 1776, the Convention had begun to stiffen penalties, passing on May 27 a test oath. Nonjurors could be punished by being

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[82] Overfield, "Loyalists of Maryland," 240-241

[83] Smallwood to President of the Senate, March 14, 1777 in Balch, *Maryland Papers*, 82, 85.

disarmed. Yet there was no effective law, for instance, for removing loyalists from office--an oversight particularly embarrassing on the Virginia Shore, where numerous loyalists were suspected of residing: Walter Hatton, for instance, continued to be a justice of the peace for Accomack down to the day he went aboard the *Preston.* Not until May, 1779 was a law adopted for seizing the moveable property of those adhering to the British.[84] Even during the growing disaffection in 1780-1781, the government acted with mildness, passing an Act of Indemnity by which persons who had taken an oath to the British or had encouraged enlistment in the British army were pardoned if they took the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth before March 1, 1781.[85]

In February 1777, five individuals were charged in the Northampton County Court of being inimical to the Commonwealth. Interestingly, two had had significant dealings with British firms and were indebted to them. Indebtedness to British firms has often been correlated with an individual's tendency to support the Whig side, but in this case it might simply have indicated a close relationship, especially since a good deal of indulgence was involved. Two of the accused escaped arrest--Edmund Johnson, who temporarily left the Shore, and Littleton Ward. In 1776, Ward had been indebted to the Scottish firm Muirhead and Hay, which had at one time included Samuel and Thomas Aitchison of Northampton County as partners. Both Aitchison brothers had refused to take the oath of allegiance; Samuel remained in the county after his brother's death in 1776, openly professing his views and continuing to collect debts due

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[84] Eckenrode, *Revolution in Virginia,* 114-118; 134; Van Tyne, *Loyalists in the American Revolution,* 330, 339.

[85] Eckenrode, *Revolution in Virginia,* 241-242.

to the firm throughout the war. He loaned Ward £50 currency after the latter was finally captured in April 1777 and imprisoned in Williamsburg without bail.[86] The others--Walter Hyslop, James Sanford and Dr. John Adam Risch--were sentenced to three months imprisonment in the county jail and fined £60. Hyslop, descendant of a seventeenth century indentured servant, had been so heavily indebted to the British firm of John Lawrence and Company in Norfolk that the company had granted him a release from the debt in 1773 because of his insolvency, after which he surrendered all his property to his creditors. In 1786, Sanford was the executor of an Edward Turner, also indebted to Muirhead and Hay and who had long been insolvent.[87] Dr. Risch, a native of Germany who had practised medicine in Virginia since 1761, escaped from the Shore after completing his term of imprisonment and joined the British.

Occasionally Maryland raiders crossed the state boundary to join up with offenders in Virginia. One of the largest of these raids occurred in March 1778, when ten men were charged with treason in the county court of Accomack, several of whom had crossed over the border from Maryland, including Benjamin and John Connaway, Obadiah Trehearn, John Tull, Jesse Johnson and William Bedworth of Somerset County. Pleading innocent, they were all found guilty. Johnson was arrested once again for treason in 1782, this time in Somerset County.[88] But for some reason, perhaps having to do with the lack of rivers running between the two states, such cross border incidents between Maryland and Virginia were relatively rare.

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[86] "Claims of Persons Residing in Accomack and Northampton," *Virginia Genealogist* 17 (1973), 259.

[87] *Ibid.*, 43, 127.

[88] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1782-1786, S 477-2, MSA.

General Smallwood's prediction about the dangers that lurked behind the contacts kept up between Maryland and Delaware insurgents proved to be far more incisive. Howe's invasion of the peninsula in 1777 inspired loyalists to stiffer resistance, and Delaware lagged behind both Virginia and Maryland in passing legislation to curtail disaffection. In late February 1777, an "Act to punish Treasons and disaffected Persons, and for the Security of the Government" was passed, but an enticing carrot was later dangled behind the stick.[89] On June 22, 1778--weeks after the British had evacuated Philadelphia--the Act of Free Pardon and Oblivion became law, and it was self-avowedly lenient. The preamble stated that the purpose of the law was not to punish but to pardon, and to mitigate rather than to increase the horrors of the war.[90] Forty-six persons only were exempted from pardon. Of these, thirteen had resided in Sussex: they included the county's most prominent loyalist politicians--Thomas Robinson, Joshua Hill and Boaz Manlove; six pilots, and two who had been involved in a counterfeit conspiracy but had escaped arrest. No one who had taken part in either the 1776 or 1777 riots was listed.[91] But even the exempted persons were offered a second chance: if they surrendered themselves by August 1 and took the oath and stood trial, their property would not be forfeited to the state.

In the spring of 1777, as the British presence began to build in the Delaware River in anticipation of a new offensive aimed against Philadelphia, reports from Maryland reached Congress warning of the "imminent Danger" of another insurrection breaking out in Somerset and Worcester Counties. Congress responded on April 19 by recommending to the legislatures

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[89] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 298.

[90] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 83.

[91] *Ibid.*, 127-129.

of both Maryland and Delaware that nonjurors be disarmed and all influential persons and "desperate Characters" removed to a remote part of their respective states.[92] But the Congressional recommendation was unable to avert a second major insurrection from breaking out--not in Maryland but in Sussex County, and which intensified until July. On July 3, Col. David Hall wrote a panicky letter to Congress outlining the kinds of activities which were being undertaken by a "considerable part" of the county's inhabitants. Many had given the British intelligence, kept up a constant correspondence with like-minded persons in Somerset and Worcester, volunteered as recruits and promised to lead British sailors to the homes of Whigs that they might be captured. [93] But by far the single most common activity, as in other places in close proximity to the British, was trade, particularly the sale of cattle to the warships offshore which was undertaken by dozens of individuals.

Although the British army received the bulk of their dry and salted provisions from the British Isles, as well as butter, cheese and bacon--fresh meat, vegetables and fruits could be realistically acquired only in America.[94] To the continual consternation of the Americans, the British proved to be excellent customers. Not only did they pay in sterling, they also provided at lower prices goods such as sugar, salt, molasses, tea and coffee which had been expensive in places such as Lewes even before the war and had increased still more in price due to wartime shortages. Besides which, local inhabitants faced almost no risk. In one of the few documented

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[92] *DelArch,* III, 1279.

[93] *Secret Journals of the Acts and Proceedings of Congress,* 4 vols. (1821; reprint, N.Y., 1967), I, 53-55.

[94] Edward E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., 1926), chap. 4, esp. 81-82, 88-91,113-115.

eye-witness accounts of a commercial exchange on the Kent-Sussex border, locals would take provisions, livestock and poultry by boat, by foot or by cart at night to prearranged meeting places on opposite sides of a river. Such places were usually located near marshes to which individuals could quickly retreat in case of trouble. Ships' boats sent out from the British fleet would meet them on both shores, take aboard the provisions and row out once again into the bay. So safe did the people feel in these activities that even prominent individuals were unafraid to accompany them. In this case, Elijah Laws, both of whose relatives sitting on the Sussex county committee of inspections had defended Thomas Robinson in 1775, was seen talking easily to the British officers in the boats. It was a sea change from what the situation had been two years before. Relations between Delawareans and the British had become so cozy that parties of both fished and hunted openly along the shore. Caesar Rodney, who was dispatched to round up offenders, had his work cut out for him; most of the militia officers in the county had already resigned, and no sooner would twenty or thirty be arrested when as many others took their place. The sheer numbers and "insolence" of the offenders made their effective prosecution impossible.[95]

Amidst the growing turmoil came the discovery of a ring suspected of circulating counterfeit money--the largest ever uncovered in Delmarva. The British deliberately adopted a strategy for injecting quantities of counterfeit notes into the American economy in order to create a crippling inflation. A full six months before Independence was declared, they had begun producing counterfeit currency aboard one of the warships in New York Harbor. In April 1777, advertisements for its sale at the price of the paper alone appeared in Gaine's *Gazette.* Persons

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[95] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware*, 64, 68; *Secret Journals,* I, 54.

venturing into other colonies were encouraged to buy and disseminate it, and were assured that they would be able to evade detection.[96] This was probably the source of the counterfeit bills that made their way into Delmarva several months later.

Chief among the suspects, although a rather unlikely one, was a Quaker merchant of Philadelphia named Thomas Lightfoot. Lightfoot was of sufficient stature within the Society of Friends to be appointed a member of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings: established in 1756 to deal with issues arising during the Seven Years' War which threatened the Friends' peace testimony, the Meeting was unquestionably the most important of the several permanent bodies composing the city's Yearly Meeting and its members tended to be conservative interpreters of the Society's Book of Discipline. When the first serious reactions to British imperial policies arose during the Stamp Act affair, Lightfoot's sympathies had initially been with city merchants anxious to obtain its repeal, and he had been among eighty Quakers to sign a non-importation agreement six days after the Act went into effect.[97] It was probably a reflection of the Meeting's conservatism that Lightfoot took little or no part in further opposing British colonial legislation.

Lightfoot's connection with Sussex County began soon after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, when together with his brother William he formed a partnership with another Philadelphia merchant named Abraham Mitchell and Walter and Samuel Franklin of New York. In a joint venture, the five business partners established Pine Grove Furnace at Deep Creek in Nanticoke Hundred. Although a relatively small operation, the furnace competed with larger

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[96] Brown, *The Good Americans,* 89.

[97] Arthur J. Mekeel, *The Quakers in the American Revolution* (s.l., 1996), 5, 22-23, 33n.

enterprises established in northern Maryland on the Western Shore, and another operation that had been established in the Wicomico section of Somerset which was owned by a more Whiggish group that included an associate of John Dagworthy and the disowned Quaker Christopher Marshall of Philadelphia–soon to become a leading radical and a member of that city's committee of safety.[98] Pine Grove smelted bog iron, a type of iron deposit which was found chiefly in swampy areas. First dug up with pick axes, the iron was then carried through the forest by ox cart and barge to the furnace.[99] In order to procure quantities of iron and stretches of forest to provide the charcoal needed for fuelling the furnace, members of the partnership took out warrants for land throughout southern Delaware and Dorchester, Somerset and Worcester Counties until by 1770, their joint holdings totalled nearly twenty tracts consisting of several thousand acres, and were even more considerable owners of forest land than John Clowes and his two partners.[100]

With the occupation of New York in 1776, the Franklin brothers remained in the city. Like Lightfoot, Walter Franklin was a member of the Meeting for Sufferings in New York City; one of the founders of that city's Chamber of Commerce, he too had initially taken an active role in opposing British policies, having been a member of the Committee of Inspection to enforce the non-importation agreement of 1769. Shortly after Lexington and Concord, he served on the

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[98] Dryden, *Land Records of Wicomico County,* 291.

[99] Dennis, *Great Cypress Swamps,* 15.

[100] Sussex County Land Records, DPA; Wright, *Sussex County Land Records,* 11-12; Dryden, *Land Records of Worcester County,* 458; Dryden, *Land Records of Wicomico County,* 298, 301.

Committee of One Hundred and was elected a delegate to the Provincial Congress.[101] The Meeting for Sufferings soon made Franklin see the error of his ways, however, and after only a week he ceased attending the Congress: if the allegations can be believed, the British occupation of the city the following year succeeded in producing an even more dramatic transformation in his character.

According to Col. William Richardson, who first reported the scheme to the Board of War in August 1777, Franklin dispatched his agent, Thomas Cockayne--a Quaker from Talbot who had since moved to Sussex County--from New York back to Delaware with a letter for Thomas Lightfoot and £70,000 in counterfeit $30 bills. The letter and bills were actually delivered to Lightfoot by Simon Kollock Jr., who had escaped with J.F.D. Smyth to New York aboard the *Preston.* Kollock the cooper was by this time probably already in the British service, for in 1782 he was listed as having served in the provincial corps for eight years.[102] With the counterfeit currency, cattle were purchased for the British by Kollock. At least two others assisted him--the former Sussex County high sheriff, Dorman Lofland, and Collins Truitt, who operated principally in Worcester County. On August 17, President McKinly ordered Caesar Rodney to go to Sussex and arrest Cockayne, Lightfoot and a George Walton of Cedar Creek. Dorman Lofland and Truitt were also arrested. It is difficult to believe that two former members of the Meeting for Sufferings could have been involved in these activities. All, however, were subsequently found not guilty of uttering counterfeit money and released.[103]

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[101] Carl Lotus Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York 1760-1776* (1909; reprint Madison, Wisc., 1960), 60-61, 75n, 198n, 206n, 215.

[102] George H. Hayward, *Loyalist Officers 1782/1783* (Fredericton, NB, 1993), 1.

[103] Unpublished Revolutionary War Material, RG 1800, reel 3, DPA.

No sooner had Hall written Congress, warning them that if the English fleet appeared off the Delaware coast, a general insurrection would follow in Sussex "in favour of the British king," when Howe's invasion fleet suddenly and inauspiciously appeared in the river. The beginning of a successful counter-revolution appeared to be near at hand. Thomas Robinson, who was with the fleet, hoped that Howe would adopt his plan for landing five hundred British soldiers in Sussex and march northward, sanguine in the belief that 6,000 recruits could be gleaned from the countryside.[104] But Howe had decided that the Americans were aware of his plans to capture Philadelphia and that the best bet was to make a landing at Head of Elk. Captain Hamond was astounded when the signal was given to make for the Virginia Capes--not only did he oppose the change in plans because of the delay in time and the increased distances to cross: he had found no pilots acquainted with the northern section of Chesapeake Bay which was bound to increase the hazard of the expedition.[105]

As with the case in Maryland earlier that year, Congress was satisfied that Delaware officials were alone incapable of quelling the insurrection, and once again dispatched Continental troops to quash it. The threat of widespread violence had nevertheless begun to fizzle as soon as Howe sailed south again, having chosen the Chesapeake as the theatre of operations.

With the British fleet now in the Chesapeake, it was the Marylanders' turn to riot. Completely undeterred by the crackdown of the previous February and Congress' April recommendation, plans began to be laid in early September in Worcester for capturing the store of arms at Snow Hill. As news spread among neighbors in the area, a Tory camp began to

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[104] Hancock, *Loyalists in Revolutionary Delaware*, 64-66, 69-70.

[105] Hamond Naval Papers (#680), UVL.

assemble in forested Colbourne's District. The ringleaders included the "old offender" Benjamin Shockley; a small planter in the district named Thomas Cottingham, whose cousin Samuel Dryden had been captured in the February insurrection, and elder members of the large and locally esteemed Parker family. No less than seven Parkers were implicated in disaffected activities throughout the war. Among the first to come under suspicion had been Samuel Parker, an early associator under Benjamin Shockley.

Charles Parker, who owned lands adjacent to William Bartlett Townsend in Colbourne's District, proposed that fifty men should undertake the coup; those who were militiamen should muster as usual, receive their arms and then join up with the others who would be lying in wait on the outskirts of the town. They would then attack Snow Hill. The plan was vetoed by Schoolfield Parker, a neighbor of Cottingham's and related by marriage to the Captain Schoolfield who had exercised his militia company back in 1775 in preparation to support William Bartlett Townsend. Parker thought an attack carried out at once would be attended by "Bad Consequences," and advised postponement. They could soon join forces with the growing number of insurgents in the Annamessex region of Somerset County, and since British Regulars had already landed on the upper Shore, they could expect to receive aid in the form of reinforcements and arms.[106]

But British troops did not come, and the size of the Tory camp in Somerset turned out to be disappointingly small. Reports about the camps eventually reached the ears of the authorities, who were able to forcibly break them up. Forty-eight persons were arrested, including Shockley and Cottingham, and jailed at Cambridge in Dorchester County, where many remained

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[106] Mason, *Region in Revolt,* 325-326.

throughout the winter of 1777-1778 until they signed the oath of fidelity on March 1, 1778. In the meantime, several managed to escape and join those who had successfully eluded capture.

While a general insurrection was narrowly avoided in Maryland, sporadic incidents continued to plague the Whigs. With the capture of Philadelphia appearing to be imminent, the possibility of an insurrection on the Virginia Shore was thought to be great enough that on September 5, 1777 the Governor advised that all persons "justly suspected" of being dangerous to the security of the well-affected be removed from the Shore to an interior part of the state. Nine substantial Shore residents were apprehended as a result of the governor's order among whom was Edward Ker of Accomack, suspected of being unfriendly to American independence since 1776 and, like Hatton, a justice of the peace. Ker was indebted to Muirhead and Hay as well as to John Bland of London.[107] Arrested with Ker was Littleton Ward, who had been put into custody in 1776 after being declared an enemy of the Commonwealth, and now was a prisoner once again, this time along with his relative William; John Major--a relative of Severn Major who joined the British that same year; William Parker, possibly the father of Robert Parker of Watt's Island whose house was a rendezvous for picaroons throughout the war; and Argol Kellam, a close relative of Custis Kellam, who had verbally criticized the Bostonians and was soon to receive a British naval protection for trading with occupied Philadelphia. The basis for their arrest had been their failure to take the oath of fidelity, which the nine claimed had never been offered to them--somewhat difficult to believe in the case of a justice of the peace like Ker. Given the large numbers of nonjurors allowed to vote in subsequent elections, it would seem that

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[107] *Ibid.*, 42, 123.

there was as much laxity in administering the oath as there was in taking it. As usual, the Council was lenient; after the nine "freely" took the oath, they were ordered discharged.[108]

Suspicion of Ker nevertheless continued to grow. In January 1778, Col. Southy Simpson addressed a letter to the Council complaining that he was a "person unfriendly to America." A hearing was at last ordered for determining the validity of the complaint and by March numbers of depositions supporting Simpson's allegations had been submitted. Although Ker had been given due notice, he neither appeared before the Council nor sent any depositions in his defence. Because of the weight of evidence against him, Ker was judged to be disaffected to the Commonwealth and his name was dropped from the commission of the peace."[109]

In Delaware the same kind of violence that had plagued the 1776 election resurfaced in 1777. Isaac Bradley, who had expanded upon the possible causes of the 1776 insurrection, perhaps had "internal matters" of his own to settle when he joined with a group of rowdies in beating Henry Fisher over the head with their fists and clubs. The attack was broken up by some militiamen who were enraged to see Fisher being beaten; one of them fired a gun at Bradley which made the whole mob flee in disorder, some of them jumping out of the court house windows in order to escape.[110]

Experiencing one failure after another and repeatedly ignored by the British, Delmarvan loyalists seem not to have been overly dismayed. The British occupation of Philadelphia presented them with the first real opportunity of demonstrating their loyalty, and in the fall of

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[108] *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia,* 5 vols. (Richmond, Va., 1931-1982), II, 7.

[109] *Ibid.*, 67, 101.

[110] William Peery to Caesar Rodney, October 3, 1777 in Ryden, *Letters,* 238-240.

1777, the first known recruitments took place for the First Maryland Loyalist Battalion. Under the command of Lt. Col. James Chalmers, the battalion was composed of ten companies. At first, none of the officers seems to have come from the Shore; however, the number of captains eventually became equally divided between the Eastern and Western Shore. Of the five Eastern Shore captains, three came from Somerset and one from Worcester.[111]

The recruits were almost all native-born Americans, although one Zachariah Bayly, who became a sergeant in Caleb Jones' company, seems to have been a native of Somerset County in England where he had been living as late as 1763, at which time he came into some property in Wicomico.[112] Some travelled long distances to join the corps. Among the privates of Caleb Jones' company was a Benjamin Driggers, undoubtedly a descendant of the free black family originally from Northampton. The Charnock family, landless tenants of Accomack, similarly made their way to Philadelphia.

The battalion suffered from a dearth of military experience and was never held in very high esteem by the British, although a number of old troublemakers were given command of companies. Capt. Levin Townsend had, of course, been one of the earliest volunteers to go to Dunmore at Norfolk, while Capt. Isaac Costin, who had gone with Townsend as a "lieutenant," at this time obtained command of a company. Having long since earned his reputation as a busy recruiter, Costin distinguished himself by being the only captain in the battalion to personally

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[111] His. MSS. Comm., *Report on American Manuscripts*, I, 143, 11, 159.

[112] James A. McAllister, *Abstracts From the Land Records of Dorchester County, Maryland, vol. F: 1763-1767* (Silver Spring, Md., 1964), 8-9; Dryden, *Land Records of Wicomico*, 317.

enlist every man serving in his company.[113] Capt. Caleb Jones had been the Somerset County sheriff when the war began. Owning no real estate, he had come into the possession of a considerable personal estate, including slaves, through his marriage in January 1775 to Betty Wheatley, the daughter of Col. Sampson Wheatley who held substantial swamp property in Brinkley's District. Arrested in 1776, the Council of Safety set Jones at liberty upon his giving a £200 bond. Jones, however, fled to Dunmore's fleet and accompanied it aboard the frigate *Brune* when it departed for New York. He later went to Philadelphia with the British, where he was commissioned a captain in the battalion and given the responsibility of keeping the regimental orderly book. Capt. John Sterling, also of Brinkley's District, was reputedly a deserter from the Continental Line, and had only "trifling" property in Somerset. His father had acquired warrants for two tracts of land totalling forty-seven acres; upon his death in 1779, the bulk of the land went to John's eldest brother, Travers. Both Travers and the middle son, Ephraim, supported the patriots; John, however, was a loyalist and became a busy recruiter at the time of the British occupation of Philadelphia. He succeeded in persuading his cousin, Isaac Sterling of Northampton County, to join the effort and the latter recruited sixty men from the Virginia Shore.[114] They in turn were aided by Thomas Parker, three of whose relatives had participated in the September 1777 insurrection in Worcester and who later enrolled as a private in Costin's company. In March 1778, Sterling and five others, including Isaac Costin and an in-law of Caleb Jones, invaded the home of militia captain David Wilson on the pretext of searching for

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[113] British Military and Naval Records (RG 8 D18), Muster Rolls, Maryland Loyalists, vol. 1904, reel C-4223, NAC.

[114] Mason, *Region in Revolt,* 338-339.

deserters. In the melee, Wilson was shot by Sterling. Afterwards, the six along with a group of recruits scoured from the county stole several boats and escaped to the British. Tried in absentia by the General Court of the Eastern Shore, Sterling and the other recruiters were outlawed.[115]

At its peak, the battalion numbered 336 recruits. Over the winter of 1777-1778, numbers of men from the Shore of Maryland and Virginia, as well as Delaware, made their way to Philadelphia in order to enlist in it, but the number of volunteers fell far short of the 10,000 Joseph Galloway estimated would flock to the King's Standard.[116] It has been contended that many of the battalion's recruits came from Sussex County. This has not been verified by an examination of the volunteers' surnames, although the battalion included several deserters from the Delaware Regiment such as Thomas Kirkwood (1776), John Shaddock (February 1778), Pritchard Hilford (1777), Nathan Thornton (April 1778), James Kelly (1777), Bartholomew Adams of Sussex County (1778), and Eli Macklin of Worcester County (April 1778). Although the commonness of surnames makes absolute identification impossible, it was possible to identify as many as eighty-six volunteers who came from Worcester and Somerset counties alone.

The battalion was plagued by an especially heavy desertion rate--nearly half of the recruits who joined left after only a few months' service. Following Philadelphia's evacuation, the battalion formed the advance guard on the march to New York. Then in October 1778, the

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[115] Wilson, *Crisfield,* 388, 391-392, 395; Sylvia S. Bradley, "The Loyalists of Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1775-1783" (M.A. diss., University of Delaware, 1973), 54-56; General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

[116] M. Christopher New, *Maryland Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Centreville, Md., 1996), 46.

corps was shipped off to Jamaica. Three months later it was landed at Pensacola, the capital of West Florida which at the time included much of what would become southern Alabama and southern Mississippi. Immediately upon landing in Florida, the ranks of the battalion began to be whittled away by small pox, the worst hit being the Eastern Shore recruits commanded by Isaac Costin and Caleb Jones.[117] It may be that the isolation of the lower Shore left these volunteers more susceptible to the disease. It was during this period that the majority of the eighty-four deaths which the battalion sustained in its six-year existence occurred. In May 1781, after a five-week siege, the defending troops were captured by the Spanish. The loss of Pensacola was an important strategic defeat for the British: in 1775, Lord Dartmouth had designated West Florida as a loyalist asylum--its return to Spanish control effectively prevented it from becoming a post-war loyalist refuge.[118]

The Maryland Loyalist Battalion, of course, was not the only military unit to which loyal Delmarvans could resort. Beginning in 1775, loyalists who joined Lord Dunmore formed the beginnings of the Queen's Own Loyal Virginia Regiment. This unit was short-lived, however, and in New York the recruits, which included the Atkinsons, became part of the most prestigious of all the provincial corps--the Queen's Rangers.[119] Among its officers was one Alexander Wickham, who was probably recruiting for the British on the Eastern Shore as early as 1775. Though said to have been a native-born Virginian, Wickham may have come from Long Island. He was first brought to the Whigs' attention early in 1776 while in Talbot County: there,

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[117] *Ibid.*, 83-84.

[118] Brown, *The Good Americans,* 213; Calhoon, *Loyalists and Community,* 145.

[119] Robert S. Allen, *The Loyal Americans* (Ottawa, 1983), 12.

Samuel Sharpe, who had been Isaac Atkinson's friend and surety, lodged a complaint against him for being "inimical" to American liberty and probably on his way to join Dunmore. Wickham was consequently arrested and imprisoned in the county jail. While there, he complained to the Council of Safety for the Eastern Shore about his long confinement. He was afterwards sent to Annapolis for trial before the provincial Convention but was ordered discharged on May 13 as being "a person too insignificant and contemptible for further notice. . . ." In November of that year, Wickham obtained the rank of lieutenant in the regiment, and the following month was given command of the unit's Huzzar troops. He led this unit during the corps' most active period, from December 1776 to June 1781, at which time he resigned his commission.[120]

Another New York unit which contained Delmarvans was the Loyal American Regiment under the command of Col. Beverley Robinson, a distant relative of Thomas Robinson of Delaware. Simon Kollock, the cooper who had engaged in a counterfeit scheme, became a captain in the regiment, and his two sons, Joseph and Jacob, served as volunteers.[121]

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While on the one hand, Whigs were greatly concerned by the proclivity of lower Shore residents to openly identify themselves as Tories, engage in riots, trade with the British and volunteer in loyalist battalions, by the time of the British offensive against Philadelphia in 1777 Whig leaders had also become concerned with the pacifism that accompanied the rapid growth of Methodism on the lower peninsula. During George Whitefield's visit to the area in 1741,

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[120] Tilghman, *History of Talbot County,* II, 80-81; *MdArch* XI, 220, 225; C.J. Ingles, *The Queen's Rangers in the Revolutionary War* (s.l., 1956), 109-110, 226, 276.

[121] Hayward, *Loyalist Officers,* 1; Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, NB, 1955), 299.

there had been some religious enthusiasm, but it had rapidly subsided and was nothing in comparison to the innumerable "meltings" and "shakings" that residents of the lower Shore experienced from 1777 onward. Hostility to Methodism on the part of Anglicans sprang from its schismatic nature: although at this time merely a reform "society" within the Church of England, the Methodists nevertheless challenged the established church in terms of forms and to whom it appealed. The Presbyterians in the area, who were predominantly Old Side, were similarly antagonistic towards the new sect. Resentment against Methodism was further connected with the founder, John Wesley, perceived by many colonists to be a Tory. A prodigious pamphlet-writer, Wesley had published one in 1775 entitled *Calm Address to the American Colonies* in which he referred to the colonial contention for liberty ("that threadbare word") as a "vain, empty profession," and advised subordination to Parliament. Since the first American Methodist Conference in 1773 had declared Wesley's authority to extend over all preachers and people in America, as well as Great Britain and Ireland, it is not surprising that the movement was initially viewed with suspicion by revolutionaries.[122]

How much residents of the Shore knew about the political convictions of Methodism's founder is questionable, since the remarkable ignorance of peninsula inhabitants concerning religious matters seldom failed to impress the preachers, ministers and missionaries of virtually every faith who visited the area. Francis Asbury, who had been dispatched to the colonies by Wesley in 1771 and developed the circuit system, considered the "wilds and swamps of Delaware" to be virtually unparalleled in the "ignorance of God and religion" that he had

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[122] "The Early Methodists and the American Revolution," *Historical Magazine* X (1866), 361-362.

witnessed there.[123] The local people, unused to preaching, came out to listen out of curiosity. Though able to "fix their attention," Asbury described them as being "ignorant and wild"-- "unseemly stones" of which he nevertheless hoped to "raise up children unto Abraham."[124]

Freeborn Garrettson, who was the other leading itinerant on the lower Shore, had much the same experience. It occurred to him during his 1778 circuit in Somerset and Sussex that he may have been nothing more than an interesting diversion for the bored inhabitants "for they were a people who had neither the form nor power of godliness."[125] Lost one day in the Cypress Swamp, he was received into the house of a man who may well have participated in the recent insurrection. His host was kind but unusually curious, staring at the itinerant for a prolonged period before finally asking, "What are you, or who are you? for I am sure I never saw such a man as you appear to be." A passerby Garrettson later met was earnestly asked by the preacher whether he was acquainted with Jesus Christ. "Sir," the passerby answered with equal sincerity. "I know not where the man lives."[126]

Anglican missionaries had often noted how impressionable the people were and how quickly they adopted the mores of any itinerant who came among them; at "Muskmelon"[127] Garrettson preached to some of his converts where a Nicholite had recently preceded him, sowing tares; though "Many people came together," some refused to sing, others sat during both

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[123] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 58.

[124] Elmer T. Clark, ed., *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury,* 3 vols. (London and Nashville, 1958), I, 276-278.

[125] Nathan Bangs, *The Life of Freeborn Garrettson* (s.l., 1800), 80.

[126] *Ibid.*, 86-88.

[127] The Mispillion River between Sussex and Kent Counties.

times of singing and prayer, and a few had taken the borders off their hats, but most, he wrote, "would scarcely hear me, because I wore a black coat."[128]

Like the society's founder, the Methodist preachers tended to be conservative by nature, approved of conventional mores and sought a general reformation of manners. Garrettson frowned upon the style of life pursued by many of the people on the lower Shore, who "preferred fishing and hunting to cultivating the land." Evidence of the inhabitants' idleness, ignorance and unhappiness could be seen in their land and houses which, "with but few exceptions, were poor."[129] Francis Asbury was even critical of the form of Quaker worship and at a meeting he attended was amazed to see "many sensible men sit to hear two or three old women talk."[130]

In their drive to "bring poor wandering souls to the fold of Christ," the two itinerants cut a wide swath through the lower peninsula. Often travelling twenty or thirty miles a day in all weathers, racked by malaria, preaching several times daily to congregations, teaching classes as well as performing the regular offices of their profession, they were suspected of Toryism and often forced to endure the hostility of county magistrates and mobs. It is no wonder that they experienced wild shifts of mood, from ecstasy to dismay almost to the point of despondency. An early Methodist who had accompanied Garrettson was Martin Rodda, probably from either Wales or western England, who had first come to the colonies as a missionary in 1774, acquiring four hundred acres of land near Alexandria, Virginia.[131] He was to be only one of two itinerants

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[128] Bangs, *Life of Garrettson,* 94-95.

[129] *Ibid.*, 85-86.

[130] Clark, *Journal and Letters,* I, 146.

[131] *Ibid.*, 15.

who would not be allowed to remain on the Eastern Shore, probably because of his complete acceptance of Wesley's authority over American preachers and laity and his having taken the Methodist leader's publicized political position to heart. When Howe landed at the Head of Elk, he did all he could to promote "the good of His Majesty's Service," going at night aboard H.M.S. *Augusta* to give information about the size and strength of American "Towns and Forts" and making "good his Return amongst the Rebells with intent by such ways and means to further and promote the Royal Cause. . . ."[132] To militia men he read General Howe's August 1777 petition promising pardon to officers and men if they relinquished their role in the American army. Eventually he was captured after a reported insurrection on the border between Queen Anne's and Caroline counties where eighty men had assembled in arms and which William Paca informed Governor Johnson was led by "some scoundrel Methodist Preachers."[133] On his way to be tried at Annapolis, the boat Rodda was in was captured by the *Richmond.* He subsequently remained with the British, accompanying the fleet to Philadelphia, where for five months he kept a small grocers shop to support his family, and afterwards going with it to New York.

Rodda's decision to become actively involved in political matters was probably ill-advised: his fellow itinerants were pacifists and generally tried to steer clear of politics. Furthermore, it could only fuel the revolutionaries' suspicions that religion, which was being urged by insurgents "as the principal motive in every instance" for their uprisings, was in fact nothing more than a "cloak."[134] But without a doubt, Rodda had acted out of a sense of

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[132] Claim of Martin Rodda, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/92, Ontario Archives.

[133] Paca to Thomas Johnson, September 6, 1777 in *MdArch* XVI, 364.

[134] Smallwood to Jenifer, March 14, 1777 in Balch, *Maryland Papers,* 83.

conscience. Eventually settling in Ostend as the poorly paid clerk of the Protestant Chapel there, his situation evoked the paternalism of Sir John Peter, the British Consul and one of the chapel's trustees, who wrote to the claims commission on his behalf.[135]

Though dictated by conscience, Rodda's activities nevertheless succeeded in poisoning the minds of many Whigs against the Methodists. Nor was he lightly forgiven by his fellow itinerants. Garrettson, while certain that Rodda had thought he was doing "God's service," nevertheless believed he had acted in a manner "unbecoming the character of either a Christian or minister."[136]

The Methodists were in fact by no means uniformly opposed to the Revolution. The itinerants themselves could best be described as being apolitical; their principal objections to the Revolution were that it filled the people's minds with politics, extinguished spirituality and hampered their own ability to travel and preach freely.[137] Francis Asbury was not particularly supportive of Wesley's political stance, but as a sincere pacifist he refused to take the Maryland oath of fidelity which bound the taker to bear arms. Becoming a nonjuror on March 10, 1778, he was consequently forbidden to preach in Maryland and went into seclusion in Delaware where clergymen were not required to take the state oath. Freeborn Garrettson consulted his conscience concerning the course he should take upon the outbreak of the Revolution, and became determined to "have nothing to do with the unhappy war." He refused to muster as he had always done in the past; his company commander was sympathetic yet felt unable to exempt

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[135] Claim of Martin Rodda, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/137, Ontario Archives.

[136] Bangs, *Life of Garrettson,* 65.

[137] Clark, *Journal and Letters,* I, 310.

him and a court martial laid on him a yearly fine of $12.50 "but they never called for the fine," Garrettson wrote, "and I have never been troubled with their military works."[138] Later, however, he was to "labour under heavy political trials." The Maryland oath of allegiance "touched" Garrettson's "conscience towards God" because he was not of a "disposition to use carnal weapons."

Though difficult to quantify, there seems to have also been a triangular relationship between Presbyterians, Anglicans and Methodists: where Presbyterianism was strong and Anglicanism weak, Methodists tended to be more supportive of the British; where Anglicanism was strong and Presbyterians were weak, Methodists were more antagonistic. Nevertheless, revolutionaries believed they could discern a definite pattern of loyalism among Methodists: one of Asbury's earliest and most devoted adherents was Isaac Tussey of Christiana Hundred in New Castle County, Delaware, at whose home Asbury stayed in 1772. Tussey's home had in fact been used as a preaching place since 1769, when the former British officer Capt. Thomas Webb had preached there. Tussey later traded with the British in 1777, as had a relative John Stedham, who brought cattle to the British in his boat in 1777.[139] In addition, pacifism led the preachers to attempt to dissuade men from mustering with enough success that some Whig leaders concluded they had been dispatched to the colonies by the British government as part of a

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[138] Bangs, *Life of Garrettson,* 38-39.

[139] Tussey's cousin, Jacob Stedham, was also an early "friend of the Methodists," and Asbury had likewise stayed at his home in 1772. Clark, *Journal and Letters*, I, 26n, 58n, 650. A William Tussey of Wilmington also traded with the British in 1777.

scheme for undermining the war effort. Nathaniel Potter of Caroline County was convinced that it was the "Greatest Stroke" the ministry had ever struck against the Americans.[140]

Methodism filtered southward from Maryland to the Virginia Shore when Garrettson finally crossed the state border either in late 1778 or early 1779. However, a society was not established there until 1783, when Asbury at long last visited the Shore. Unlike the rest of the peninsula, Methodism, although disliked by the Anglican gentry, was recognized in Virginia as a legitimate religious body. Never was it suspected of being a clever ministerial tool or an insidious agent of Toryism. No Methodist preacher, in spite of being unordained, ignoring parish lines, and failing to obtain a license in accordance with Virginia's Toleration Act, was ever thrown into prison.[141] Also unlike the rest of the Shore, Methodism was severely challenged in Virginia by the Baptists. The first Baptist preacher, Elijah Baker, had arrived in Northampton from Lunenburg County in the spring of 1776 and within two years had won enough converts to establish the first permanent non-Anglican church on the Shore.[142] In the colonial period, Virginia had been quite tolerant of dissenters and nonconformists as long as they were peaceful and charitable to others. But the Baptists, unlike the Methodists, tended to attack others' beliefs, and consequently they became the only non-Anglican religious body to suffer persecution.[143] During the war, Baker, like Garrettson, was frequently assailed by mobs when he tried to preach, and in May 1778 was charged by the church wardens of Accomack County with

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[140] Potter to Governor Lee, July 23, 1781 in *MdArch* XLV, 23.

[141] Middleton, *Anglican Virginia,* 171-172.

[142] Mariner, *Revival's Children,* 2.

[143] Middleton, *Anglican Virginia,* 171-172.

vagrancy. On July 1 he was imprisoned in the debtors jail at Drummond Town, where he remained until his release in August. Baker had been ordered by the court to leave the county as soon as possible, and so he accepted an invitation offered by Thomas Batson of Sussex County to visit Delaware.[144] Although Baker never visited the Virginia Shore again, until 1800 the Baptists there had more church members than the Methodists, a situation which was finally altered by the Second Great Awakening.[145]

The animus directed at Baker did not arise from a belief that he sympathized with the British, which incited a good deal of the hostility against the Methodist preachers in the rest of the peninsula. For the Whigs, the bogey of Methodism materialized most alarmingly in April 1778 with the rising of Tories under China (or Cheney) Clow of Little Creek Hundred, Kent County, Delaware, reputedly a "backslidden Methodist." Born in England and raised in Queen Anne's County, Maryland, it was as a 24-year old laborer that Clow had enlisted in Capt. Benjamin Noxon's company during the Seven Years' War in 1758.[146] Garrettson wrote that after his conversion he had been considered a pious man, "of considerable note in the society," being the leader of the local Methodist class, but that he subsequently laid aside his religion. In 1774, he fell afoul of the law and was fined for "cheating."[147]

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[144] Blanche Sydnor White, *History of the Baptists on the Eastern Shore of Virginia 1776-1959* (Baltimore, 1959), 4-5.

[145] Mariner, *Revival's Children,* 14, 20, 28, 31.

[146] *DelArch,* I, 18.

[147] Bangs, *Life of Garrettson,* 64; Robert Drew Simpson, *American Methodist Pioneer: The Life and Journals of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson 1752-1827* (Rutland, Vt., 1984), 208; Hancock, "The Kent County Loyalists," 18.

Clow and his two brothers John and James lived close together, their lands probably separated by no more than several hundred yards. But as fate would have it, their property was situated along the disputed border between Maryland and Delaware, and by 1775 the three were living not only in different counties but in separate colonies. James Clow continued to be an inhabitant of Queen Anne's County, but John lived in that part of it which was separated into the new county of Caroline in 1774. China Clow's lands had been no further than two hundred yards east of the line, and suddenly he found himself a resident of Delaware. This unfortunate geographical accident has been seen by scholars familiar with the tensions that existed at this time between Maryland and Delaware householders as the principal reason for the extreme bitterness which Delaware Whigs felt in Clow's case.[148]

The brothers may also have been divided by politics. It is known that James Clow was active in the Queen Anne's County militia from 1776 as was an Edward Clow, almost certainly a close relative.[149] Perhaps this was why, unlike others who lived along the tension-filled boundary line, China Clow seems not to have participated in the 1776 insurrection. When or for what reason he joined the British is uncertain, but claiming to have a commission as a captain in the British army, by 1778 he had raised a large number of followers, most of whom were very poor and reportedly "wore their own hair" in queues.

A close colleague of Clow's was a fisherman named Benjamin Galloway, also of Kent County. Galloway, who leased a farm and owned a third of a schooner, had refused to muster

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[148] Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, "Cheney Clow's Rebellion," *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware* LVIII (1912), 6-7.

[149] Henry C. Peden Jr., *Revolutionary Patriots of Kent and Queen Anne's Counties, Maryland* (Westminster, Md., 1995), 50.

and subsequently led a group of neighbors to join instead the British army at Wilmington. Soon after, he enlisted as a private in the Maryland Loyalist Battalion and recruited volunteers. According to the testimony of a remarkable 87-year old woman named Jean Foreman who had made the arduous journey from Delaware to Sorel on the South Shore of Quebec, Galloway had returned to Delaware with Clow along with a quantity of ammunition during the British occupation of Philadelphia. They then raised a number of men from the surrounding counties of Kent, Delaware, Kent, Maryland, Caroline and Queen Anne's to defend themselves and their property, robbing a number of people of their arms.[150]

The presence of a fortified Tory "fort" garrisoned by over a hundred men was confirmed by Lt. Col. Charles Pope of Delaware on April 14; two days later he led an assault on the fort, routed Clow and his "army of Refugees," and secured large quantities of "stolen" bacon and flour that were inside. Fifty men who had been at the fort were afterwards captured by pursuing horsemen ordered out by Rodney, twenty of whom were sent off with a recruiting party of the Delaware Regiment to enlist.[151] According to Garrettson, the "enemies" of Methodism were anxious to put the blame on the society; he himself had been attacked by a crowd at Dover ("quite an irreligious place") who accused him of being a friend of King George and "one of Clow's men."[152] Fortunately, Caesar Rodney, who was "friendly to religion," insisted on

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[150] Turner, "Cheney Clow's Rebellion," 134-135; Claim of Benjamin Galloway, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O.13/138, Ontario Archives; *MdArch* XXI, 107.

[151] Ryden, *Letters,* 259, 261-263.

[152] Bangs, *Life of Garrettson,* 75.

knowing the denominations of the insurrectionists and as a result it was learned that only two had actually been Methodists.[153]

Both Clow and Galloway avoided capture and were accordingly exempted from pardon. Galloway went to New York, participating in the battle of Monmouth along the way where he was seriously wounded. In 1780 he and two other refugees who had been with Clow and were in the same battalion company returned to Delaware with a flag to fetch their families, but were instead imprisoned. Told that they would be tried for treason for having raised a company and joining the British army, they escaped after twenty-one days' confinement.[154]

Rodda's circulating Howe's proclamation of August 24 and the partisan sermons of his associate, Thomas Rankin; China Clow's rebellion, the Methodists' pacifism and refusal to take the state oath, even the arrest in April 1778 of Judge Thomas White, in whose house Asbury had taken refuge--all contributed to the prolonged period of persecution which followed. Joseph Hartley, an itinerant circuit rider was arrested in Talbot for preaching; on several occasions, Garrettson was threatened with imprisonment by county J.P.'s. Mobbed in Dover, in July 1779 he was taunted in Lewes by pro-revolutionaries led by a certain Wolfe who may have been a private in Captain Peery's Company of Foot. They built up a large fire in the courthouse where Garrettson was preaching to make it uncomfortably warm and loudly rang a bell to drown out his voice. Finally Garrettson too was arrested and imprisoned in Dorchester. Only Asbury

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[153] *Ibid.*, 64-65.

[154] Claim of Benjamin Galloway, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 12/41, A.O. 13/138, Ontario Archives; Commission of Nehemiah Tilton in Ryden, *Letters,* 387. The other two privates accompanying Galloway were William Perry and possibly Joseph Coast, all of whom were in Capt. Walter Dulany's company.

remained, and on at least one occasion he was forced to hide during the daylight hours in a swamp for his own safety.

Following the British evacuation of Philadelphia in the late spring of 1778 and withdrawal to New York, incidents of disaffection on the lower Shore ground to a sudden halt–the "millenium," so it seemed, was not about to take place after all. With the British went the Maryland Loyalist Battalion, composed of many of the Shore's most active and zealous adherents to the British cause. Left behind were more amenable parents and siblings; no longer sheltered by the comforting presence of the British navy and army, largely deprived of opportunities to trade except during the periodic appearance of warships in the two bays, and possibly daunted by the British reverse at Monmouth, they now had to try to live within the existing system as best they could. Not surprisingly, for the next two years, quiet reigned. It was during this time that Methodism was given an opportunity for revamping its image. With disaffection virtually nonexistent, Whig leaders, no longer encumbered by earnest though misguided delusions of Methodist deceit and connivance, were at last able to view the society in a new light. By 1779, this reassessment was leading towards the eventual elimination of laws penalizing Methodist preachers, and numbers of Whig elites became genuine converts, such as Allen McLane, the Hynson family of Kent County, Maryland, the Downes family of Caroline, the Bruffs of Talbot, Caleb Rodney of Lewes, Henry Ennalls of Dorchester, and Richard Bassett and Phillip Barratt of Kent County, Delaware.[155]

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[155] William H. Williams, *The Garden of American Methodism: The Delmarva Peninsula, 1769-1820* (Wilmington, Del., 1984), 99-100, 164. Philip Barratt provided the funds for building the first Methodist chapel on the peninsula.

The British offensive in the South, marked by General Clinton's capture of Charlestown in May 1780, dramatically altered matters on the lower Shore, and allowed hundreds of discontented poor farmers to finally vent their rage at burdensome tax assessments in Delaware's Black Camp Rebellion, largest of all the insurrections on the Shore. Because of the numerous depositions taken in its aftermath, it as at least possible to present a rough sketch of the riot's development, as well as its sudden and curious demise.

While reports of the insurgency did not reach government officials until some time in July, it was afterwards determined that the first instances of turbulence had occurred when an Association began to form in June, probably during the harvest when farmers working in the fields had the best opportunity to share views and obtain the general sense of neighbors in their community. A paper was presented to numbers of men who were encouraged to sign, although many expressed anxiety about becoming involved in so dangerous an undertaking. A Mr. Veach complained that times were bad, he was old and his levy was too high, but he would rather pay than have any disturbance.[156] Some, like Henry Warren, claimed not to be "fighting men," and opposed being a part of an Association, but were forced to sign by such zealous recruiters as Mitchell Overland.[157] Olive Smith claimed to have signed out of fear after being threatened that he would fare badly if he refused.[158] Zephariah Parramore was uncertain about what to do until

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[156] *DelArch*, III, 1287.

[157] *Ibid.*, 1289, 1292.

[158] *Ibid.*, 1289.

his mother admonished him that if he did not go with the insurgents, everything he had would be taken from him.[159]

Around July 15, a number of Broadkill men began to train under Bartholomew Bannum, a relatively small planter in the Hundred whom they chose as their captain.[160] A Cedar Creek Company was also organized, which elected William Dutton to command them. Chosen as the Cedar Creek Company's first lieutenant was William Ratcliffe, a son-in-law of George Messick; Job Townsend was elected second lieutenant and Seago Potter, another son-in-law of Messick's, the company's clerk. Coincidentally, Potter was also the overseer of the iron furnace belonging to William and Thomas Lightfoot, who had been implicated in a counterfeiting scheme in 1777.[161]

Eventually about one hundred were embodied. In August, forrays were made across the county: the armed companies readily identified themselves as "Tories" and captains instructed their men to collect all the arms and ammunition they could from Whigs and "to take from none but Whigs,"[162] though sometimes weapons were freely given by sympathetic neighbors. Three members of the Polk family were attacked to obtain quantities of powder. Various "camps" were set up in old farm fields where as many as four hundred assembled, the largest camp being that in the Black Swamp, about six miles north of present-day Georgetown, where almost five hundred

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[159] *Ibid.*, 1290.

[160] The Bannum family was a poor one, but its local influence was such that a small settlement to the east of Georgetown on Route 9 still bears the family name. A close relative of Bartholomew's--Levin Bannum--had participated in the 1777 insurrection.

[161] F. Edward Wright, *Vital Records of Kent and Sussex Counties, Delaware 1686-1800* (Silver Spring, Md., 1986),126.

[162] *DelArch,* III, 1295.

men gathered and which gave the whole insurrection its name. Although the disturbances centered along the volatile area of the fall line, men came into the camps from adjoining Mispillion Hundred in Kent County, and at least a dozen Marylanders from Somerset and Worcester.

At these meetings it became clear that the men were animated by a variety of motives. In an area where accurate news was difficult to come by, the loss of Charlestown and the disastrous battle of Camden seemed to some as though the British to the southward were an invincible juggernaut and that Americans below the Chesapeake had all lain down their arms. Reinforcing this view was the constant presence of British warships in the Delaware. A sense of crisis underlay the growing tension. In June, the Assembly had passed an act requiring every twenty men in the state to provide a soldier for the army. The rich could avoid service by hiring substitutes, but the poor, already frequently delinquent in the payment of their taxes, had no such option.[163] Not surprisingly, gloomy rumors had spread that "Every one was going off to the Wars." A "Stranger" whom Nehemiah Tatman met warned that "Every one must go to the one side or the other."[164] Consequently there was support among some to establish "the King's laws." But the overwhelming majority who became involved in the riot were simply angered by inequities in taxation rates and opposed the payment of taxes. Nor did there appear to be any religious division: as many Presbyterians took part in the insurrection as Anglicans. Together, the Black Camp men intended to "beat down the Tax Laws and make the Rich pay as much on

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[163] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 92.

[164] *DelArch*, III, 1289.

the pound rate as the poor."[165] The crop of the summer of 1780 was as bad or even worse than that of the previous year; in New Castle County, it was reported that so little wheat had been harvested that most farmers "after their tax in that article" was paid, would have only enough for bread and seed for the following year.[166] Taxation was already heavy; it is understandable why the farmers of Sussex would want to have a little more than seed for planting--although in New Castle, where the situation was just as bad, no rioting broke out.

At the beginning of August, word spread among neighbors in the western, heavily forested sections of Broadkill, Broad Creek and Cedar Creek Hundreds about rising in force to "Nock down" the taxes. They were pressed to meet at the homes and mills of locally esteemed men such as George Messick Sr., who had organized a singing school at his plantation, as well as Thomas Evans and Peter Dolby, both of whom had been 1776 insurgents. Community pressures to conform with the growing front of opposition worked in combination with resentment of the Whig authorities and fears of possible retribution. Yet there were also distinct cleavages between those who supported an uprising and those opposed to it. The young tended not to want to get involved and had to be strongly pressed to do so by their elders. There was also much greater support for the Black Campers among those with little or no property. John Riley, who was wealthier than many of the Black Campers and was animated by a more paternal interest in the manner in which the Whigs were distressing people and "taking away their living," hastily overrode his wife's objections and joined the crowd that was gathering at Messick's plantation on Sunday, August 6. But his example can be counterbalanced by that of the Truitts,

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[165] *Ibid.*, 1293.

[166] Unpublished Revolutionary War Material, RG 1800, reel 4, DPA.

as large and influential a family in Cedar Creek as the Messicks were in neighboring Broadkill, but who had a slightly higher average poundage rate and correspondingly less confidence about the situation. Moreover, the Maryland wing of the family was, with a single exception, identified as being on the Whig side. George Truitt Sr. was distinctly cool towards suggestions of his family becoming involved. He said that he did not like his two sons going to Messick's house, but reluctantly conceded that "if the rest of the People went they should go Either on one side or the other."[167] John Truitt, probably the son of wealthy Samuel Truitt, was told by George Messick's son-in-law Jonathan Hemmons that the "Torys was Rising," but replied that he did not care, he would "Joyn neither Side." Nevertheless, the following evening he went to Messick's with his gun and stayed the night, although he did not go with them to Black Camp.[168]

But if there was a general consensus that the taxes ought to be "suppressed," there seemed to be little notion of how to go about it. Amorphous plans which some expressed for "subduing the Whigs if possible" had little chance of realization. Broad schemes were discussed for taking "the heads of the Whigs" (militia officers) and carrying them between August 6th and 9th to refugees waiting offshore, but what was wanting were details of precisely how to execute such an undertaking. Not surprisingly, the customary means of obtaining redress, by petitioning the legislature, was not utilized by the Black Campers, since of course unsympathetic Whigs controlled the government--although a petition may have been submitted by Dutton's company after they had spoken to an Assemblyman that Bannum's party had

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[167] *DelArch*, III, 1287-1288.

[168] *Ibid.*, 1293.

allegedly managed to capture.[169] By that time, the insurrection had evidently already begun to collapse, and Bannum's company had acted with greater circumspection: the Assemblyman in question was probably John Collins, who had actually been requested by a group of insurgents to meet them in the woods and draw up a petition requesting the Governor to pardon them. Collins later claimed to have refused to have anything to do with drawing up a petition when he was unable to persuade the rioters to give themselves up first.[170]

From the start, the whole insurrection was beset by confusion and half-heartedness within the rank and file. Several men at Messick's place intimated that they did not like being there but would stay until Monday morning, when they were to march out to Black Camp. Although John Riley had promptly gone to Messick's house, he became "Eneasy" there and tried to dissuade the others from going to Black Camp, but when they insisted on going he went with them.[171] Some attended the gathering without "attending" to anything that was being talked about; others, like the sons of Major Warren, were kidnapped by the Black Campers. Eli Williams and Townsend Carlisle were given guns by "some person" at Messick's house, but were not told what orders had been issued.[172] Levi Messick complained that at Black Camp Captain Dutton ordered his men to march "without saying where to or what about."[173] As on so many other occasions, it almost seemed as if the mere act of gathering together in large numbers had been an end in itself.

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[169] *Ibid.*, 1292.

[170] John Collins to Caesar Rodney, August 22, 1780 in Ryden, *Letters,* 367-368.

[171] *DelArch,* III, 1288-1289.

[172] *Ibid.*, 1291, 1293.

[173] *Ibid.*, 1294.

Panic began to set in when it was learned that the Whigs were preparing to move against them in force. As soon as news of the growing insurrection reached official ears, the militia under General Dagworthy was ordered to prepare to march. At least five scouting parties were sent out to obtain intelligence--all were taken prisoner.[174] The Black Campers learned that the "rebels," as the Whigs were called, had found out about the Association which had formed and had summoned several individuals to give testimony about it. Thirty armed men, including Bannum, went to Simon Kollock under a flag of truce to convince the latter not to qualify the witnesses with respect to the Association. Kollock told them he intended to proceed agreeable to the law, but in a compromising mood decided not to qualify any of the witnesses at that time.[175]

In spite of this partial victory, the tide seemed to be turning increasingly against them. The "Common Conversation" at Messick's house was that the Whigs were mobbing Tories, capturing them and forcing them to swear allegiance to the state and "taking away all the Torys Livings." Soldiers were reported to have fired on the Black Campers while they worked in their fields. Levi Messick testified that it was generally "Reconed that they were going to kill them up totally."[176] The very day the company marched from Messick's house on August 7, tempers began to fray among the conspirators. It was discovered that there were fewer guns and less ammunition at the camp than previously believed. John Riley heard Dutton and two of his officers say that they had been deceived, "all they had heard was false," and they wished they had

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[174] Ryden, *Letters,* 365.

[175] *DelArch,* III, 1295.

[176] *Ibid.*, 1293.

never marched.[177] In fear of being taken, numbers of men deserted the camp that night. The company clerk, Seago Potter, suggested that a flag be dispatched with "proposals of Peace," which was done the following morning, Tuesday August 8.[178] Later that same day, Dutton told his company it was every man for himself, and then marched home.[179]

For three days, Dagworthy's men pursued the Black Campers, who were driven from one swamp to another in order to avoid being captured. Numbers of them were taken prisoner, although several of the leaders including Bartholomew Bannum and William Dutton managed to escape. Other frightened individuals voluntarily turned themselves in. Brought before county magistrates, they gave depositions concerning their activities. The fear of retribution which many had felt from the beginning led to a dread of the possible consequences of involvement. Major Warren had refused to allow his sons to go to Bannum's camp, but they had been forcibly taken away by fourteen armed men in Warren's absence. When they returned, he lashed out at them rather unfairly for having gone off when he wasn't at home and was of a mind not to allow them back into the house: "Now you have done it," he shouted at them, "now you have made your fortunes hav'nt you, dam you. . . ."[180]

Officials dealt harshly with the participants as disaffected Tories, indicting over two hundred men who would subsequently stand trial in the Sussex County Court of Oyer and Terminer. The rioters themselves generally claimed monetary reasons for participating in the

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[177] *Ibid.*, 1289.

[178] *Ibid.*

[179] *Ibid.*, 1294.

[180] *Ibid.*, 1291.

insurrection. Many were indeed poor: certain substantial farmers like Henry Hudson and John Riley had taken part, but the vast majority owned little or no land and were often heavily in debt. More typical were Jesse Deputy, who had four blood relatives taking part in the riots of 1777 and 1780, and after the war was indebted to George Read for well over £500. Over half gave their signature as a mark. Even the few artisans who were involved were not well off: James Givans, a silversmith, had to sell off the property he held in the Wicomico section of Somerset County after the war. The pattern of disjointed activity was maintained: only six Black Campers had taken part in the 1777 insurrection, while a seventh may have been a 1776 rioter. John Cole had testified against China Clow two years before. Twenty-one close relatives had been involved in the insurrection three years before. Levin Conway, a yeoman living in the Cedar Creek forest, could even claim to have been one of eight petitioners who had requested the county's committee of safety to send men to protect the area against Lord Dunmore in 1776.[181]

To ensure their future good behavior, sureties totalling as much as £10,000 were required of many of those who were indicted, regardless of how poor they were: William Deputy, Solomon Veach and John Workman were only assessed £1 in 1782. Nearly all were then discharged after they paid the cost of their prosecution. One of the very few to be released after being found not guilty of treason was William Ratcliffe, who had been chosen first lieutenant of William Dutton's company.[182] At least seventeen subsequently enlisted in the Delaware Regiment and fought with the Southern army under Nathanial Greene in 1781.[183] Ironically,

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[181] Petition of July 5, 1776 in *DelArch,* II, 1018-1019.

[182] Sussex County Court of Oyer and Terminer Session Docket, RG 4825, reel 1, DPA.

[183] George and James Abbott, Bartholomew Adams, Samuel Banks, Carey Collins, Solomon Carey Sr., Jesse Dukes, Thomas Dazey, Foster Dulavan (or Donovan) Jr., James Low,

these rioters formed part of Greene's best troops, composed of the Maryland and Delaware Lines, and played a decisive role in forcing Cornwallis out of the lower South in 1781.[184] Thomas Dazey of Baltimore Hundred had earlier enlisted as a soldier in the Independent Company of Foot along with two other family members. In 1782, he deserted from the Regiment, but was recaptured at his hideaway in the Cypress Swamp.[185] Four other deserters--Isaac Short, George and James Abbott and Charles Williams--petitioned the legislature that they be allowed to pay money for substitutes and be discharged from the Regiment, which was granted.[186]

As in other riots, most of the participants were eventually pardoned, an Act of Assembly being passed on November 4, 1780 for that purpose. Seven who eluded capture by running away from their homes petitioned the Assembly in 1782 for pardon, promising in future to be "Dutiful Subjects."[187] However, a few unfortunates were chosen to serve as future examples to others. Nine individuals were sentenced to death by drawing and quartering, the traditional British penalty for traitorous commoners. Among them was Seago Potter, whom witnesses identified as having suggested making proposals of peace. Notwithstanding the "conventionality" of the sentence, seven of the prisoners were understandably appalled and in January 1781 petitioned the Assembly to spare their lives, each giving details about their families. Only two of them paid poundage that slightly exceeded the average rate of assessment, which was approximately £3.5 in

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Levi Messick, Jesse Owens, John Postles Jr., Isaac Short, Cary Thompson, Charles Williams Jr., and John Williams. Only eight of these were assessed taxes. Thomas Dazey was the wealthiest, assessed £4; the poundage rates of the other seven averaged only £1.5. *DelArch,* I, 137.

[184] Hoffman, "The 'Disaffected'," 296.

[185] *DelArch*, I, 613 and II, 731.

[186] *Minutes of the Council*, 777, 789, 804, 807.

[187] *DelArch,* III, 1305.

Sussex County; the others all fell well below it. Five of the men were married with between four and seven children who would become charges on the state, the other two claimed to support "aged and helpless" parents.[188] In response to their plea for mercy, the state predictably withheld its hand, and by the following year the seven prisoners had been released and were back in their homes.[189]

The Virginia Shore did not suffer the same convulsions during the war as the rest of the peninsula. There was however a disputed election result in Accomack County in 1780, an almost unprecedented occurrence. In May of that year, John Cropper, the losing candidate, challenged the results and declared that Thomas Bayly Esq. had been "unduly elected" a delegate to the Assembly. Voting for Bayly, he claimed, were many who had not taken the oath of allegiance; others who had only done so until some time after the period prescribed by law, and "sundry others who can be proven disaffected to the Commonwealth, and solicitous again of being under the Government of the King of Great Britain."[190]

There is no obvious evidence to suggest why the disaffected may have been attracted to Bayly, who was a colonel of militia, and the Assembly launched no investigation of the election. But according to surviving electoral polls, Bayly did consistently vote for Edmund Custis--accused in 1782 along with Edward Ker of trading with two British subjects--as did several others who were suspected of varying degrees of disaffection, including William Mister, father of the picaroon Stephen Mister; Edmund Scarburgh, who had discussed kidnapping plans in 1775

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[188] *Ibid.*, 1304-1305.

[189] Seago Potter later moved to Kent County, where he died in 1806. Kent County Probate Records, DPA.

[190] Legislative Petitions, Accomack County, May 7, 1780, folder A-9, VSL.

with Lord Dunmore; Robert Pitt, suspected of being part of a well-organized trading ring with the British in Portsmouth; Shadrack Mears, William Parker and Argol Kellam, all three of whom had been arrested in 1777 as suspicious and possibly dangerous persons whom the Whigs thought ought to be removed from the Eastern Shore, although they all subsequently took the oath of allegiance; several members of the Beach family, among whom may well have been the wily and unknown "Captain Beach" who along with Robert Pitt organized complex trading schemes with the British; and "Sea Side" John Custis, one of the leaders of the only large scale riot that afflicted the Virginia Shore in the spring of 1781, after Portsmouth had been occupied by the British.[191]

Under Jefferson's increasingly unpopular term as governor, disaffection by this time had arisen not only in the Norfolk area, but had spread through the southwestern part of the state as well. The Shore was by no means alone in its reaction against the draft law that was to go into effect on April 23--similar riots broke out in Augusta, Montgomery and Hampshire counties that spring.[192] The new tax legislation which established a general two percent levy was equally unpopular. However, the Shore's isolated and exposed situation, its bordering the most disaffected part of Maryland and its vulnerability to attacks by British barges and privateers created unique difficulties. The British occupation of the bay had prevented the representatives of Northampton and Accomack counties from attending the House of Burgesses; not only was there a complaint that the Shore was treated differently from the rest of the state by not having

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[191] John Cropper Papers, Mssl C8835a, reel B14, VHS; *Journal of the Council of the State of Virginia,* II, 7.

[192] Eckenrode, *Revolution in Virginia,* 246-247.

the option of paying the tax with "country produce" such as corn and oats (a long standing grievance), it could also be argued that they were being taxed without their consent.

At the same time, Jefferson's instruction that public arms and accoutrements found in the hands of the militia should be collected together met with widespread opposition. George Corbin, the County Lieutenant for Accomack, outlined the danger to the Shore should the measure be carried out. The British threatened both the sea and bay coasts of the narrow peninsula, frequent robberies were committed in neighboring Maryland "on almost every friend of the country," and the activities of the Virginia militia in defending the Whigs had aroused resentment among the disaffected. Nothing, Corbin wrote to the Governor, "could afford them a more favourable opportunity of gratifying their Malice and Revenge, than removing from us our arms."[193]

The County Lieutenant of Northampton, Col. Isaac Avery, went further. On March 16, he resigned his post because of his opposition to the draft and the removal of the public arms, which he believed would put everything on the Shore--the militia, provisions, livestock and other property "in the power of the enemy."[194] Avery's decision to resign was not the result of pressure from below--if so, there would have been a rash of similar resignations in both Virginia and Maryland. It was the opposition by fellow members of the gentry which had made Avery's position untenable. Unlike other parts of Virginia, leading members of the county gentry in Northampton and Accomack were opposed both to the draft and tax legislation, and their leadership role would become clear during the draft riots that broke out in April and May.

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[193] *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* I, 547.

[194] *Ibid.*, 574-575.

Opposition to the draft was first successfully mounted in Northampton, after which "disorder and confusion" broke out in Accomack, where it was argued by some that since they would not be drafted there was no need to pay the tax. On April 23 a mob of between 150-200 men armed with clubs descended on the court house. One of the mob got hold of a list containing the class to be drafted and was cheered for it. At a second demonstration before the court house, rioters claimed they would oppose the draft with their lives. "Dangerous doctrines, sentiments and opinions" began to be published. Gentlemen "from whom better things might be expected" encouraged nonpayment of the tax, which Avery had complained they could not pay anyway unless it was in country produce. Tax collectors intent upon executing their duty were threatened; other more timid souls with sums of money already in their hands promised to return it.[195]

The draft riots on the Virginia Shore were not the last instances of disaffection on the peninsula. Opposition to taxation had also been evident on Maryland's lower Shore that same year, although it did not culminate in the same large-scale rioting. In February 1781, Benjamin Shockley began orchestrating efforts to prevent the collection of taxes. Time had done nothing to mellow the old offender who was perhaps further driven by family grief. A Benjamin Shockley, who had enrolled as a private in the Maryland Loyalist Battalion, is listed as having died just two months after joining the corps, in May 1778.[196] This Shockley may well have been the insurgent's son. Before he had proceeded very far with his latest enterprise, the county sheriff Edward Vandome offered token resistance. Undeterred by Vandome's interference,

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[195] *Ibid.*, II, 97-100.

[196] New, *Maryland Loyalists,* 143.

Shockley attempted to kill the sheriff. Afterwards, he was reported to have drunk the King's health and predicted that soon those who had opposed the Whigs would receive satisfaction to the amount of "Twenty for one" for all that had "bin Taken from them."[197] Vandome, afraid for his life, immediately tendered his resignation. He had relatively few family connections in Worcester--in fact, he was the only person on the lower Shore bearing this surname. His speedy resignation may therefore have been the result of feeling exposed in the neighborhood, unsupported as he was by nearby relations. Informing the Council of Vandome's resignation, local Whigs suggested that George Truitt replace him.[198] Their choice was a sound one--Truitt would be much less easily threatened and intimidated. The family was not only one of the oldest on the lower Shore, it was also one of the largest and most extensive. Only one member of the family had been identified as possibly disaffected: John Truitt, a close relative of George, had conducted meetings in his house in 1775 which had, ironically, been attended by allies of William Bartlett Townsend including Shockley, although he seems to have remained inactive for the rest of the war.[199] Shockley was soon captured, but there is no evidence of his having remained very long in confinement. As late as November 1781, violence was reported as having erupted once again in Sussex. Unfortunately, besides a reference made to it in an auditor's account, little is known about it.[200]

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[197] *Ibid.*; *MdArch* XLVII, 64.

[198] *MdArch* XLV, 311-312 and XLVII, 50, 64.

[199] *Ibid.*, XII, 372-373.

[200] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* II, 450.

In conclusion, the Whigs in lower Delmarva were faced throughout the war with a bewildering array of disaffected activities. Particularly large insurrections such as those of the summer of 1777 and the Black Camp Rebellion in 1780, which were led by such large and locally esteemed families as the Parkers of Worcester County and the Messicks of Sussex, were only the most menacing acts and all were successfully quelled. However, the Whigs compounded their problems by interpreting numerous activities outside the narrow range which they could easily reason as being pro-revolutionary, to be instead disaffected and quite possibly treasonous. Not surprisingly, they were much less able to cope in these instances. Not only did the swampy, forested landscape work against them, punishment was rendered difficult because of the sheer numbers involved and the lack of communications and a local press. Extensive trade with the British was accordingly carried on by local residents, making effective use of the many rivers which ran through impenetrable swamps that rendered them extremely difficult to patrol. Since assaults were in any case common in lower Delmarva, equally troubling to the authorities were the many violent acts which could be attributed to disaffection, but which could also be classed as merely criminal in nature. For instance, several militia officers, generally prominent individuals prior to the Revolution, were attacked during the war by local gangs. Capt. William Haskins, for instance, was "stopped on the public road" by a single armed man, while Thomas Vickers, member of a Whig Dorchester family, was attacked along with his wife by a gang of five men, all related by blood or marriage.[201]

The shortage of firearms was endemic on the Shore throughout the war; it is therefore difficult to determine the cause of certain large-scale assaults, such as the one that took place in

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[201] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

Caroline County on September 4, 1777. That day, a group of at least two dozen men raided the home of a certain Bromwell Andrew. Two of the leaders--Beauchamp and Nehemiah Andrew Jr.--were close relatives of the wealthier Bromwell. Both belonged to the same militia company, commanded by Capt. Nehemiah Andrew, who may have been their father. Indeed, the entire raid seemed organized around this single militia company--more than twenty of the men in the gang were enrolled in it. Armed and riotous, the mob stole one gun from Bromwell Andrew and fifteen others including cartouche boxes from various neighbors. The following year, the militiamen were indicted by the General Court of the Eastern Shore on charges of rioting, being in arms and levying war. Most were ordered to pay fines ranging from a low of £0.1.3 to a maximum of £20. But what was the motivation behind the attack? None of the participants left behind any written memorials to help us understand. September 1777 of course coincided with Howe's invasion of the upper Chesapeake. Was the mob just another disaffected group helping itself to the weapons and ammunition of local Whigs in anticipation of joining the British? Probably not. It is far more likely that during this period of danger, when loyalist associations were quite active, men of the company tried to collect as many arms as possible to defend themselves. The reason why this is a more probable reason for the attack has to do with two of the protagonists. Four years after the raid, on the same day, both Beauchamp and Bromwell Andrew were awarded commissions in the militia as second lieutenant and ensign respectively.[202]

Another case On October 1, 1777 Joseph Douglass, a Caroline County militia officer, was attacked on the public road by at least nine armed men of Northwest Fork Hundred who remained riotous for six hours. Two-thirds of them were enrolled in Douglass' own company, but

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[202] Clements and Wright, *Maryland Militia,* 48.

the rest were not. Several had been involved in the salt raid against James Murray, Chairman of the Dorchester County Committee and one of the largest landowners in Caroline. At least two, Shadrack Willis and William Wright, had been Nicholites. Yet such attacks do not always yield so easily to interpretation, and resentment against Douglass may well have preceded his obtaining a commission in the militia. In 1774, he had been appointed an overseer of the new road which was to lead from Northwest Fork Bridge to Cannon's Ferry.[203] Overseers were often unpopular, since nearly every taxable man in the district could be summoned by them, according to their discretion, for working on parts of the road, even if he lived up to twenty miles away and would seldom or never use it. Failure to obey an overseer's summons was punished by a fine of 100 pounds of tobacco, laid down in a 1704 law.[204]

Not only was violence easily read as enmity to the American cause; instances of nonviolence could also be interpreted that way. Possibly among the most vexing, if only because of their ambiguity, were cases which arose as a consequence of county sheriffs ordering local residents to assist them in executing processes issued by a court of law, including the arrest of individuals. Although a refusal to lend a sheriff aid might be due to circumstances such as gathering in the harvest or illness, it was equally possible that the cause was disapproval of the sheriff's mission. For instance, in 1779, sixteen persons were arrested in Worcester County alone for refusing to obey the sheriff's commands.[205] At least seven of these were either personally involved in other disaffected activities or else had close relatives who were: John

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[203] Horsey, *Origins of Caroline County,* II, 173.

[204] Clark, *Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia,* I, 301.

[205] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

Pridix, second poorest of the group, was charged the following year along with one other person for breaking into William Winder's storehouse in Somerset County; William Hill's brother Zorabable had been in the 1777 insurrection. Reuben Cropper's relative Edmund was also involved in the 1777 uprising. Henry and John White had joined the Maryland Loyalist Battalion. Of Thomas Selby's six close relatives, four were serving with the Maryland Loyalist Battalion, a fifth had been associated with Benjamin Shockley and the sixth had gone to Norfolk with Levin Townsend and Isaac Costin.[206] John Travers would be arrested on the same charge in 1781 as well as for participating in a complex trading scheme with the British at Portsmouth. Even the Whigs' success in putting down the numerous riots ought to be considered a qualified one in the long run. Not only did most of the riots have to be suppressed by external forces dispatched by Congress, which reflected either weakness or simple reluctance on the part of local Whigs, they had to be put down by the use of force, and while such instances were examples of the exertion of power, they were not evidence of the gentry's *authority*. Authority had to be acknowledged by those owing allegiance, and this could only be won through acts of restraint and moderation dictated by an honest objectivity, which in any case was a characteristic attribute of a gentleman in possession of a public office or trust.[207] It was also expedient, since, as has already been pointed out, punishment of offenders was made difficult because of the numbers involved, and the impossibility from the very beginning of shaming anyone because of

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[206] Truitt, *Worcester County,* 428-430.

[207] Jack P. Greene, "Independence, Improvement, and Authority: Toward a Framework for Understanding the Histor*ies* of the Southern Backcountry during the Era of the American Revolution," in Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate and Peter J. Albert, eds., *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution* (Charlotteville, N.C., 1985), 21-35.

the absence of a local press. Penalties against the worst offenders were usually light--fines of between £10-£30 were the most frequent. Occasionally, the very poor who could not pay fines were sentenced to a brief term of imprisonment. Family members and fellow insurgents were often entered as prisoners' sureties and recognizances. It was even possible for accused participants in riots to completely retrieve their reputations in a very short time. For instance, Samuel Yorke of Kent County was arrested in 1778 on a charge of treason, discharged by a writ of *ignoramus* because of a lack of evidence and the following year acted as a purchaser of supplies for the army under the state Quarter-Master.[208]

At the other end of the spectrum, lesser offenders were protected in that the charge of misprision of treason seems never to have been employed. This had been a solution suggested by Thomas Jefferson for dealing with insurgents in southwestern Virginia, one that he hoped would bring about the conviction of individuals against whom there was insufficient evidence to warrant the severer charge.[209] The rare sentences of death that were handed down against rioters, dictated by little logic and which were calculated to suppress disaffection by means of terror, were all repealed without exception because of their unpopularity in the general community. In the case of one such condemned rioter, a resident of Queen Anne's County who had been with China Clow, the county sheriff felt obliged to write to the governor on his behalf, explaining that "two-thirds" of the county's people were "Tories ingrained."[210]

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[208] Kent County Court of Oyer and Terminer, Session Docket, RG 3825, reel 1, DPA; Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* II, 413, 437.

[209] Calhoon, *Loyalists and Community,* 47.

[210] Ronald Hoffman, "Popularizing the Revolution: Internal Conflict and Economic Sacrifice in Maryland, 1774-1780," *MHM* 68 (1973), 137.

Then again, leniency could be justified because of the curious nature of the insurrections that periodically erupted on the lower Shore. Usually incited by the presence of British armed forces yet invariably unsupported by them, they generally collapsed as quickly as they had gathered strength. It has frequently been contended that the British lost a prime strategic opportunity by failing to occupy the Delmarva peninsula or at least in sending a sufficient number of troops for attracting potentially thousands of recruits. The first such claims appeared in the schemes of James Chalmers, Robert Alexander, Joseph Galloway and Thomas Robinson, all of whom were annoyed at the British attraction to the baubles of New York, Philadelphia and Charlestown. They argued that the British would gain control of an area from which they could potentially close off the Chesapeake and Delaware and withhold the fruits of the "breadbasket of the Revolution" from the American army. But then the Shore was not an isolated region for nothing.

The value of such recruits is moreover somewhat doubtful. Many participants in the insurrections expressed not overt loyalism, but a simple reluctance at being ordered to serve with the militia beyond the bounds of their home counties. Whether such individuals would have discovered a taste for doing so under British leadership is a moot point. However, Col. Richardson, in putting down the 1777 insurrection in Sussex, had his doubts. The rioters, he believed, would give the British every aid they could *except* personal service in the field which he wrote they wanted "Spirit to do."[211] On the other hand, while nowhere near the number anticipated joined the British as recruits in provincial corps, a good many did. It is useful to remember that this area had little history of militia duty. There was even less experience of

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[211] Ryden, *Letters,* 211.

actual warfare. Only four Virginia Shoremen saw combat as officers in the French and Indian War.[212] Like their Delaware counterparts, the three Shoremen who survived became firm Whigs during the Revolution. With no frontier, there was no friction with Indian tribes which kindled that potent mixture of fear and hatred. By the same token, imperial problems with France and Spain possessed no significance. The British army was a complete novelty, yet considerable numbers of Shoremen went to join up with it. Perhaps in this backward place, the exotic was a potent elixir.

Ironically, the unabated intensity of rioting on the peninsula till the end of the war may have resulted from the *failure* of the British to land any troops there. The reason for this failure is an interesting question in itself. Many distinguished memorialists, including Joseph Galloway, Robert Alexander, and Thomas Robinson had urged from an early date a British invasion. In 1779 or 1780, an additional anonymous plan was submitted to the British authorities which advised the immediate reconquest of the Eastern Shore. The author claimed that the Shore's population was made up "almost entirely of Loyalists." There was sufficient space and provisions to enable large numbers of refugees to settle in the area, and it could be easily defended by only a few thousand troops. Philadelphia and Baltimore could be successfully blockaded by naval vessels operating in the Chesapeake and Delaware, and any rebel forces that remained in the middle colonies could be destroyed with a quick inland thrust.[213] The peninsula remained the last area to be tested for loyalist strength, and when Col. William Rankin submitted

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[212] Johnson, *Ebb and Flow,* 84.

[213] George W. Kyte, "Some Plans for a Loyalist Stronghold in the Middle Colonies," *Pennsylvania History* 16 (1949), 187-188.

a scheme for an invasion of southeastern Pennsylvania and the upper Chesapeake, Sir Henry Clinton soon became convinced of its practicality.[214] But only a few months remained until the final debacle of Yorktown and the plan never materialized.

Implicit as well in British thinking was a desire to protect the "friends of government." Early on in the war, efforts had been made to create "asylums" for harassed loyalists, anxious to escape Whig persecution who then in turn might be expected to actively assist the King's troops. One such intended asylum had been the colony of West Florida. A later example was the attempt made between 1778 and 1780 to establish a loyalist settlement on the coast of Maine, north of the Kennebec River.[215] But in many respects, Delmarva already qualified as a loyalist "asylum," and the absence of British troops probably was in large measure responsible for keeping it that way.

Because of the nonappearance of British forces in Delmarva, the peninsula's inhabitants were not exposed to factors which otherwise might have inflamed resentment. With no hostile Indian population living nearby as in the Carolina and Georgia backcountry, loyalties could not be strained to the breaking point by fear of an Indian war resulting from British policies to win their allegiance.[216] Because the peninsula had long been settled and had no frontier, there could be no winners or losers in a prospective land grab as there was in the west and which had

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[214] George W. Kyte, "A Projected British Attack Upon Philadelphia in 1781," *PMHB* 76 (1952), 383, 385.

[215] Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats,* 175-177.

[216] Rachel N. Klein, "Frontier Planters and the American Revolution: The Southern Backcountry, 1775-1782," in Hoffman *et al, Uncivil War,* 51-54.

effectively alienated potential loyalists.[217] There was also no chance of undisciplined soldiers plundering them of their belongings, as had been the case in New Jersey in the fall of 1776 and spring of 1777, which had soured loyal residents despoiled of their property. Yet it is also doubtful whether a British presence would have encouraged the bloody tit-for-tat kind of feuding that characterized the war in the southern backcountry, since there was so much intermarriage and it was the rare family that was *not* to some degree divided. Division of family has been seen as a factor behind the lenient treatment of individual loyalists.[218]

Able to assert some measure of control over the land-based activities of insurgents, Whig authorities were to face entirely different, almost insurmountable problems when dealing with Chesapeake watermen, who were able to keep in close contact with British warships, tenders and barges. Formed into much smaller, more tightly unified groups under strong leadership which repeatedly "offended" throughout the war, these "picaroons," as they were called, were in their native element and proved far more destructive.

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[217] *Ibid.*, 240-275.

[218] Brown, *The King's Friends,* 61-62.

Chapter V: "Briny Crime"

On the 1st of February 1776, Lt. James Campbell, a Dorchester County Presbyterian who had been appointed a company commander in General Smallwood's Maryland Battalion only two weeks before, sent a map to the Council of Safety of what he called the "Sound"--an area which he believed, drawing on his long experience as a merchant, had never been charted before. The Sound, he explained, extended north from Accomack County, Virginia to Hooper's Strait in Dorchester County, Maryland, and embraced Smith, Tangier and Watt's Island. Describing it as abounding in cattle and provisions, Campbell considered it imperative to station an armed vessel of 8-10 guns there, since the area was inaccessible to land forces and as a result vulnerable to attacks by small plundering tenders. At the same time, it could provide a secure retreat for "overmatch'd" forces, the little outlets leading into the bay through the many shoals being unknown to strangers. Campbell, however, was not blind to the possibility that the British tenders might have actually been welcomed by the islanders, who, as he observed, "being by their situation in a manner secluded from the Converse of their Countrymen have not entered so fully into their Sentiments as could be wish'd."[1]

The inhabitants of the area were not really ignorant of the events that were happening in the rest of the colonies. What they *did* lack was continual exposure to the escalating rhetoric of resistance to which urban dwellers and those living in more populous areas were being bombarded. Perhaps without fully knowing it, Campbell had in fact identified the most disaffected area in the entire province. In this respect, the islanders of the Sound were by no

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[1] Clark, *Naval Documents,* III, 1090.

means alone--similar patterns of disaffection have been noticed on other remote islands such as Danfuskie, located off the southeastern tip of South Carolina.[2] Campbell believed they were trading extensively with the British fleet off Norfolk, and certainly residents of the lower Shore had long since demonstrated that they were intent upon carrying on trade as always, the Continental Association notwithstanding. In the summer of 1775, seven months after the nonimportation restrictions of the Association had gone into effect, small vessels were reported coming up the many rivers and creeks with prohibited dry goods, coffee and molasses which were bought without proper certificates from the merchants they had purchased of.[3] As more information was received concerning their activities, it became clear that former patterns of small-scale piracy were reemerging. Since the wealthiest, politically dominant Chesapeake planters tended to side with the Revolution, opportunities arose for profit by means of plundering their exposed river-front estates. These men, working in small groups, the Whigs were soon calling "picaroons," the Spanish word for pirate, possibly because of the long period during which the Chesapeake had been plagued by Spanish privateers. Despite the fact that many if not most of these picaroons ostensibly supported the British, the Whigs tended to think of their activities as simple piracy: they were "Retches" whose loyalism was used merely as a cloak for perpetrating "dark Villainies."

Because many of the picaroons worked in close proximity to or even in conjunction with British-manned barges in the bay, the identity of culprits was sometimes difficult to ascertain. Rendering the situation even more difficult to gauge was the blockade that Dunmore tried to

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[2] Calhoon, *Loyalists and Community,* 55-64.

[3] *Maryland Gazette,* July 25, 1775.

enforce in the Chesapeake till his departure in August 1776, as did the British vessels which frequented the bay for much of the rest of the war. While many of the picaroons claimed to be "with the fleet," and working under orders in seizing vessels and their cargoes and stripping the crews of their money and valuables--even presenting British commissions upon capture, which were as likely to be forged as genuine--the blockade nevertheless presented an excellent opportunity for utilizing British policy in order to plunder for personal enrichment.

Not all of the picaroons were self-proclaimed loyalists of course; the riches to be had were too great not to attract individuals from every hue of the political spectrum. One such case came to light in 1781, when Richard Henry Lee warned the Maryland State Council that three "atrocious piratical villains" had deserted from the Virginia Continental Line and were attempting to raise a crew to make plundering raids along the Potomac River.[4] Generally speaking, though, the Whigs were less concerned with attacks made on alleged Tories, unless they were made against the property of such prominent men as Ralph Wormeley--passive loyalists who had retired to their country estates for the duration of the war, and were able to remain after its conclusion. Whatever their actual political convictions--if any--many of the so-called picaroons were indeed "tories," and when the Whigs described them as such, they may very well have been using the word in its original sense--that of plundering bandits.

Both Maryland and Virginia began building state navies early on in the war because of Lord Dunmore's activities and to protect the exports of grain and tobacco from which government revenues were derived. Both stationed pilots at the capes to give early warning of enemy incursions; on February 20, 1776, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety appointed Lewes

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[4] *MdArch* XLV, 548.

pilot James Maul to keep a lookout between Capes May and Henlopen.[5] Maryland's first vessel, the ship *Defence*, was outfitted by March 1776, by which time the two Virginia pilot boats *Liberty* and *Patriot* had been operating against Dunmore near Hampton Roads for three months with some success.[6] From 1776 to 1783, the Virginia State Navy acquired thirty-eight vessels while the Maryland State Navy acquired a total of some six row galleys and five barges.[7] By reason of geography, the burden of defending Chesapeake Bay fell mainly to the Marylanders; the state vessels, however, never constituted enough strength to effectively combat the picaroons, who struck at will at any point along thousands of square miles of bay coastline, much of it thinly populated, presenting the same difficulties which the swarms of American privateers operating all along the Atlantic coast posed for the Royal Navy. In addition, the Maryland vessels faced the same predicament as other state navies did throughout the war: a shortage of manpower due to the superior opportunities promised by the privateers that fitted out in virtually every harbor. The shortfall became so acute that Capt. Joseph Nicholson felt he had to press men in Baltimore, resulting in a closure of the city's markets as country people stayed away out of fear.[8]

However, it was not only the state navy that faced difficult challenges. During the time Lord Dunmore was in the Chesapeake, watering and provisioning the fleet were acute problems. While he was still off Norfolk, raids were undertaken by "tenders" accompanying the British warships. These were generally schooners employed locally either as pilot boats or by merchants

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[5] Clark, *Naval Documents,* IV, 21.

[6] Ernest McNeill Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution* (Centreville, Md., 1981), 171, 216.

[7] *Ibid.*, 256-260.

[8] *MdArch* XVI, 226.

as coastal trading vessels. Manned mostly by Americans, these were then fitted out with a few carriage guns and swivels. John Goodrich Sr. made five such vessels available to Lord Dunmore, and with a few soldiers of the 14th Regiment aboard, they carried out night-time raids on plantations both on the Shore and the mainland to provision the fleet, burning as many water-borne craft as possible. In one respect, these provisioning raids carried out by the tenders, in which sheep and cattle were taken and whole flocks of chickens captured while they roosted, tends to confirm that there was indeed a degree of political coloration behind the attacks, since there had been little history of livestock theft on the lower Shore, with both game and seafood in abundance and easily obtained.[9] If the owner of the plantation was identified as one in support of the rebellion, his silver was taken and the house burned.[10] Attacks were only made in areas where there was little chance of discovery, and immediate retreat was the rule when armed force was encountered. Another prominent Norfolk merchant to volunteer his services was James Parker, who was captured in a tender with seventeen other "pirates" after running aground on the Shore in mid-July 1776.[11]

Watermen were attracted to the fleet from as far away as Baltimore, and many served as pilots--a necessity in the Chesapeake, not only for clearing the treacherous "Middle Ground" between the Capes, but in navigating the many shifting shoals and ledges of the bay: William Ford, for instance, a Baltimore mariner, had joined Dunmore's fleet by December 1775, being

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[9] Turman, *Eastern Shore of Virginia,* 131-132; Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia,* I, 112.

[10] Turman, *Eastern Shore of Virginia,* 131-132.

[11] *AmArch,* ser.5, vol. I, 429; Claim of James Parker, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/32, Ontario Archives. In reality, the "tender" was the British sloop *Vulcan.*

listed on a December 5 muster roll as the *Fowey's* pilot.[12] John Botsworth or Bedsworth, an Annapolis carpenter from an old Somerset County family, piloted raiding vessels up the Annamessex River in 1780.[13] The Virginia authorities never learned that Esau Kellam, whose brother Custis had tried to prevent men from enlisting, became a pilot for Dunmore at this time. The number seems to have increased over the late spring of 1776 as pressure toward declaring independence was surging. This was also the period when prominent individuals who had originally sided with the Revolution began to falter, such as Robert Alexander of Baltimore, formerly an active and patriotic delegate to the Continental Congress, who at this stage began neglecting his duties because of a "wound" in his ankle.[14] Governor Eden, who had been so successful in carrying on a secret correspondence with the ministry by means of his brother's slave ship the *Annapolis*, had letters addressed to Lord George Germaine intercepted and was ordered arrested by the Baltimore Committee of Observation, a move which greatly embarrassed the provincial Council as it seemed to be a case of the cart leading the horse. Even on the point of Eden's departure, he was feted and invited to return--which he did.

In addition to watermen actually joining the fleet as pilots, others living marginally along the rivers carried on trade with the fleet, going aboard the tenders to sell produce. One such was John Baptist--probably John Bestpitch of Dorchester County. Bestpitch had been lessee of 288 acres of "Tollerable good low Land" on the Lord Proprietor's Nanticoke Manor, parcels of which

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[12] Clark, *Naval Documents,* II, 1290. This was not the same William Ford who later became an ensign in the Maryland Loyalist Battalion. His. MSS. Comm., *Report on American Manuscripts*, I, 143.

[13] *MdArch* XLIII, 289.

[14] Edward C. Papenfuse, ed., "Economic Analysis and Loyalist Strategy during the American Revolution: Robert Alexander's Remarks on the Economy of the Peninsula or Eastern Shore of Maryland," *MHM* 68 (1973), 176.

had been put up for public sale between 1768 and 1771.[15] Rent on the proprietary manors had been low, and the tenements themselves poorly developed and administered: Nanticoke Manor was described at the time of sale as containing a total of 5,449¼ acres, the whole "much Pillaged of Timber."[16] By the middle of the eighteenth century, it had become quite difficult for renters to obtain freeholds. Rents were by far the lowest on the proprietary manors, and the tenants were tenacious in trying to keep their leases since substantial increases were inevitable under other landlords, no matter how much the latter complained about being unable to collect an annual rent equal to the interest on the land. Many poor tenants with little or no surplus capital who had held easy leases for years were unable to purchase the tracts upon which they lived when faced with the sale of the manors, with the result that a substantial proportion of the manorial lands that were sold fell to the county gentry.[17]

Another to go on board the tenders was Basil Clarkson, a very poor man living far up the Nanticoke River in Northwest Fork in Sussex County, Delaware; in 1782, his poundage was only £1. In July 1776, he was accused of taking his boat down river to Hooper's Strait and trading with a British tender standing off Spring Island (Bloodsworth Island), and like John Baptist, conveying information as to the whereabouts of the provincial barge *Defence*.[18]

In Delaware, trading with the British was to constitute one of the major crimes--once it was made illegal by the Assembly--for which individuals were brought to trial during the

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[15] Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty,* 106.

[16] Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church, From Original Sources,* 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1915-1928), II, 39.

[17] Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty,* 25-26, 35-36, 104.

[18] *MdArch* XII, 18.

Revolution. Of those either tried or examined in depositions, roughly a quarter were accused of having traded with the British.[19] Much of this trade was along the streams which emptied into the Delaware River, but Delaware is a state divided, with a watershed that runs north to south at about 75°30' longitude. East of this watershed, drainage is into the Atlantic through a series of rivers; west of the line, drainage is into the Chesapeake through the Nanticoke River and its tributaries,[20] which is why a resident of Straights Hundred so easily recognized Clarkson's boat. Clarkson was reported to bear a "very ill character as to holding a communication with and carrying men in his boat to the Tenders."[21]

Job Slocum Jr., who lived in Straights Hundred, had tried to persuade Clarkson and several others, possibly including Baptist, to go with him to the tenders and join Dunmore's forces. The Slacom family was relatively wealthy and prominent in Straights Hundred, descended from George Slocum, "A German Borne," who was granted citizenship in 1697. Job's father Gabriel was a supporter of the Revolution and prize master aboard the Baltimore privateer *Sturdy Beggar* which was captured by the British; imprisoned in England for several years, he escaped to France and finally reached his home again after a seven years' absence.[22] Job's elder brother George also supported the British and was later able to "outbid" an officer

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[19] Approximately 360 cases were examined, taken from Hancock's *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware* and *Unpublished Revolutionary War Papers*, RG 1800, DPA. Twenty-two percent of these involved trade with the British, but the bulk of this trade was in Kent and New Castle.

[20] William Ireland Jr. and Earle D. Matthews, *Soil Survey of Sussex County, Delaware* (Washington D.C., 1974), 2.

[21] *MdArch* XII, 37.

[22] Elias Jones, *New Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Cambridge, Md., 1966), 383; Durward T. Stokes, ed., "The Narrative of John Kilby," *MHM* 67 (1972), 24, 26, 29.

sent to Dorchester County for the purpose of raising recruits to serve in the Maryland Line. Meeting the Dorchester militia battalion at a chapel near Cambridge, the officer offered forty shillings currency to each new recruit, which George Slocum said wasn't worth six pence, and having "gold and silver enough," promised fifty shillings to anyone who would fight for the King. Two other men, also from Straights, taunted the officer, who was "much disappointed in getting men," having been told by one of the company that he would find none but Tories there.[23]

Only two Chesapeake watermen eventually submitted claims for compensation, which may be an indication of the number who found it possible to stay after the war, or simply of landlessness. One of the two, John Henry Carey, probably had genuine loyalist sympathies. Carey was a fairly prosperous mariner who had been in the West Indies trade for over ten years when the war began. Living on the south side of the Wicomico River in that part of Somerset that is now Wicomico County, he possessed 450 acres of land that included timber as well as farmland. He owned eight slaves and was perhaps the only mariner on the river to keep a store, with quantities of corn, wheat, rye, peas, beans and potatoes as well as 250 head of cattle, sheep and hogs and over one hundred turkeys and chickens, all for the West Indies market.

In 1775, when revolutionaries were attempting to import supplies of gunpowder from the Dutch in St. Eustatia in the West Indies, Carey, like John Goodrich Sr. of Norfolk, Virginia and other merchants and mariners, was asked to bring gunpowder and arms. Unlike Goodrich, however, Carey refused, and in June 1776 fled to Dunmore's fleet, which at that time was anchored off Gwynn Island. After piloting British vessels for two years, he went to England in 1777, but was unable to obtain the lieutenancy in the Royal Navy that Lord North had tried to get

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[23] *MdArch* XVI, 19-21.

for him, because he needed to have served as a midshipman in the Navy for at least a year. Had he obtained it, he may have been one of the very few loyalists to have become a commissioned officer in the Royal Navy. Intent on serving in the Navy, Carey was appointed a midshipman, a position which he endured in spite of the embarrassment he suffered because of his "Age and Experience;" later he became master of the HMS *Pelican*, in which position he was wounded in an engagement with a French merchantman, and had to be invalided out of the service. Following the war, he moved to New Brunswick. His Maryland property was confiscated and sold in 1785; that same year he ceased receiving a pension. Chronically short of money, he was dead by 1787: an advertisement appeared the following year in the *St. John's Gazette* for the speedy settlement of his debtors' accounts, and one of his slaves was sold.[24]

The only other Eastern Shore waterman to lodge a claim was one of Carey's friends named Joseph Wheland. Wheland's origins are shadowy; his father was reputed to hold extensive property, and another relative, William, was an attorney who held a 25-year lease for over two hundred acres of "good low Land" on the proprietary manor of Nanticoke.[25] Residing on Garden Island in Straights Hundred, Dorchester County, Joseph Wheland was a prosperous man; possessing a 500-acre tract of land and several vessels, he worked as a pilot and also engaged in trade both for himself and apparently for a local merchant named James Geohagan, whose family was from Anne Arundel County on the Western Shore and firm supporters of the Revolution. Before the war, Wheland also leased a town lot from a woman in Norfolk, Virginia

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[24] *St. John's Gazette,* January 16, 1789 and March 20, 1789; *Loyalist Transcripts,* T.50/10, Ontario Archives; T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada," Nova Scotia Historical Society *Collections* X (1899), 53.

[25] Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records,* II, 38.

and built a house on it; a local resident and loyalist named John Hardy certified he was living there at the time of the British occupation and was "obliged to leave" it when the British evacuated the town. It is therefore curious that Lord Dunmore certified Wheland's having first joined him much later on in May 1776 while the fleet was at Gwynn Island.

There Wheland served as a pilot for the British, guiding them to places where water and fresh provisions might be found. He also seems to have engaged in small-scale piratical raids for his personal enrichment: the certificates of both Lord Dunmore and Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, captain of the *Roebuck*, attesting to his services with the fleet are unmistakably frosty which might mean they suspected what Wheland's real motives were. It was Wheland who piloted the tenders Dunmore sent to pick up the Atkinson group late in June, at the same time accompanying a group that stole cattle from Hopkins Island; he was probably also responsible for guiding the tenders to the home of the wealthiest man in the district for the purpose of kidnapping him. In the middle of July 1776, Wheland captured a Western Shore vessel carrying planks from Hungar's Creek in Accomack to the Potomac River. Attempting to avoid Dunmore's fleet which was nearby, the two men sailing the ship unwisely chose to anchor off Smith Island. From their depositions, Smith Island was already an important rendezvous point for picaroons operating in the bay, and was being used by Wheland and his cohorts as an entrepot. Joseph Mariman of St. Mary's County saw three schooners anchored at the mouth of a creek, and twenty men--most of whom were probably residents of the island--dividing up booty. Driven aground nearby was a captured sloop with its mast and rigging removed, which had belonged to John White of Nanticoke Hundred in Dorchester County. The Whites, though owning no slaves, were

supporters of the Revolution, and John White himself would be appointed an ensign in the Dorchester County militia in 1781.

Wheland seemed to lead the group, and a mulatto named Lazarus appeared to be one of his lieutenants;[26] he claimed that he was for the King and "with the English fleet," and his order to burn the sloop was consistent with Dunmore's orders for burning all water-borne craft. In return for burning the vessel, Marmaduke Mister, a local resident and dominant figure on the island, was promised all the old iron aboard. This sloop may in fact have earlier been stolen by Wheland from another islander, Nathan Linton, which had precipitated a falling out among thieves. Linton had been trying to "salvage" a "wreck," also with old iron aboard, which Wheland had stolen without offering any reimbursement. Linton brought the affair to the attention of Capt. Matthew Squire of the *Otter,* who soothed his injured pride with a gallon of rum, some pork and a promise that he might keep the sloop.[27]

Wheland declared that his primary purpose was to defend the residents of the Sound from being abused by the "Shirtmen"--a term referring to the hunting shirts worn by Virginia and Maryland militia men to spare the cost of providing them with uniforms, and which represented a mainland rather than a maritime way of life. Marmaduke Mister gave commands "in the King's name" and commented that "what those damn'd rebels call Liberty I call Slavery. . . ." The robbery was interrupted when Wheland received a request from Dunmore's fleet to return to the

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[26] John Greenwood, the captain of a forty-ton bay schooner who was captured by Wheland in the fall of 1781, recounted that at that time a mulatto named George commanded one of the "galleys" under Wheland. Eller, *Chesapeake Bay in the Revolution,* 390.

[27] *Ibid.*, 382.

Potomac and guide them to a source of water, as the fleet was preparing to leave the bay.[28] The fleet, which had been chased from Gwynn Island on July 9, had found St. George Island, to which they had resorted, a poor substitute (See Map 4). With no natural springs, water had to be stored in casks or else collected from a well. The island was also vulnerable to attack, being only one hundred yards from the shore, and in an attack on July 25 by 130 militiamen, the fleet's water casks had been broken and the well filled in.[29]

Today, Smith Island forms a district composed of three separate islands. In colonial times, ownership on them followed different and distinct patterns. To the north, only two small tracts of land on South Marsh Island had been patented by the Presbyterian James Strawbridge, and had come into the possession of Henry Lowes, member of a wealthy slave-holding family of Somerset who served as a delegate to the Maryland Convention and had married into the powerful Dashiell family.[30] On the island south of Kedges Strait, one of the tracts of marsh belonging to the Hopkins family became distributed among more than half a dozen families, while the other was resurveyed to land patented by Samuel Chase in 1772. As was generally the case when wealthy men patented land on islands, the owners themselves invariably lived on the mainland while the islands remained largely uninhabited, used as livestock ranges with tenders only visiting on a temporary basis to carry out their duties. This may account for the confusion the Whigs sometimes had as to whether residents on the islands lived on them permanently, or

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[28] *MdArch* XII, 152-156.

[29] John M. Luykx, "Fighting For Food: British Foraging Operations at St. George's Island," *MHM* 71 (1976), 215, 217.

[30] F. Edward Wright, *Maryland Eastern Shore Vital Records,* 5 vols. (Silver Spring, Md., 1982-1985), III, 48.

were only occasional visitors. Given its long connection with the Hopkins family and its proximity to Smith, this middle island was probably the "Hopkins Island" from which Wheland had stolen cattle in June.

The most southerly of the island group was Smith, and the only one to have permanent residents. In distinction to the other two, all the land on it had been patented as a single tract called Pitchcroft in 1679, and by the time of the Revolution ownership had become divided between at least a dozen families. While these people certainly farmed and owned a quantity of livestock, and augmented incomes by trapping and turtling, there seems to have been ever-increasing emphasis on fishing, since visitors who came ashore generally tried to purchase seafood. The surrounding bay was simply looked upon as a continuation of their property. The island's position was ideal for preying on the livestock on the uninhabited islands to the north, and for hiding in the many intersecting creeks and "thoroughfares" where boats could be repaired and booty distributed. All but the two smallest landowners--Richard Bratchin and Elijah Linton (a relative of Nathan Linton)--were indicted during the war for their activities. Among the principal landowners were Thomas Tylor, indicted in 1777. Marmaduke Mister, owner of one hundred acres as well as land in the marshes of Dames Quarter, was possibly of either Dutch or German extraction--one source spells the surname as "Meister." The Misters had originally settled in Accomack County, though a Marmaduke Master became part owner of a 150-acre tract of land in Cedar Creek Hundred of Sussex County in 1683.[31] Marmaduke's brother William continued to hold bayside property in Accomack opposite Watt's Island, while another brother,

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[31] "Barkley Townsend," Genealogical Surname File, HSD. If the name was indeed originally "Master," then the family could well have been English.

Abraham, owned land in Straights Hundred. At least three of the Evans family--Richard, Thomas and John--owned property on Smith. John Evans, an in-law of the Misters, sailed with Wheland and later was one of those captured with him. Captain Yell had heard him say after Wheland had seized him along with Mariman that he was "determined to have several of the principal people of the Islands dead or alive, or get some of their negroes."[32] Richard Evans participated in the insurrection of 1777.

During the war, the Evans' also acquired property on Tangier Island in Virginia, and by 1800 were the island's second-most numerous family, with Richard one of the heads of household. Like most other bay and seaside islands, Tangier had probably originally been solely used for grazing livestock and only periodically inhabited; however in 1778, Joseph Crockett, a Maryland Eastern Shoreman, bought 450 acres on the island from the heirs of Charles Scarburgh, the original patentees, and from that time onward residence was certainly permanent. By 1800, of the seventy-nine residents on the island, thirty-three of them were Crocketts. "Old" Crockett, as Joseph was usually called, was typical of the kind of locally recognized leaders that could be found on the lower Shore, resembling men like Isaac Atkinson and William Bartlett Townsend. In 1763, he was appointed constable of the "Tangier Islands,"[33] which apparently did not deter him from welcoming every British barge and tender that came to the island. For some reason, unlike other heads of household on the island, he was never indicted by the authorities.

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[32] *MdArch* XII, 156.

[33] Gail M. Walczyk (1997). Tangier. [12 paragraphs]. Available: http//www.esva.net/ghotes/tangier.htm [1998, February 18].

The other important landowners on Smith included John and Job Parks, the latter being brought to trial before the General Court of the Eastern Shore in 1781 charged with high treason. Like the Evans', the Parks also acquired land on Tangier, and both families intermarried with the Crocketts.

Smith Islanders had considerable contact with nearby Deal (or Devil) Island. Hamilton Collalo, a "gentleman" of Somerset Parish and possibly an islander emerged as an important recruiter in the area by August 1776. Exempted from pardon, he was tried at the General Court for treason and outlawed, but by then he had escaped from prison and was serving as sailing master of the privateer *Rodney*. He was killed in the great hurricane of October 13, 1780 in which the ship was lost.[34] In their turn, these islanders coordinated their efforts with the residents of nearby Watt's Island, like Tangier a part of Accomack County, Virginia, and controlled by the family of Robert Parker. Parker belonged to a very large Accomack County family; in 1777 he was found guilty by an Accomack County jury of maintaining and defending the authority of the King. Sentenced to five years imprisonment, numerous pleas for clemency from family, friends and neighbors soon descended upon the state capital, and he was pardoned after serving only eight months of his sentence.[35] Parker, however, was never brought to trial for his principal wartime activities.

Smith, Tangier and Watt's all served as entrepots for stolen goods throughout the war; the surrounding shoals gave Tangier in particular a fair amount of protection from warships, and had

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[34] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA; Memorial of Mary Collalo (?1781) in His. MSS. Comm., *Report on American Manuscripts,* II, 375; Albion, *Forests and Seapower,* 309.

[35] Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia,* 150.

sheltered pirates and outlaws since the seventeenth century. Barges which had engaged in successful raids on either the Main or Eastern Shore would rendezvous there; after the crews had sorted through the stolen goods, they were then transported either directly to New York or to a nearer occupied port, such as Portsmouth, Virginia after October 1780. For the tobacco, livestock, planks and corn which the barges and picaroons had stolen, the British paid in sterling--a further incentive when the local "emissions" were so often meeting with "checks" from state residents. Presumably the money was then divided among the crew.

Two weeks following Yell's and Mariman's capture near Smith Island, Joseph Wheland himself was captured in a creek making out for Hoopers Strait by a militia detachment under the command of Maj. Daniel Fallin. Taken with him were John Evans, John Price of Straights Hundred, who had also been with Wheland on Smith Island and was to participate in the salt riot against James Murray in 1777, and a Robert Howith (or Howard). Typical of individuals who had either been in contact with the sick on Dunmore's fleet or else had been among the healthy ones inoculated, three of the four were just recovering from small pox while the fourth was ill with it. The vessel, belonging to Wheland, contained thirty barrels of salt, rum, muskets and swords as wells as sails and rigging, probably from the burned sloop, which were normally kept on board for prolonging cruises. Wheland's capture so soon after the commencement of his activities was a rare coup for the Whigs; on September 12, he was ordered confined in the Frederick County jail until he made restitution to John White for having burned the latter's sloop. This apparently lenient sentence, however, turned into a four-year term of imprisonment, probably because of Wheland's refusal or inability to pay. Evans and Price were ordered

confined in Anne Arundel County jail until they gave a £50 currency bond for their future good behavior, Howith to be released upon giving a £20 bond.[36]

Conscious of the danger of livestock grazed on off-shore islands being plundered by tenders, the Council periodically ordered cattle moved from the more exposed ranges.[37] By early 1777, however, it was beginning to be recognized that by far the greatest threat to the livestock came from the islanders in the Sound themselves. Their resistance to moving cattle away from areas where they could be easily taken could only arise, the Council speculated, "from a Motive that the Enemy should be supplied with them."[38] Not only were they plundering and trading with the British, they also participated in land insurrections after which they were able to quickly slip away to an island or hide in the "Morasses" along the shore.[39] Lieutenant Campbell, who aided in capturing some of the estimated 250 insurgents in early 1777 and had been one of the first to recognize the degree of disaffection among the islanders, was also among the first to advise their removal to the mainland.[40] One of those he attempted to seize at this time was Marmaduke Mister, who managed to escape before Campbell's men could reach his house. Interestingly, Campbell believed that Mister, though "undoubtedly guilty," would have been "glad to be out of the scrape if he knew how."[41]

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[36] *AmArch*, ser. 5, vol. III, 110.

[37] *MdArch* XII, 95, and XVI, 141.

[38] Council to Joseph Dashiell, January 8, 1778 in *ibid.*, 463.

[39] Lt. Campbell to Jenifer, March 7, 1777 in *ibid.*, 164

[40] Lt. Campbell to General Smallwood, March 2, 1777 in Balch, *Maryland Papers*, 73.

[41] *Ibid.*

Virtually the only way the Whigs had of capturing suspected culprits in the Sound was to decoy them by hanging out British colors and hovering about the mouths of the rivers.[42] But success was hampered by the perennial problem of identification and the impossibility of ascertaining guilt or innocence when no one was willing to give testimony. A member of the Evans family--Levin--although understood by General Smallwood to be a "notorious offender" and arrested under highly "suspicious" circumstances, maddened Campbell by his pretence of innocence. Later, when brought before the Council, he volunteered to take the oath of allegiance and successfully pleaded that he had been mistaken for Richard Evans.[43] In an ineffectual attempt to undermine the islanders' confidence, Campbell notified everyone living in the Sound that he would be cruising in the area aboard the *Enterprise* for the entire season, and promised to "hang up" every person he caught communicating with the British.[44]

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Mariners of Delaware Bay were also involved in disaffected activities. The Delaware was, of course, Philadelphia's main waterway for commercial vessels, and as such, commanded that city's particular attention in terms of its defence (See Map 12). The British were simultaneously interested in capturing this "capital" of the United Colonies, and gave special consideration to its waters: when Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, commander of the 44-gun *Roebuck*, was ordered to Virginia by Vice Admiral Graves, he was given the multi-faceted task of aiding Lord Dunmore, enforcing the acts of Parliament restricting colonial trade with Britain

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[42] *MdArch* XVI, 157.

[43] *Ibid.*, 164, 189-190.

[44] Campbell to General Smallwood, February 28, 1777 in Balch, *Maryland Papers*, 71.

and Ireland, and finding as many good pilots for the Delaware River as he could. Pilots were a necessity on the Delaware as they were on Chesapeake bay: the bay and river are studded with ledges and shifting shoals, with the added complication that near Cape Henlopen the southerly flow of the river met the northerly ocean currents. The hazards of sailing off the Cape were dramatically underscored by winter storms which blew away layers of sand there, exposing the bones of "several hundred" sailors washed ashore from wrecks in the bay.[45] The bay and river pilots were, in short, the life of the Delaware; without them navigation must largely cease and Philadelphia left without access to the sea.

On September 16, three months before Hamond received his instructions, the Delaware River pilots were ordered to lay up their boats by the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety. The buoys indicating the central ship channel were to be taken up, and Henry Fisher, one of the more "reputable" pilots at Lewes, was given the task of notifying the committee whenever one or more British warships was sighted off the Capes by means of a series of alarm posts established at the mouths of the major rivers which were to be manned by trustworthy pilots.[46] Delaware had long been a semi-autonomous colony, sharing with Pennsylvania only subordination to the proprietary governor, but such an embargo coming from Pennsylvania was quite usual in times of war, given the river's importance to Philadelphia. These embargoes, however, were not always strictly kept; during King George's War, for instance, the father of one loyalist pilot was seen boarding and piloting a French vessel up the Delaware from Lewes--after having signed a petition complaining that the Cape May pilots were violating the embargo.

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[45] Marvil, *Pilots of the Bay and River Delaware,* 226-227.

[46] Clark, *Naval Documents,* II, 121-122.

In times of peace, the pilots would cruise outside of the capes in search of an incoming ship. Pilot families generally intermarried, and ownership of a boat might be shared with one or two relatives or friends--by the early 1800's, such groups numbered as many as eight--who would cooperate in landing one of their number on an inbound vessel. It was a difficult life, requiring a great deal of physical strength and stamina and a generous share of luck. The competition between pilots, as close-knit as they were as a community, was nevertheless fierce. There were many of them--living not only at the three main stations of Cape May, Lewes and Philadelphia, but also along the navigable rivers that emptied into the bay--and fees had long been fixed at ten shillings per foot. Generous as this basic fee was deemed to be by the Pennsylvania Assembly, many pilots found it difficult to make an adequate living. Their contention may well have been justified: during a visit in 1764 to Pilot Town, on the road just north of Lewes, Benjamin Mifflin dismissed it as "but Meanly and Thinly built."[47]

By the mid-1760's, the Pennsylvania Assembly had empowered the Port Wardens of Philadelphia, consisting of a small group of wealthy city merchants, to issue certificates to pilots and set the price of pilotage. The response was a general strike in 1767 to convince the Port Wardens to "dispense with the Duty" they had been designated to perform. Resentment against New England surfaced, because the rules established that vessels under eighty tons burden would not be required to take on a pilot; since New England vessels were of generally smaller tonnage, it was believed they would escape paying fees while at the same time they learned the secrets of successfully navigating the bay and river. Moreover, while the "principal" pilots refused to apply for certificates from the Port Wardens, the "inferior ranks," taking advantage of the situation,

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[47] Mifflin, "Journal," 139.

obtained them though many were insufficiently qualified. The strike was eventually broken by two of the most "reputable" of the Lewes pilots, Henry Fisher and Samuel Rowland, whose Philadelphia families had long been interrelated by marriage. With the large number of inferior pilots now licensed, a reaction subsequently set in among the rest to root them out by a more stringent yearly examination and certificate renewal.[48]

The 1775 order for the pilots to lay up their boats produced tensions and set the stage for a major rift within their community. Jealousy quickly arose among the Lewes pilots against those of Philadelphia, because while they were impeded in searching for incoming vessels, the Philadelphia pilots were as free as ever to carry on their business, piloting vessels down river and then searching for incoming ships off the capes; some of them had even made it clear that they were determined to "look out" as usual which caused the Lewes pilots to resent their taking "the Bread out of their mouths."[49] Secondly, the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety's placing Henry Fisher in charge of the alarm post at Lewes seemed to elevate him to a superior position, making several references to "his pilots." Historians have since referred to Fisher as "leader of the pilots," though a careful reading of the Committee of Safety's instructions reveal that he was never actually placed in a "supervisory" role over them.[50] Pilots have been traditionally independent and egalitarian; the system in place today ensures that all pilots earn the same

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[48] *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 1, vol. IV, 264-269, 272.

[49] *Ibid.*, 664.

[50] John W. Jackson, *The Pennsylvania Navy 1775-1781: The Defense of the Delaware* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1974), 29-30, 413. Lewes was the first of a series of thirteen alarm posts set up between it and Frankford Creek.

amount in fees.[51] However, the Committee's actions may well have been seen as tending to favor Lewes pilots like Fisher and Samuel Rowland, both of whom had significant ties with Philadelphia and served to irritate other "reputable" pilots, such as Luke Shields, Samuel Edwards and Abraham Wiltbank Jr. whose ties were largely restricted to Sussex County. Nevertheless, the strain was sufficient to briefly provoke even Samuel Rowland, who was indicted in 1777 for his activities following the appearance of the British fleet in the bay. He took the oath and was released from recognizance; however, his younger brother William Rowland went off with the British.[52]

A further difficulty lay in the order for pilots to wait ashore until an incoming ship sent out a boat to fetch one. This was no great hardship for those living at one of the three main stations, but those who lived far upriver felt that they would be unable to compete. Twenty-two men, among them leaders of the 1767 strike, petitioned the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety for permission either to serve aboard two of the provincial galleys that had been fitted out, or else to collect clams and oysters for selling at market in order to augment their incomes.[53] The committee had a different solution to the problem and on October 11 appointed ten of them as "chevaux de frise" pilots.

The chevaux de frise which had begun to be sunk into the river opposite Fort Mifflin the month before were an adaptation of a form of land defence known by the name of "Frisian horses" which were widely used in the Low Countries against cavalry. The marine version

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[51] Marvil, *Pilots of the Bay and River Delaware,* 100.

[52] Sussex County Court of Oyer and Terminer, Session Docket, RG 4825, DPA.

[53] Clark, *Naval Documents,* II, 164-165.

improvised by the Americans was like a primitive mine, consisting of heavy wooden frames studded with large spikes "the size of a man's thigh" and able to pierce a ship's hull. A ten mile-long serpentine channel between these "machines" was mapped out, and the ten chevaux de frise pilots were to be the only ones who knew its position. Five of the ten were to be stationed at Chester to guide vessels one way upriver to Philadelphia after which they were to return to Chester in their skiffs or by land, the other five being posted at Philadelphia for the down river run to Chester. Paid a flat salary by the Committee of Safety, they were to receive no pilotage fees from ship masters, and no other pilots were allowed to guide ships further upriver than Chester.[54] This rule too was soon disobeyed, either by design, or as John Saunders claimed, through ignorance, and a few pilots continued to guide vessels further upriver than Chester. If caught, they had to swear that they would not divulge their knowledge of the channels between the chevaux de frise.[55]

The chevaux de frise, first reported to Vice Admiral Molyneux Shuldham in January 1776,[56] became a major hurdle for the British to overcome. The frames themselves were so heavy and sunk so deeply in the water that removing them would be extremely difficult if not impossible; nor could any removal operations be undertaken until the forts on Mud Island and at Red Bank were neutralized.[57] In the spring of 1777 Lord Howe sent a Lt. James Molesworth from New York to Philadelphia to get pilots able to guide a British invasion fleet up the

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[54] *Ibid.*, 919.

[55] *Ibid.*, 1183-1184.

[56] *Ibid.*, III, 941.

[57] *Annual Register,* vol. 20 (1777), 134.

Delaware and through the chevaux de frise. Two women whom Molesworth contacted were particularly solicitous in helping him and did their best to persuade several pilots to accept his offer, telling them it would be the "making" of them, as they would be on the King's pay for life. They incidentally revealed the rift that had developed between the northern and southern pilots, informing Molesworth that "some of the Cape May pilots" were most likely to do the job. Ultimately betrayed by two of the Philadelphia pilots, Molesworth was captured and quickly executed as a spy.[58]

But if there were tensions creating friction within the pilot community, there were strong currents working against large numbers of pilots actively helping the British. First of all, not only did Philadelphia need to secure the Delaware River for her trade and depended upon the pilots, Delaware producers were equally dependent on Philadelphia: while goods were indeed transported to Maryland across the portages at the watershed between the Broadkill and Indian River and the Nanticoke, and between Sinnepuxent Bay and the Pocomoke, much of what was produced in Sussex was sent upriver to Philadelphia by shallop.[59]

Lewes was also in one important respect quite different from much of the rest of the Delmarva Peninsula. The life of a pilot exposed him to many different individuals as well as different cultures, and because he was regularly provided with news from a wide variety of sources, he was probably better informed than most concerning imperial measures. As a result, Lewes may well have been one of the most cosmopolitan towns in lower Delmarva, and was the

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[58] *Pennsylvania Archives,* ser. 1, vol. V, 270-281.

[59] Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia,* I, 302; Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 33, 131. A shallop was a small open boat, usually manned by one to three individuals and generally equipped with both sails and long oars or "sweeps."

home to the most radical faction in Sussex both before and after the war.[60] This may help to explain why Hamond had as little luck in obtaining pilots in the spring of 1776 as Lord Dunmore was having getting volunteers for the Queen's Own Loyal Virginia Regiment. In spite of a party of Light Horse that had been dispatched to Sussex County in January to gather intelligence about a reported gathering of persons wanting to assist the men of war, in March Hamond had to write to Vice Admiral Shuldham that he continued to be unable to procure a single pilot. His only recourse had been to instruct the *Roebuck's* tender, which he dispatched to the Delaware on March 7, to either decoy pilots off Cape Henlopen, or to send boats into Lewes Town Creek to surprise them in their vessels.[61] By April, Hamond had succeeded in acquiring the services of at least two pilots--a Robert Lightbody, and a certain Chambers.[62] Two was nevertheless quite a poor showing, and during this period, a Sussex Countian was bold enough to write that "As for Tories, there are none such among us. That infamous name is quite done away. . . ."[63]

That situation began to change radically over the summer of 1776 when the first major insurrection broke out on the lower Shore in reaction to Independence. Atkinson joined Dunmore and Sussex Countians went in droves aboard the tenders in the Nanticoke and

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[60] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 103. In fact, Lewes later served as the main point where immigrants entered the United States in the decade before Ellis Island became the major port of entry in the mid-1890's: Welcome to Lewes, Delaware Online. [7 paragraphs]. Available: http//www.dmv.com/btob/lewes/ [1998, April 16].

[61] Jackson, *Pennsylvania Navy,* 35; Clark, *Naval Documents,* IV, 151; James Sykes to Caesar Rodney, January 19, 1776, HSD: photostat of original document owned by the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.

[62] Hamond to Capt. Henry Bellew, April 8, 1776 in Hamond Naval Papers (#680), UVL. Chambers probably belonged to the family of the same name which today is among the most prominent of the Delaware pilot families.

[63] *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. V, 965.

Wicomico Rivers. By the fall, small numbers of British warships appeared periodically in the bay in order to obstruct trade, and on December 11 Fisher reported to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety that the "two capes and to the Southward are Lin'd with Men of War."[64] One of the stratagems of the British seems to have been to continually send flags ashore, either for the purpose of testing the reactions of the Americans, or else in order to whittle away their strength. Fisher was only able to send twelve armed men with an officer to receive each flag, and he warned the Council of Safety that he was liable to be taken prisoner at any time, and that the pilots would "be all taken in their beds," for twelve men did not provide adequate protection. Three of the county committee of safety had even advised him that they should lay down their arms and submit. One of the three was Abraham Wiltbank's cousin, John. John Wiltbank had long been identified with the Court Party and an ally of Thomas Robinson's. Like other Sussex conservatives, he had been "filled with honors," having served in the legislature, attended the Convention as a delegate, and in August 1776 appointed to be the county's military treasurer. His son-in-law Phillips Kollock was identified by Rev. Matthew Wilson as a recusant Tory.[65] Following Howe's Proclamation of November 30, Wiltbank advertised for a public meeting to be held at Lewes where he intended to read a copy of it. "Query," wrote Henry Fisher, "Is he a proper person to serve in these important stations at this critical juncture?"[66]

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[64] *Pennsylvania Archives,* ser. 1, vol. V, 101.

[65] Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 320.

[66] *Ibid.*, 263; *DelArch,* III, 1033-1034. On May 5, 1778, William Adair recorded in his diary that Wiltbank had gone to the English. Harold B. Hancock, ed., "The Revolutionary War Diary of William Adair," *Delaware History* 13 (1968-69), 164.

Numbers of persons were seen going aboard the warships in order to trade; on December 31, a group of five men were reported to have gone aboard H.M.S. *Pearl* to sell livestock. Five American prisoners on the vessel subsequently deposed that Daniel Dingee, elected a member of the Assembly for Sussex County in the tumultuous 1776 election, had been among them as had a man named Townsend and that a Dr. Jackson[67] was often mentioned. Captain Hamond was heard to have asked the men about the price of turkeys. When brought face to face before the Council, the five retracted their testimony and Dingee was permitted to take his seat in the House.[68]

Another man who was accused of supplying the British with provisions that December was Thomas Robinson. The Convention, however, had little difficulty believing in *his* guilt, and Robinson now fled Sussex County for New York along with four others in a schooner loaded with Indian corn and oats. With him were Leatherbury Barker, Littleton Townsend and William Milby. The schooner apparently belonged to Milby, a merchant who claimed to have been captured by the *Roebuck* in March 1776 and who had subsequently aided the British both by procuring supplies for the Navy and by piloting tenders.[69] Barker's wife had purchased tea from Robinson's store in 1775--no doubt some of the supply the latter had bought in contravention to the Association and which he was accused of dealing out "to all whom he could persuade to use it."[70] In the claim which he later submitted to the British commission, Robinson omitted to

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[67] Probably Julius Augustus Jackson, "practitioner of physick," of Northwest Fork. The Townsend referred to in the deposition was either Barclay or Littleton Townsend.

[68] Unpublished Revolutionary War Material, RG 1800, reel 3, DPA.

[69] Claim of William Milby, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/80, Ontario Archives.

[70] Scharf, *History of Delaware,* I, 223; Hancock, "Thomas Robinson," 15.

mention the adventure which now transpired and culminated in their capture by the sloop *Wasp.* After being promptly robbed of their gold and silver and some of their clothes by Captain Baldwin, the five were first brought into Egg Harbor and afterwards transferred to the Philadelphia jail.[71] There they remained in custody until February, when they petitioned to be released.

One of the first Delaware pilots to be seen aboard a British warship at this time was William Ross, a man of middling wealth who lived in Northwest Fork along the Nanticoke River.[72] He had been among those to petition the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety in 1775 and had succeeded in being appointed one of the ten chevaux de frise pilots. Another pilot, William Dryden, supplied several of the British vessels with provisions. It was in fact one of a pilot's duties to supply provisions to vessels arriving in the bay, and often pilot schooners cruised carrying a quantity of supplies, either garnered from their own fields or from those of neighbors and relatives, to sell to ships that were completing a long transatlantic journey. Such vessels were usually depleted of fresh provisions, some having none left at all, their supplies spoilt in a storm. Dryden owned two vessels, a schooner and a yawl, and some personal property worth a little over £100, but no real estate.[73] Indicted for high treason in 1777, he failed to appear before the Court of Oyer and Terminer and was subsequently excluded from pardon.[74]

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[71] Robert Morris to President of Congress, December 23, 1776 in *AmArch*, ser. 5, vol. III, 1371-1372.

[72] Henry Fisher to Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, June 7, 1776 in Clark, *Naval Documents,* V, 414-415.

[73] Claim of William Dryden, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/80, Ontario Archives; Information Respecting Property Confiscated in the Delaware Counties in *ibid.,* A.O. 12/95.

[74] Sussex County Court of Oyer and Terminer, Session Docket, RG 4825, DPA.

But the most numerous defections occurring among the pilots took place in the summer and fall of 1777, after Howe had embarked at New York for the campaign to capture Philadelphia. The *Roebuck* and several other ships had frequented the Lewes area late in June, and were "carrying on a fine Stroke of trade" with the people of Long Neck on the north side of Indian River, from whom they received fresh provisions, fish and fowl. Fisher dolefully reported that in this area there was "scarce one Whigg." The British had apparently even hinted to local residents that if anyone hindered them in their trade, five hundred men would be landed to defend them.[75] On July 30, over two hundred sail appeared off Cape Henlopen; at the Lewes alarm post, Fisher and Col. David Hall had no way of knowing whether the British were planning a landing in Sussex or were intending to go further up the bay. Their hands were now becoming full with trying to deal with the people of Cedar Creek who were in "constant trade" with the British ships.[76] The sight of so many large vessels must have presented a great temptation to the better pilots. The best pilots had traditionally wanted to pilot the largest ships, and if the British were intending to travel up the Delaware, they would probably only want pilots who had been licensed by the Philadelphia Port Wardens. A further incentive was that in November 1775, Admiral Arbuthnot had ordered Hamond to pay pilots full pilotage instead of the customary half pilotage.[77]

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[75] *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 1, vol. V, 402-403.

[76] *Ibid.*, 504-505. Joshua Willis, Samuel Marrott, and William Jester before Caesar Rodney, July 1, 1777 in H.F. Brown Collection, box 18, folder 11, HSD.

[77] Hamond Naval Papers (#680), UVL.

At this time two of the better pilots stationed at Lewes joined the British fleet.[78] Although a comparatively poor man whose debts were apparently extensive, Samuel Edwards had long been trusted by the revolutionaries for carrying messages from Henry Fisher to Philadelphia, having been appointed by Fisher to man the alarm post at Murderkill.[79] Nehemiah Field had also offered his services to the state early on in the war; in February 1776 he had transported a cargo of corn belonging to four prominent men of the county to St. Eustatia, returning with arms and shot for the colony. Sighting the *Roebuck*, he had sent to Lewes for a company of the Delaware battalion to help in unloading his schooner. The warship's tender had chased him, and he had run ashore trying to escape up Indian River.[80] Field belonged to a family that had enjoyed some distinction in the earlier part of the century, an ancestor and namesake having been appointed to the offices of deputy register of the county and clerk of the county court, as well as serving in the Assembly under Penn.[81] His own name appeared frequently in communications signed by the leading pilots of Lewes. He was also a wealthier man than Edwards, owning not only three town lots in Lewes, one of which he had bought from Fisher and Abraham Wiltbank, but also a 100-acre farm and three slaves. He later estimated the value of his personal and real estate to have been over £700.[82] Ultimately, Howe chose to invade through the Chesapeake rather than the heavily defended Delaware, with its series of forts and chevaux de

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[78] Hancock, "Diary of William Adair," 161; Ryden, *Letters,* 203-204.

[79] *DelArch,* III, 1363, 1380-1381; Jackson, *Pennsylvania Navy,* 414.

[80] *DelArch,* II, 943-944; *AmArch,* ser. 4, vol. V, 965; Narrative of Sir Andrew Snape Hamond in Clark, *Naval Documents,* IV, 701.

[81] Scharf, *Delaware History,* I, 411.

[82] Claim of Nehemiah Field, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/26, Ontario Archives.

frise. Ironically, the plans of the chevaux de frise had already been sent to Britain. They had been procured by a Philadelphia shipbuilder, who had in turn entrusted them to a former tea consignee, Gilbert Barkly. Barkly had afterwards dispatched the plans to Sir Grey Cooper of the Treasury, with whom he regularly corresponded.[83] All to no avail: if Cooper had indeed received them, he chose not to forward them, and four days after its arrival in Delaware Bay, the British fleet departed.

Following Howe's capture of Philadelphia in September, the British needed to tackle the Delaware River's defences and open it for navigation; Wilmington was briefly occupied and Delaware's first President, John McKinly, was captured. British warships patrolled the bay, and no one living along the navigable streams felt safe from their depredations. Plans had been laid in August between Col. Richardson and leading Whigs in Lewes for preventing supplies from reaching the British fleet by collecting all the watercrafts in the various creeks in Sussex County, giving particular attention to those in Cedar Creek, and placing them under the guard of an armed boat stationed in Lewes Creek.[84] But when a British fleet of thirty-six sail appeared near the town in the first week of October, it was discovered that the tactic was not completely successful. Managing to elude the roundup of boats that was ordered along Lewes Creek were three of the town's best pilots--Luke Shields Jr., Abraham Wiltbank Jr. and his son Jacob Wiltbank, who had earlier hidden a small boat across the creek where it could not be found. Now, hauling it

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[83] Memorial of David Thomson in Egerton, *Royal Commission,* 326-327; Geoffrey Seed, "A British Spy in Philadelphia, 1775-1777," *PMHB* 85 (1961), 29, 36.

[84] Ryden, *Letters,* 210-212.

from its hiding place, the trio crossed the cape to the surf and went out to the fleet anchored in the road.[85]

Shields and the elder Wiltbank were both highly respected, their names appearing often in communications on behalf of the pilots. Although Shields had comparatively little property, he had enough influence locally to have been appointed a justice of the peace in 1775 and 1777.[86] Like most of the other Lewes pilots, he had actively served the revolutionary cause by hiring out his pilot boat to the Sussex Committee of Safety.[87] Wiltbank belonged to a prominent old Swedish family whose founder, Helmanus Frederick, had been among the first settlers in the Lewes area and served as a magistrate in the Dutch period; he himself had clearly prospered as a pilot, owning two farms of 424 acres and some livestock which he estimated to be worth over £1,000 Pennsylvania currency in addition to £100 worth of personal estate. During King George's War, Wiltbank's uncle had enjoyed the rare privilege of being appointed the commander of one of the two Government Pilot Boats ordered to procure intelligence concerning enemy vessels in the river and bay; although commissioned a lieutenant in the

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[85] William Peery to Caesar Rodney, October 5, 1777 (EM#951), Thomas Addis Emmet Collection, NYPL.

[86] Wright, *Sussex County Land Records*, 113; Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 282, 288. This, however, may have been Luke Shields, rather than Luke Shields Jr. Three of the nine J.P.'s appointed on February 21, 1777 (including Shields) were accused Tories; two were suspected Tories, and another was the son of a Tory (Robert Burton son of Robert). Forfeited property belonging to Shields was sold in 1778 for only £11: Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 87.

[87] *DelArch,* II, 943.

service of the state, Wiltbank perhaps had resented the Pennsylvania Committee's appointment of Fisher to serve in more or less the same capacity in 1775.[88]

Although engaged in the British service, none of the pilots seem to have intended leaving the state permanently. Their situation was made uncomfortable following the passage into law of the Act of Free Pardon and Oblivion on June 22, 1778. By the act, all disaffected "offenders," with forty-six exceptions, would be pardoned and restored to their estates if they took the oath of allegiance before a justice of the peace by August 1; all others would have their real and personal estates confiscated.[89] Listed among those exempted from possible pardon were all but two of the Lewes river pilots who had gone to the fleet. Although ties were forged with mariners from other states while at New York,[90] the Delaware refugees, led in part by Wiltbank, soon afterward began forming an Association; although there was fear that signing an Association paper would encourage General Henry Clinton to keep them as a garrison at New York, seven hundred signatures were obtained by October 8, when Wiltbank left the city piloting a flag ship, and another 3,000 were anticipated. The original proposal was that a landing be made on Fenwick Island after which the refugees would march north up the Eastern Shore and through Kent and New Castle Counties, where they expected to be joined by a "very considerable number of the

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[88] John G. Herndon, "The Wiltbanck-Wiltbank Family of Sussex County, Delaware, and Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* (1950), 3-11; Claim of Abraham Wiltbank, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/26, Ontario Archives; Turner, *Daniel Rodney's Diary,* 57; Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 51-52; Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 128; *DelArch,* I, 33.

[89] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 83, 86.

[90] For instance, Nehemiah Field seems to have become friendly with the Denny family, mariners of New York City, and witnessed the will of Mary Denny in 1782. New York Historical Society, *Collections* 34 (1901), 267-268.

Inhabitants," however, Wiltbank believed the surf on Fenwick was too violent and favored a more southerly spot. Their main goal was to seize property "as a reparation" for the losses they had suffered by the act. Provided with arms, accoutrements and provisions by the British, but having the "privilege" of choosing their own officers, the refugees promised to be no further burden on the government once they had gotten through the British lines, though they wanted ships to be ready to take them off should they be unable to make a stand. The vessel Wiltbank had departed in was wrecked off the New Jersey shore less than two weeks later. At first, he claimed to be carrying dispatches from the Carleton Commissioners intended for Congress, which could not be found, but later he confessed the plan to Whig authorities and to the Congress.[91]

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As in the case of land-based riots, "briny crime" fell dramatically with the British abandonment of Philadelphia in the late spring of 1778, the battle of Monmouth and the retreat back to New York. The arrival of the French fleet also helped to curb it. A two-year hiatus followed as the war in America was relegated to secondary importance and the British determined to concentrate on what was conceived to be the more dangerous enemy--France. During this period, the Eastern Shore was relatively quiet. A minor surge of activity occurred in May 1779 when General Clinton sent Admiral George Collier and Major General Matthews from

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[91] John Henry to Thomas Johnson, October 21, 1778 in U.S. Library of Congress, *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789,* edited by Paul H. Smith, 24 vols. to date (Washington D.C., 1976-1996), II, 94-95; Maryland State Papers (Red Books) S 989, MSA; *MdArch* XXI, 220-221.

New York with seventeen warships and about two thousand men to the Chesapeake for the purpose of interdicting supplies destined for Washington's army.

Landing on May 10, the towns of Norfolk, Portsmouth, Gosport and Kempe's Landing were quickly taken. Using Portsmouth as a base, extensive plundering was undertaken for the next two weeks--130 vessels were burned, several thousand barrels of pork and large quantities of naval stores were captured.[92] For American pirates, opportunity arose once again for despoiling local people of their property. Collier, who tried to exclusively target the homes of patriots in raids for provisions, effectively preserved the goodwill of resident loyalists. At this time, four wealthy men of Northampton County, Virginia--Daniel Hall, Henry Guy (also spelled Gay or Grey), George Savage and Dr. Lewis Fulwell of Northampton--sent him a present of eight lambs, a gesture which was generously overlooked by the county court.[93] George Savage was a direct descendant of one of the earliest settlers on the Shore and among his other holdings, shared ownership of a couple of large and strategically placed bayside tracts with Guy, who had been appointed a justice of the peace in 1768, and Dr. Fulwell, who had refused to take the state oath in 1777. Hall also owned bayside property near the Maryland border.[94] All four had impressive herds of cattle and horses, and the number of slaves they possessed placed them in the top six percent of the county's 395 slave-holders.

During their brief stay, local loyalists, "according to their usual custom," approached the British commanders and assured them of the loyalist disposition of many of the inhabitants and

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[92] *Annual Register*, vol. 21 (1779), 186-187.

[93] Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia*, 138.

[94] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, I, 207, 210-211, 245, 261, 271, 277; "Justices of the Peace of Colonial Virginia," 86, 90.

their own impatience "to see the royal standard erected amongst them." Collier urged Clinton to fortify Portsmouth and convert it into a base for shipping that would disrupt the trade of the Chesapeake. Clinton, who was alternately fascinated and disenchanted with the lower Shore, was more impressed at this time with its isolation and indefensibility and ordered Collier and Matthews to return.[95]

But there were also occasional demonstrations of the ambivalence of the local residents when it came to matters of trade. One such instance took place after the arrival of Count D'Estaing off the coast, when hundreds of cattle, sheep and hogs were driven down to Cape Henlopen and the shallop channel on the west side of the Delaware River became filled with small boats "loaded with potatoes, turnips, onions and other vegetables, Beef, Pork, flour Bread etc." for the French fleet.[96] The Americans were at the greatest disadvantage in acquiring provisions for the army, due to the use of inflated continental currency. Samuel Rowland Fisher, a Philadelphia loyalist, remarked that old pewter was more valuable than "a few very small bits of dirty paper,"[97] and Joseph Wheland did not even bother to rob his victims of their currency, believing it "wou'd be of no more use to him than Blank paper."[98] As a recourse, the Whigs were permitted to seize wagons and horses from nonjurors,[99] while County Commissaries of Purchases and Purchasers of Cattle had the power of taking away flour, wheat and livestock

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[95] *Annual Register,* vol. 22 (1779), 187.

[96] Samuel Rowland Fisher, "Journal," *PMHB* 41 (1917), 175.

[97] *Ibid.*, 333.

[98] *MdArch* XII, 156.

[99] *Ibid.*, XLVII, 367.

from inhabitants who refused to sell at the "high" prices offered, to prevent any "inimical Designs.[100]

The situation, however, once again became critical in the summer of 1780 with the news of British successes in capturing Charlestown and three months later defeating the American Southern Army under Gen. Horatio Gates at the battle of Camden. These events were part of a British realignment of policy that took into account the necessity of prosecuting the war with France in the West Indies and the likelihood of being aided by loyalists, believed to be more numerous in the South. In the end, the Southern campaign was to culminate in the belated but nevertheless disastrous attempt to secure a harbor for the British fleet as a replacement for Rhode Island, the importance of its loss in 1779 having been grossly underestimated by the Navy.[101]

In October 1780, 2,500 troops under General Alexander Leslie reoccupied the Norfolk area. Their purpose was to support Cornwallis' campaign by undertaking raids up the James River valley to prevent supplies from reaching the shattered American Southern Army. In their wake came numbers of refugees who wanted to repossess their confiscated estates.[102] Others joined the British, such as twenty-year old Severn Major of Accomack County who moved within the British lines at this time and served for the remainder of the war as a lieutenant in the Armed Boat Company.[103] Never before had the British been in such strength in the bay, and once

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[100] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 58; Council to William Winder Jr., January 7, 1778 and to Joseph Dashiell, January 8 in *ibid.*, XVI, 460, 463.

[101] John A. Tilley, *The British Navy in the American Revolution* (Columbia, S.C., 1987), 171-172.

[102] Benjamin Franklin Stevens, comp., *The Campaign in Virginia 1781.* 2 vols. (London, 1888), I, 214, 269; *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* I, 408.

[103] Hayward, *Loyalist Officers*, 24.

again the Chesapeake became "much infested with the Privateers and Cruisers of the Enemy," and vessels were blocked up in the rivers as far north as the Patuxent.[104]

Coinciding with these events was the release of Joseph Wheland from his imprisonment. Renting a house in the Wicomico section of Somerset County, he lived there with his family, even managing to convince Somerset's Lieutenant, George Dashiell, that he had been forced into serving the British. According to his own memorial, however, he almost immediately contacted General Benedict Arnold at Portsmouth and was soon employed in getting fresh provisions for the army.[105] Not until early March 1781 did Worcester County's Lieutenant have definite information that he was "plundering Again" in Somerset,[106] though there was little that Whigs could do to effectively check him: county and state treasuries by this time were nearly exhausted, and officials were being increasingly "dunned" by creditors of the state demanding payment.[107] Men were refusing to turn out as select militiamen on the lower Shore, and in the spring of 1781 there were draft riots in Northampton and Accomack counties; with no effective land force to repel plundering raids, prominent men of the gentry class like Henry Dennis were "afraid of being made a prisoner every night" of their lives.[108] Because it was believed that the jailor of Baltimore had released Wheland after being paid a large sum of money, few were willing to try and capture any of the picaroons or give evidence against them for fear that their

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[104] *Cal. Of Va. State Papers,* I, 238.

[105] Claim of Joseph Wheland, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/40, Ontario Archives.

[106] *MdArch* XLVII, 103.

[107] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 488, 528.

[108] *Ibid.* XLVII, 103.

quick release would result in retaliatory attacks upon themselves.[109] Furthermore, due to the shortage of funds and lack of manpower, many of the state vessels began having to be laid up in the winter and early spring of 1781. By late March of that year, the number of raids had grown to such an extent that the Somerset County gentry applied directly to the State Council for a proposed 50-foot barge with a crew of sixty and armed with a forward 24-pounder to protect those living along the water.[110] The situation on the Virginia Shore was no better: during the summer of 1780 two state galleys which had served as patrol vessels were deserted by their officers and men and lay in Accomack County partially scuttled and stripped by local residents.[111] Thereafter, privateer raids on bayside plantations on the Western Shore increased; in the course of a month in the spring of 1781, plantations belonging to John Washington, George Dent, Gerary Hooe and counsellor Carter were all plundered.[112]

With the British paying in sterling, people were also more willing than ever to trade with them. An added incentive was that they could no longer legally export local crops, embargo acts having been passed in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware "so that the trade of the Delaware bay be not open for the emolument of the people residing on the waters, or in the vicinity thereof."[113] On top of that, the weather had been poor in lower Delmarva in 1779, and the harvest meagre. This made payment of taxes all the more difficult and led to the largest of Delaware's three major insurrections, after which many of the leading participants were enlisted

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[109] *Ibid.*, 104.

[110] *Ibid.*, 140-141.

[111] Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia,* 152; *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* I, 402.

[112] *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* II, 21-22.

[113] *Maryland Gazette,* October 13, 1780.

for service in the Continental Army. To make matters worse, a disastrous fire in the Great Cypress Swamp in lower Sussex County broke out in June 1782 which burned for weeks. The flames, rising to one hundred feet, could be seen seventy miles away, and when they finally died away, three thousand acres of valuable timber land had been lost and dozens of livelihoods threatened, for which the area continues to be called the Burnt Swamp by local residents today.[114] It is little wonder that "briny crime" reached unprecedented levels from the middle of 1780 until early 1783 and became "the sole object of the public attention."[115] But the cause of the Assembly's concern was probably not in the resurgence of piracy in the bay, but in the levels of violence in the new wave of attacks. Previously, cattle might be stolen, a vessel overtaken and the gold and silver of its passengers pocketed; now great manor houses were put to the torch, murders were attempted on kidnapped victims and bloody sea battles erupted between revolutionary forces and the British barges and picaroons.

Wheland certainly had no shortage of confederates to work with him from 1780 onwards. Unfortunately, little is known about these barge commanders, even concerning where they resided, though mariners who had the misfortune of falling into their hands were not impressed with either their manner or appearance: one captain described Wheland as wearing a gold-laced jacket which he had stolen from "some old trooper," and those who were with him all looked "gallows-marked."[116] Wheland's most trusted lieutenants were the Timmons brothers, Michael and William Jr., who, like Wheland, were from Straights Hundred, Dorchester. A John

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[114] Dennis, *The Great Cypress Swamps*, 13; Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 16.

[115] Smallwood to Washington, July 30, 1782 in Balch, *Maryland Papers*, 189.

[116] Eller, *Chesapeake Bay in the Revolution*, 390-391.

Timmons of Dorchester, possibly another brother, was captured in August 1781 after having entered into the British service on August 5 and bearing arms for them. The General Court of the Eastern Shore sentenced him to death.[117] A Captain Roach, who may have been Stephen Roach of Somerset County, and thus a 1777 insurgent , operated out of Somerset. He led a gang of two whites and two blacks, and was assisted by an unidentified Lieutenant Morris. The gang boarded and plundered a schooner in Tangier Sound off Dames Quarter that was operated by two men from the Western Shore. A colleague of Roach and Morris was a Captain Gutridge: though the surname does exist on the lower Shore, he may possibly have been a member of the Goodrich family of Norfolk Virginia. Capt. John Robinson (or Robertson), possibly from Straights Hundred, began working in concert with Wheland in 1781, though earlier in 1780 he had attacked plantations belonging to Whigs along the Patuxent River. He commanded as many as four barges--one of them was large with a crew of thirty-five, of whom only eight were white, and armed with swivels and thirty-five muskets.

It was Robinson who embroiled Rev. John Lyon in difficulties in August 1781. The day after having taken the parson aboard his barge, Robinson led ashore a group of a hundred men in four barges, "chiefly negroes," and plundered and torched several homes which it was believed had been pointed out to him by Lyon. One hundred fifty Virginians desperately gave chase in twenty-five small boats for four days and four nights, but the wily Robinson managed to escape by intelligence gleaned from islanders.[118]

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[117] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

[118] *MdArch* XLVII, 334; *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* II, 339-341.

Capt. James Daniel Brooks, who probably resided in New Jersey, commanded the barge *Jolly Tar*, and was finally captured off Gwynn Island in November 1782 by Solomon Frazier in the state barge *Defence*. Also captured aboard the barge was a Jacob Extine, who later moved to London and wrote a certificate in support of Wheland's claim, and Samuel Outten--a middling planter from Accomack, who had commanded a barge of his own in the Delaware River. Following his capture, he was sent to the Dover Jail in Delaware, from which he soon escaped. Capt. John McMullin of Worcester, who owned a town lot in Snow Hill, commanded the barge *Restoration* which was manned by four whites and nine blacks; in July 1781, he attacked the home of Capt. Henry Gale, whom he kidnapped, "inhumanly whipped" with thirty-six lashes and tried to kill.[119] Captured by Commodore Thomas Grason on July 30, he managed to escape. A Daniel McMullin, who enrolled as a private in the Maryland Loyalist Battalion, was probably a relative.

Also cooperating with Wheland was Stephen Mister, a nephew of Marmaduke Mister who apparently lived with his father William on the latter's bayside property on Hungar's Creek in Accomack County. He had been in and out of trouble since September 1777, when he was first charged with treason and imprisoned in the Accomack jail. From there he was helped to escape by a certain Reuben Warrington--probably a slave named Reuben belonging to John Warrington, whose property bordered the same creek as William Mister's.[120] Ten months later Mister was back in jail in the same county for a misdemeanor. In August, 1780, it was learned

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[119] He "endeavored but could not prevail on his crew to hang him a second time (nor drown'd him which he proposed). . . ." *MdArch* XLVII, 361.

[120] Accomack County Wills 1788-1794, Will of John Warrington, 29 June 1790, pp. 310-311, VSL.

in Maryland that Mister had been charged once again in Accomack for treason three months before in May. At this time, Governor Thomas Sim Lee reported to Thomas Jefferson that Mister had been indicted in Maryland in 1778 for "High Treason committed within this State;" he had escaped once from prison in Baltimore, and when he was soon afterwards captured in Virginia and delivered to the Sheriff of Worcester County, he had managed to escape a second time. Lee was apprehensive of an "Insufficiency of Witnesses" at Mister's trial in Richmond, and, apparently not dismayed by Mister's escape record, asked that in case of an acquittal Mister be returned to Maryland for trial.[121] In 1781, it was reported that Mister, free once again, was in command of a barge manned by blacks.[122] His operational base was believed to be on the Annamessex River, though a twelve-day search conducted by the Maryland State barges *Dolphin* and *Plater* were unable to locate it. Operating off the mouth of the Nanticoke, he carried the prizes he captured to Smith Island, where his uncle took charge of them along with the goods taken aboard and sold them to the British.[123]

Capt. John Kidd also cooperated with Wheland. His residency is something of a mystery; some historians have claimed he was a Virginian, others a Scotsman, but according to British records he commanded a New York privateer and earlier in the war had set up an operational base on Hog Island, a small seaside island off the northern coast of Northampton County, Virginia which sometimes served as a useful way station for loyalists travelling between British-held posts (See Map 11). From there he had undertaken night-time raids on plantations to

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[121] Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia,* 149. Gov. Lee to Gov. Jefferson, August 3, 1780 in *MdArch* XLIII, 247.

[122] Information of Thomas Doyle, Maryland State Papers (Brown Books) S 991, MSA.

[123] Eller, *Chesapeake Bay in the Revolution,* 391-392.

provision British warships in the bay, and took escaped slaves aboard his whaleboat to serve with him.[124] It is likely that certain residents of this unruly seaside settlement eagerly joined the British raiding parties. Among them may have been Walter Piggot, whose family had possessed property on the island since the seventeenth century. Like several other Shore loyalists, he had been indebted to the British firm of Muirhead and Hay. Details of his service with the British are scanty, but in early 1781 he was captured at the Susquehanna Ferry in Maryland while helping to organize a trading ring to provide the British army in Virginia with flour, for which he was ordered hanged as a spy by the Marquis de Lafayette--one of the very rare instances of a Delmarvan loyalist being executed during the war.[125]

Other old offenders formed alliances with different individuals. Levin Disharoon, for instance, who was reported to have participated in every single insurrection on the Shore, had gone down to Portsmouth some time in October 1781 and had joined in partnership with a certain John Dempsey in command of the armed schooner *Cat*, otherwise identified only as a "subject of the King and employed in the British service." Together they cruised and "waged war against the United States of America and the State of Maryland."[126]

Much the same state of affairs was going on in the Delaware: by July 13, 1780 John Jones was reporting to Caesar Rodney about the "alarming" situation, "the Enemy being almost

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[124] Turman, *Eastern Shore of Virginia,* 131-132; Graham Russell Hodges, ed., *Black Loyalist Directory: African-Americans in Exile After the American Revolution* (New York and London, 1996), 59, 64; Alexander Fraser, *Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario,* 2 vols. (1905; reprint, Toronto,1994), II, 733.

[125] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore,* I, 368; *Virginia Geneclogist* 17 (1973), 263; *MdArch* XLV, 410 and XLVII, 189-190, 196-197.

[126] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

Constantly in the River."[127] As was the case in the Chesapeake, "dirty picaroons" and refugee boats "rode triumphant on the Delaware" till the spring of 1782.[128] In fact, they had by that time become so bold that they were not afraid to venture into otherwise hostile territory: the master of a vessel which had been captured by a "refugee Captain" named Jones was greatly surprised to see the latter at the waterside in Philadelphia, apparently apprising himself of the vessels which were to be sailing down river, when they were to leave and their strength.[129]

Depredations against the property of the area's leading politicians reached unprecedented heights during this period. Choptank Island, belonging to Matthew Tilghman of Talbot County was occupied and stripped of everything that could be removed; Edward Lloyd's Wye House was similarly ransacked by one of the Goodrich's privateers, with eight slaves and over £800 in gold and silver stolen, after which the mansion was reduced to ashes. The residence of John Henry of Dorchester County was also destroyed. In a daring raid against the little town of Vienna, vessels belonging to such prominent Whigs as Capt. Robert Dashiell of the Maryland State Navy, James Shaw and Pritchard Willis were torched and left to burn alongside those owned by loyalists which were ostentatiously left undamaged. In Somerset, the home of Levin Gale, the former Pocomoke Surveyor, was burned down, and Capt. Planner Williams was plundered of most of his movable property by a group of nine islanders.[130]

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[127] Ryden, *Letters,* 355.

[128]William Livingston to Caesar Rodney, April 24, 1781; James Booth to Caesar Rodney, June 6, 1781; Caesar to Thomas Rodney, August 16, 1781; Thomas to Caesar Rodney, February 27, 1782 in *ibid.*, 406, 410, 423-424, 434.

[129] Caesar to Thomas Rodney, March 25, 1782 in *ibid.*, 436.

[130] Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland 1661-1861,* 2 vols. (1915; reprint, Baltimore, 1967), II, 124-125; *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* III, 584.

Not all watermen supported the picaroons, of course, but it was a rare event when in June, 1781, Gen. Henry Hooper managed to find at least four drafted militiamen from Dorchester County who wanted to serve aboard the state barges. Interestingly, none of the four came from Straights Hundred, but resided in either Nanticoke or Transquaking and so were probably rivals of such men as the Slocums, Wheland, and the Timmons brothers.[131]

Both the Chesapeake and the Delaware, of course, were hunting grounds too rich not to attract outsiders with few if any political convictions; Chesapeake captains understood that even the state galleys "would at times board and plunder. . .our own vessels."[132] New York privateers had prowled both bays since the beginning of the war. Refugees from the area often commanded them. At least three members of the prominent Burton family of Indian River had been directly implicated in disaffected activity; another, a merchant who went to New York named Joseph Hews Burton, commanded a ten-gun privateer called the *Fox* which hunted the river.[133] In February 1779, another New York privateer, possibly commanded by Kidd, landed its crew at night at John Cropper's plantation in Accomack County and destroyed much of the property.[134]

Thomas Slater, an Englishman who had moved to Newport News in Virginia in 1762, lost a brig in the Delaware to the Continental Sloop *Wasp* in May 1776; paroled in early 1777, he later formed a partnership with two men of New Castle Town while the British were in

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[131] *MdArch* XLVII, 321.

[132] Quoted in Eller, *Chesapeake Bay in the Revolution,* 390.

[133] *DelArch,* II, 925; Fraser, *Second Report,* I, 520.

[134] *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* I, 326.

occupation of Philadelphia. New Castle had a long history of competition with Wilmington, the latter town with its large population of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians being the most supportive of the Revolution in the entire county. Together with a former British naval surgeon, Dr. John Watson, whose property had been confiscated after he had joined Howe in August 1777 at Head of Elk, and Watson's brother-in-law George Yeates, Slater helped to fit out an armed galley manned by twenty refugees with which to make reprisals against American shipping.[135]

Joseph Mulliner, a picaroon from Little Egg Harbor, New Jersey, which turned out the largest numbers of privateers in the state, was also among those who ventured into the Chesapeake in search of plunder during this period. A relation, John Mulliner Jr., possibly a brother, had some years earlier run afoul of the law and been arrested for horse-stealing--a capital crime. Before he went to trial, however, he escaped.[136] Joseph was a more serious thief: his acts of piracy were well known in his native state during the Revolution; some light was accidentally shed on his methods when a gentleman advertized in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* that he was still in possession of a "Brindle Cow" that a "Joseph Molliner" had suddenly left with him and wanted Mulliner to pay the charges for keeping it as he had promised and to take it away.[137] Operating with Captain Brooks, one of Wheland's cohorts, Mulliner not only burned and plundered and stole cattle--he was also a kidnapper. When he was finally captured in 1781, a number of individuals whom he was holding for ransom were released; among them were a

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[135] Petition of Thomas Slater, December 24, 1776 in *AmArch* ser. 5, vol. III, 1398; Claim of Thomas Slater, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 12/101, Ontario Archives; Harold B. Hancock, "The New Castle County Loyalists," *Delaware History* 4 (1950-51), 319, 321, 334-339

[136] *NJArch*, ser. 1, vol. XXIX (1917), 138.

[137] *Ibid.*, ser. 2, vol. III (1906), 721.

Henry Bunyon of Calvert County, William Meholloms of Accomack, Virginia, and two Worcester County residents--Samuel Lambson and Philip Rain. Lambson, or Lamberson, owned land in Atkinson's District and had signed the oath of fidelity in March 1778; a relative, John, had earlier participated in the 1777 insurrection and later bought land in the Cypress Swamp. Rain lived in Colbourne's District and was the brother of John Rain who had exercised with a militia company in support of William Bartlett Townsend. Whether they were actually prisoners--or accomplices--is unknown. Mulliner was promptly executed; his attacks appeared to be random and without political coloration and the clamor for his punishment came from Whigs and loyalists alike.[138]

Of greatest concern to Maryland officials was that the inhabitants of the major islands composed a substantial proportion of the Chesapeake picaroons; in February 1781, Joseph Dashiell wrote to Governor Lee that they were the "most Dangerous Enemies we have to watch the Motions off (sic)." Reiterating past concerns, he hoped the Governor and Council would order their removal from the islands, along with all the livestock, believing they would rob and plunder all they could. [139] The Assembly had already passed an "Act for the Defence of the Bay," which provided for the evacuation of the islands south of Hooper's Strait by May 1, 1781, but as the state vessels were being laid up at this time, no action was possible.[140] Prominent Whigs were targeted: less than two weeks after Dashiell wrote his letter, Planner Williams, a Somerset County militia captain, was robbed of most of his movable property by only nine men, all

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[138] Dryden, *Land Records of Worcester County,*486; Revolutionary War Oaths of Fidelity, MS. 1586, MHS; *NJArch,* ser. 2, vol. V (1917), 282; *MdArch* XLVII, 538.

[139] *MdArch* XLVII, 104.

[140] Eller, *Chesapeake Bay in the Revolution*, 393.

islanders.[141] For a period of ten days, barges and British cruisers plundered along the lower Shore, eventually forcing the Dorchester County Lieutenant to order a retreat of the militia sent to oppose them. What particularly irked Shore officials was that every person captured by the "Mirauders" agreed to paroles which bound them to appear before British officers whenever summoned. It was felt that such persons could use a summons as an excuse to go to Portsmouth as often as they pleased. On January 19, 1781, Thomas Jefferson had issued a proclamation forbidding Virginians to take them and ordering those who had already done so to rescind them.[142] Some suspicion even attached itself to Col. Peter Waters, who had been one of those taken in a raid. As clerk of the Somerset County committee in 1775, Waters had written a letter to the State Council expressing some sympathy for Isaac Atkinson. Ostensibly adhering to the terms of his parole and answering a summons to go to Portsmouth, he reported to none other than Atkinson's own son, Lt. William Atkinson, then at Portsmouth with the Queen's Rangers.[143]

The majority of dealings which local inhabitants had with the British at Portsmouth, however, seems to have been simply trade, much of it on a small scale. Those who were named in indictments included William Johnson, an Indian living in Annamessex and William Whiteman, half-owner of the boat. Together they went to Portsmouth and sold a few hams and turkeys.[144] However, trading schemes on the Shore could also become quite complex, involving

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[141] *MdArch* XLVII, 104.

[142] *Cal. of Va. State Papers,* I, 445-446.

[143] *Ibid.*, 353. A similar situation existed in Delaware, where "a great number of people" had been taken by the enemy and laid under a parole to appear at New York within thirty days, "many of whom seem to show an inclination to go there." Caesar Rodney to Thomas McKean, May 12, 1780 in Ryden, *Letters,* 341-342.

[144] "Information of Thomas Doyle," Maryland State Papers (Brown Books) S 991, MSA.

dozens of individuals some of whom were prominent and wealthy men who had been had been presumed friendly to the American cause, as became clear with the discovery of two such schemes in 1781. Prominent in one of these was Samuel Gerrock of Baltimore, the son of a German clergyman who had been commissioned a lieutenant of the Baltimore Mattrosses (an artillery unit) in June 1777. Five months later, his brother John was appointed Quarter Master of the Baltimore Hospital.[145] Both appeared to be early supporters of the Revolution; however, on September 19, 1778 Samuel resigned his commission, having come under a cloud of suspicion for having taken eleven barrels of powder belonging to the state,[146] while his brother John was soon bringing in accounts that were higher than the State Council had expected and was accused of negligence in carrying out his duties as Quarter Master of the Hospital.[147] It was probably through contacts initially made by his brother John among the Baltimore merchants that Samuel was able to enlist prospective suppliers to the British, as it was the principal duty of the Quarter Master to procure provisions for the Hospital on the advice of the attending physician. In addition, Baltimore merchants had extensive trade along the lower Shore, and in 1778 had requested the Governor to order one or two armed galleys to patrol the mouth of the Pocomoke to protect their trade.[148] Upon information given him by John Travers, Joseph Dashiell, the Lieutenant of Worcester County, ordered Gerrock arrested in early July 1781, when the latter

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[145] MdArch XVI, 278, 409.

[146] *Ibid.* XXI, 235.

[147] *Ibid.* XVI, 446; John Gerock to Gov. Thomas Johnson, November 14, 1777 in Maryland State Papers (Red Books) S 989, MSA.

[148] Isaac Van Bibber, Samuel and Robert Purviance, Henry Steel, John Phile, Leslie Hollingsworth, Woolsey and Salmon, John McClure et al to Governor Johnson, February 17, 1778 in *ibid.*

arrived in Salisbury aboard a small schooner with a cargo of flour on its way to pick up 30,000 feet of plank waiting on the dock. According to Travers, Gerrock was in partnership with a Worcester County Quaker named Jacob Hayward. Hayward was well-known at Portsmouth and had let it be known that he had "every necessary paper to carry on trade," being not only possessed of a British protection, but having also applied to the Maryland Council for a passport to go to Portsmouth. He had already collected several cargoes of corn to sell there, while Gerrock, who was often seen in his company, declared that he was going to "settle a Trade between Baltimore and Portsmouth." Portsmouth vessels were to meet those he would send from Baltimore, and take the cargoes back to Virginia. One of the first cargoes he had prepared to sell in Baltimore was a quantity of plank he had purchased from a Somerset man named Houston, using a French schooner for the purpose--the same planking in fact which had been reported to Dashiell as having been purchased and laid up in Salisbury.

A network of local men were named as being part of the Portsmouth scheme, including Elijah Sturgis, on whose boat Gerrock travelled between Worcester and Portsmouth. Sturgis, who regularly sold corn to the British, had also transported another Baltimore resident named Thomas Doyle. Like Gerrock, Doyle had entered the state's service: in June 1776 he had been commissioned an ensign in the Soldier's Delight Battalion of Baltimore, and was subsequently appointed a gunner aboard the *Dolphin*, which had periodically patrolled the Sound, and with the *Plater* in 1781 searched for Stephen Mister.[149] It was almost certainly this appointment which first linked Doyle and Gerrock, as the Baltimore Artillery company in which Gerrock had served as first lieutenant supplied the gunners aboard some of the state vessels.

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[149] *MdArch* XVI, 161.

In the summer of 1781, "Captain" Doyle brought the sloop *Molly* down from Baltimore to Wicomico, Gerrock sailing aboard her as captain and supercargo. He owned part of the cargo aboard; most of the rest was owned by a Mr. Gray, an old friend of the Gerrocks, also of Baltimore, and by a Captain Furnival, who had frequently transported supplies and money for John Gerrock. A Captain Furnival was also commissioned a captain of one of the state's artillery companies in late December 1776, providing a further link with both Doyle and Gerrock.[150] Travers had a partial interest in the *Molly*, but its principal owner was Robert Pitts, a wealthy planter of Pitts Landing in Accomack, Virginia, whose major holdings bordered the south bank of the Pocomoke and whom Doyle accused of possessing a British protection paper. Pitts later gave bond to the Worcester County Committee, and was able to furnish affirmations of his loyalty from numerous prominent supporters, including Commodore Zedekiah Walley.[151]

Travers asked his friend Samuel Tomlin, who sold hogs and poultry to the British and regularly gave them intelligence, to provide a protective convoy of barges for the sloop; working closely with Tomlin was in fact one of Joseph Wheland's trusted lieutenants, Capt. John McMullin, and marauding barges frequently rendezvoused at Tomlin's house. The situation was made even more convenient in that a ship-carpenter named Thomas Evans lived with Tomlin who not only sold hams and turkeys to the British warships but was also capable of building and repairing barges. Captain McMullin in turn was frequently assisted by "Old" Crockett of Tangier, who passed on intelligence and piloted vessels, and whose house, along with Robert

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[150] *Ibid.*, 421, and XLVII, 416; Baltimore Committee to the President of Congress, December 24, 1776 in *AmArch* ser. 5, vol. III, 1396.

[151] Truitt, *Worcester County,* 446.

Parker's on Watt's, served as rendezvous points for the traders. After the *Molly* was safely conveyed to Portsmouth by Tomlin, Travers sold his interest in the vessel to Philip Selby, a friend who owned some of the cargo aboard and had been trading at Portsmouth and acting as a pilot. The deal was witnessed by Sturgis and John Merchant, another trader. Selby left Portsmouth with McMullin, and was able to escape from the Islands. Less fortunate was Travers and four others who were captured by Virginians off Watt's on their way from Pocomoke to Portsmouth.[152]

Among those captured, all of whom lived in Worcester County, was a merchant named Samuel Johnson, who owned forest land in Mattapony Hundred and had already confessed to having been aboard a British ship in 1778, for which he was fined £32.10. Two relatives, Littleton and Elisha, had participated in the 1777 insurrection, while a third, Daniel, had opposed the constable of his Hundred from suppressing a tumultuous meeting of blacks in 1778. Another of the prisoners was John Gunby, probably a cousin of Col. John Gunby of the Maryland Line. The colonel was the son of James Gunby, a loyalist who had urged the future continental officer not to take up arms, predicting that he would be hanged if he did.[153] Two other of James' sons, Joseph and Isaac, took part in the 1777 insurrection, and two of his sisters married men who would become loyalists during the war: in 1757, Sabrow Gunby had married Thomas Wood Potter, another 1777 insurgent whose land lay in a marshy section of Brinkley's District, while ten years later Mary Gunby had married David Cottingham, also a Brinkley's Southwest resident

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[152] Col. George Corbin to ? 21 June, 1781 in Maryland State Papers (Brown Books) S 991, MSA.

[153] Wilson, *Crisfield,* 147; Truitt, *Worcester County,* 539.

who in 1781 was reported to be dissuading men from enlisting.[154] John had already been named in a deposition on July 2, 1781 as having threatened some individuals in the house of George Melvin that the captain of one of the British warships, Captain Dompiere, would burn down some houses along the Pocomoke.[155]

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the above trading scheme was its possible connection with an information-gathering plan which was organized by Benedict Arnold while he was in Portsmouth. In mid-April 1781, details relating to the movements of Washington's army were provided by an officer of the Loyal American Regiment--none other than Simon Kollock, the cooper who had been implicated in a counterfeit currency scam in Delaware four years before and who was now a captain in Col. Beverley Robinson's regiment. Kollock was instructed to proceed to Maryland's Eastern Shore with two warships, land and there employ trustworthy persons to go to Philadelphia, Baltimore, Annapolis, Head of Elk and York Town where they were to discover all they could about Washington's army--its strength, provisions, and projected movements. By May 1, Kollock was to return to Portsmouth and report to General Phillips. At the same time, he was to bring back a load of lumber that had been contracted for--quite probably from the same ring which was finally broken up a few months later.[156]

That same year, 1781, the Whigs accidentally stumbled on another even more ambitious trading scheme. Once again, Joseph Dashiell received information which he reported to the State Council that a certain "Captain Beach" was in Cecil and Harford Counties collecting flour

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[154] Genealogies: Filing Case "A," "The Gunby Family," MHS.

[155] Deposition of George Melvin, 2 July, 1781 in Maryland State Papers (Brown Books) S991, MSA.

[156] His. MSS. Comm., *Report on American Manuscripts*, 255, 269, 280.

to be transported to the British in New York. The captain's first name was never discovered, and for some time the county, even the state where he resided was unknown, but it was initially supposed that he lived somewhere on the upper Shore, and warrants for his arrest were accordingly sent to the Lieutenants of both Cecil and Harford Counties.[157] Later it was learned that Beach in fact sailed for John Stump, a merchant of Harford County, who had been clerk to no less a person than Col. Henry Hollingsworth, Commissary for the Eastern Shore and responsible for procuring boats and provisions for the Continental Army!

Hollingsworth had been in actual partnership with Stump, as had Jonathan Rumford of Wilmington, for the manufacture of flour. Through Rumford, the wheat purchased by the partnership would then have been milled at the famous Brandywine flour mills, which were controlled by a group of wealthy Quakers who produced principally for export rather than the domestic market. Like many other merchants, Rumford may have been trying to work both sides of the street, Caesar Rodney having recommended him for the post of purchasing agent for the French in Delaware the year before.[158] Regarded as a Tory by many Wilmingtonians and suspected of being a grain speculator, he was attacked in 1782 by a mob which left him crippled for life. Working in conjunction with George Vansant Mann of Harford and George Jackson of Queen Anne's County, Stump had come under suspicion earlier that year after procuring particularly large quantities of grain which in turn were milled into flour by the partnership with Rumford and Hollingsworth.[159] Stump had in fact transported at least one load of flour to New

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[157] *MdArch* XLV, 311-312, 449.

[158] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 28, 35, 124.

[159] *MdArch* XLV, 281.

York, and Beach at least two. A John Hammond Cromwell of Baltimore had contacted General Leslie after Portsmouth's occupation, evidently for the purpose of contracting with the general for supplying the flour to the British army. Others concerned in its transport were William Groves and William Groves Jr. of Harford and Joshua Dorsey of Baltimore County.

The alarming discovery of Hollingsworth's activities was assuaged by the fact that he had quickly severed his relationship with Stump and Rumford; but the complexity of the case was considerably increased by the fact that there were no less than *three* John Stumps, all closely related, and even a careful examination of their papers did not produce any direct evidence against them.

Further clouding matters was that suspicion fell on a William Wise, who was believed to be working with Captain Beach in the ambitious trading scheme. Since the case had first come to light in Maryland, William Wise of Worcester County was at first thought to be the guilty party. Only upon his making further inquiries to clear himself was it revealed that both Captain Beach and the William Wise in question were residents of Accomack County and had been trading with the British for the previous two years.[160]

Both the Beach and Wise families of Accomack were wealthy, but once again, they were not county elites. Whether they were actually a part of the other trading scheme with Gerrock and Doyle is unknown. Of greater interest is the fact that neither Beach nor Wise were ever apprehended, and Rumford was never charged with collusion in the scheme.

Rumors that a peace treaty had been signed only caused conditions to worsen as the picaroons escalated their raids in order to capture as much booty as possible before their royal

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[160] *Ibid.* XLVII, 369.

commissions expired.[161] On February 21, 1782 it was reported that no less than fourteen Tory vessels were "wasting and plundering" in the bay. The state navy, for lack of money and manpower, had by this time been inactive for about a year, but appeals from locals resulted in Commodore Thomas Grason being ordered out in April with just four vessels with the impossible task of seizing all the islanders in the Sound south of Hooper's Strait along with all their vessels and property. The result was inevitable: in the battle of May 10 against more than five Tory barges, Grason himself was killed and his flagship lost.[162]

That fall, the Maryland state navy's remaining commodore, Zedekiah Walley, with five vessels, flushed with earlier success in recapturing four prizes, went down the bay, setting up an operational base at Onancock in Accomack County. On the morning of November 30 in Kedges Strait north of Smith Island, Walley bore down on a force of seven vessels, consisting of a prize and six barges under the command of Capt. John Kidd in his flagship the *Kidnapper*. In the ensuing "Battle of the Barges," which lasted only 30 minutes, the Marylanders were outclassed by Kidd's decisive leadership and the state navy suffered the worst defeat of its short life. Walley's flagship was quickly crippled and boarded, and the hand to hand fighting that followed resulted in one of the bloodiest sea battles of the entire war. Walley himself was killed with twenty-five crewmen and second in command John Cropper, the Lieutenant of Accomack County, was wounded along with twenty-nine others. The remaining barges scattered and fled in disorder from Kidd's vessels.[163]

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[161] Eller, *Chesapeake Bay in the Revolution*, 53.

[162] *Ibid.*, 239.

[163] *Ibid.*, 241-244.

Buoyed by this success, raids continued far up the bay, the plunder being taken back to Tangier and Hog Island. Wheland also continued his raids after Cornwallis' defeat; in the winter of February 1783 he had barracks built for his men at Kedges Strait and in February was in command of four barges that raided Phillip Ferguson's house on the Patuxent. He stole 12,000 pounds of salt pork, and clothing and furniture valued at £40. Recognized by a visitor to the house, Wheland scrawled his name on the wall in red chalk: "Joseph Wheland, Commander of the Sloop Rover."[164]

Nevertheless, the end was near. News of the peace treaty which had been signed in February coincided with Capt. John Lynn's success in March 1783 at surprising a Loyalist rendezvous on Deal Island and capturing their plunder. Privateering in the bay thereafter ebbed.[165]

In reviewing the various aspects of "briny crime," several basic varieties become clear, trade with the British being the most common. With British vessels almost constantly plying both bays in blockade, small-scale trade by means of the many creeks and rivers was easy, convenient and profitable. However, the British required not only provisions, water and wood: they also needed pilots. Undoubtedly, this was a similarly profitable undertaking when one considers the decreased opportunities for piloting, especially on the Delaware, as well as the fees which the British must have paid in sterling. Yet there were other forces which acted as deterrents. Jealousy may have been a factor. It is also interesting that the Virginians, who also

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[164] *Ibid.*, 394.

[165] *Ibid.*, 53, 245.

regulated pilots, were quite successful in binding those who were legally licensed to the state's interests by paying the exceptionally high fee of four shillings per ton (burden).

Finally, the situation encouraged the reemergence of small-scale piracy such as had existed in the Chesapeake in the earlier part of the century. By far the greatest perpetrators of these crimes were Eastern Shoreman, particularly residents of the Sound. During raids on the other side of the bay, they were occasionally known to cooperate with Western Shore river pilots and islanders living on Gwynn and St. George. But while they shared a common lifestyle, the latter did not display anywhere near the same levels of disaffection. The reason for this disparity is not immediately clear: certainly the two shores differ significantly in their physical geography, the Western Shore lacking, for instance, the extensive marshland that exists across the bay and also the many isolated necks of land that protrude into the Chesapeake. Also, the Western Shore was the heart of the tobacco growing region of the bay and was the hearth, so to speak, of the dominant culture. Perhaps the long exposure of these watermen to tobacco culture as well as their location on main routes of travel and their consequent accessibility to news served to tie them more closely to the interests of the Main Shore's elites. A lack of the same familiarity and a hostility to what was deemed to be different may in part explain the disaffection of the Eastern Shoremen.

But behind these basic patterns, there is discernible yet another possible construct. Long-time residents of the Shore differ sometimes when characterizing the area in which they live. Some have identified the region's essential quality as being that of extreme conservatism, and certainly fishermen around the world are noted for it; others, however, have seen nonconformity as a driving force. Both of these attributes are regarded as having derived from the Shore's

isolation. But conservative or not, there was nothing really *customary* about what the Eastern Shore watermen did during the Revolution. Few if any would have had exposure to British military or naval forces before the war. The sight of a British fleet may well have fired the imaginations of many, for both the waterman and the pilot think they have led a dull life if they have never witnessed a serious fire or a powerful storm or guided a particularly large vessel.[166] The commissions they obtained from the British would only have heightened the sense of the drama in which they were involved. Could simple excitement also be a reasonable explanation for the numbers who lent aid to the British in one way or another? Could pride in being part of an imperial enterprise have provoked the old offender Joseph Wheland to exclaim excitedly that he had as good a commission "as any seventy-four in his Brittanic Majesty's service"?[167]

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[166] Marvil, *Pilots of the Delaware,* 156.

[167] Clark, *Chesapeake Bay in the Revolution,* 390.

Chapter VI: "A Middle Temperament"
Regional Factors Behind Leniency Towards Loyalism

It has generally been agreed that the majority of loyalists, irrespective of which state they came from, remained in the United States after the war. This was equally true for the states composing Delmarva, where what would appear to be an unusually large number of loyalists found it possible to remain in their homes, undisturbed by any threats of retribution. It perhaps needs to be made clear that Toryism was not synonymous with treason. Treason had been defined by Congress in late June 1776 to include persons who either levied war against any of the colonies or were "adherent" to the king of Great Britain. It was recommended that persons who could be "provably attainted of open deed" be punished.[1] This definition of treason was incorporated into many of the security acts passed by the various states.

Nonjuring, although it carried specific penalties, was not in and of itself treasonous. For these persons it was merely a matter of when those penalties would be removed. When the penalties were removed, they could return once again to political life. Few nonjurors or loyalists on the lower Shore had been politically active prior to the war, but further to the north, William Tilghman of Kent County, Maryland, a nonjuror belonging to a large and influential family, became a Federalist presidential elector in 1789.[2] By the same token, no action could be taken against individuals who were generally accounted by neighbors to be Tories but who remained inactive or against whom no open deed could be proven. It is therefore clear that this class of loyalist was naturally able to remain.

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[1] *JCC,* V, 475.

[2] Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* 334.

Common sense would tell us that such persons made up the vast majority of Tories. For this very reason, their existence is in fact quite difficult to prove. They do not appear in court records; they never came to the attention of county committees of safety or of the county lieutenants or sheriffs. And so they seldom if ever appear in the kind of records that are kept in state archives or historical societies. Only very rarely in private journals or in the diaries kept by acquaintances would this kind of loyalist ever come to light. On October 6, 1778, Leah Walker, a widow and mother of six children, nevertheless died alone of a fever: as the minister of the Lewes and Coolspring Presbyterian Church, the Rev. John Rankin, tersely noted in his journal, her four "sons (Tories) were not dutified to her, a Whig."[3] This is the only known reference to the fact that Thomas, George, Jacob and James Walker were known by neighbors to be Tories.

However, it would also appear that persons were able to remain who had actually been indicted and brought to trial for treason and even sentenced to death, including participants in riots and insurrections, picaroons and traders, and men who had actively served with the British army. For his role in the counterfeiting scheme that had been discovered in 1777, Thomas Lightfoot's name appeared on Pennsylvania's notorious "Black List" of attainted Tories, though curiously his brother William's does not. But even so odious an alleged crime could, it seems, be overlooked even in a state like Pennsylvania where the treason laws were so much harsher. It is noted within the List that Lightfoot had "surrendered" and been discharged.[4] In 1787, he was living peaceably in Christiana Hundred, New Castle County. It is possible to cite many more

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[3] Wright, *Vital Records,* 116.

[4] *An Alphabetical List of All Persons Attainted of High Treason, In Pursuance of the Treason Laws in the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1802).

such cases. Unfortunately, because of lost census data from Somerset County and garbled names in the records, it will probably never be possible to make a truly accurate estimate of just how many stayed.

Of course, as has been seen in Chapters IVand V, disaffected activities did not completely stop following the capitulation of Yorktown. After the fort's surrender, the commander of the Queen's Rangers, Colonel Simcoe, hoped that Cornwallis would allow him to take the corps by boat across the bay to the Maryland Shore. His knowledge of the loyalism of many of the Shore's inhabitants led him to believe that he would be able to save most of the corps and successfully lead them back to New York.[5]

Simcoe's assessment was not inaccurate. Whigs were quite concerned by the willingness of local residents to aid British soldiers taken prisoner at Yorktown to escape, giving them shelter and food as they attempted to make their way to New York.[6] Although it cannot be stated with absolute certainty, there may have possibly been as many as half a dozen recruits from the lower Shore who succeeded in doing so, including Thomas Whaley, Jesse Langford and Robert Dukes, all three of whom were arrested and tried for treason in March 1782. The Dukes family lived in Atkinsons District; Benjamin Shockley and other allies of William Barclay Townsend had met in brother William's house, and John Dukes had been arrested in the 1777 insurrection and sent to Annapolis with eighteen others, as had Thomas Whaley's brother Ebenezer. In the September 1782 session of the court, another Worcester County recruit,

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[5] John G. Simcoe, *A History of the Operations of a Partisan Corps Called the Queen's Rangers* (New York, 1844), 253-254.

[6] *MdArch* XLVII, 552; Bushman *et al, Proceedings*, II, 62-63.

William Willis, was charged with attacking Peter Gordy and stealing his gun. This was probably the same Willis who had been among the unwilling passengers to sail with Levin Townsend to Norfolk in 1775.[7]

It was also recognized by the Whigs that in spite of having been in power for six years at the time hostilities ceased, there were individuals who still did not recognize the legitimacy of the state government. It may have been nothing more than force of habit that caused Nicholas Bull, a modest planter of Northampton County, to identify himself as being of the "Colony of Virginia " when he made out his will in February 1785.[8] But undeniable confirmation of the truth came in Maryland when Robert Eden returned to the state in 1783 in an attempt to regain his confiscated property. He received a very cordial welcome–much too cordial for comfort, as it was soon discovered that several persons brought the former governor land patents in order to receive his seal and signature, for which he took "the fees of Office for the Service."[9]

When the dust began to settle after the war had ended, it was clear that relatively little had changed on the peninsula. Forces which had been conducive to conservatism and parochialism in this long-settled, frontierless area were present in as much strength after as they had been before the war. The entire lower Shore continued to be comparatively remote and far removed from the main routes of travel.[10] While Sussex County was now closer to the new state

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[7] Ingles, *Queen's Rangers,* 293, 297; General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1782-1786, S 477-2, MSA; Truitt, *Worcester County,* 438.

[8] James H. Marshall, comp., *Abstracts of the Wills and Administrations of Northampton County, Virginia 1632-1802* (Camden, Me., 1994), 492.

[9] *MdArch* XLVIII, 514-515, 517-518.

[10] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 190.

capital at Dover, in 1791 the county seat was transferred from Lewes to Georgetown. The Virginia Shore was also much more distant from the new capital of Richmond. During most of the Confederation period, the lower peninsula continued to possess no local press; there was as yet no system of public education, and with little immigration into the area and few foreign visitors, the region lacked any infusion of new ideas.

The essential changelessness of the region and the probability of its lapsing into prewar patterns was recognized by contemporaries: in November 1782, Col. William Richardson wrote to General Smallwood about his desire to be appointed Eastern Shore Treasurer, but he doubted the public's being governed "by the rules of justice" and reserving such posts for those who had openly supported the revolution. He did not wonder if he found himself "neglected, to make room for some lukewarm Whig or secret Tory. . . ."[11]

By the time Richardson wrote this letter, attitudes had already begun to harden against wartime Tories throughout much of the United States. There was widespread concern over Article V of the preliminary peace treaty, which permitted loyalists to return to the United States for a period of twelve months in order to try and recover their confiscated estates. One writer to the *Maryland Gazette* even warned "judges" not to give favor to persons who had played a "safe game" during the war out of a misguided notion that "government cannot work without tools."[12] Those of Whiggish sentiment must have shuddered at the words of the wag who predicted that--

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[11] Richardson to Smallwood, November 29, 1782 in Balch, *Maryland Papers,* 197-198.

[12] *Maryland Gazette*, April 3, 1783.

All turned Whigs! we'll get in place,
And act with such peculiar grace,
That in due time we shall be courted,
And our measures all supported.[13]

Alarmists and newspaper editorialists whipped up paranoia about the impact returning Tories might have on the infant republic which ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous: during the peace treaty negotiations, John Adams came to the improbable conclusion that the loyalists, as ideological monarchists, would become willing tools of the French in creating internal dissensions and thus advance the ambitions of His Most Christian Majesty.[14] But the most common prediction was that the loyalists would attempt to insinuate themselves into the state governments and work to overturn fledgling republican institutions. The focus of antiloyalism centered in urban areas, in the same places where revolutionary sentiment had taken the firmest grip in the prewar years. Associations of urban artisans and mechanics formed in the larger towns such as Boston, Charleston and New York which vowed to prevent loyalists who had fled behind British lines from returning to their former residences. Antiloyalist rhetoric was much less in evidence in Delmarva than in New England, New York, Pennsylvania and South Carolina, and no county on the lower peninsula submitted petitions to the Assembly for passing legislation that would ban returning loyalists.[15] Nevertheless, it was not completely immune to the panic which the prospect of loyalists returning to their homes, however briefly, incited.

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[13] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1783.

[14] Roberta Tansman Jacobs, "The Treaty and the Tories: The Ideological Reaction to the Return of the Loyalists, 1783-1787" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1974), 39.

[15] *Ibid.*, 64, 110.

Such fears were particularly evident in New Castle County, which was the only county in Delaware to expel wartime Tories who attempted to return. On June 18, 1783 one Thomas Rawlings arrived in Wilmington from New York as the master of a trading vessel. After J.P.'s had been apprised of his return, he was ordered to leave Delaware by nine o'clock the following morning. Yet there was still an element of leniency--if he was able to prove that the vessel did not belong to a subject of George III, then he would be granted the freedom to trade to which he was entitled.[16] But for the most part, passions ran high. During a July 4 commemoration, one of the thirteen toasts drunk was that "the internal enemies of America be banished to the cold regions of the north."[17]

Misgivings about the return of the loyalists led to the passage of a supplementary bill to the "Act of Security" in 1783. The bill was sponsored by the Presbyterian Robert Bryan who, as Treasurer for New Castle County, had calculated the amount of damage committed by Tory depredations there during the war at over £43,000. His bill was intended to prevent persons who had not taken the state oath from holding public office, being jury-men or voting at elections for a period of seven years. At first the bill was successfully parried: interestingly, all but one member from Sussex voted for the bill, as well as all those present for New Castle, but the united negative vote by the Kent members along with that of the remaining Sussex representative temporarily defeated it. The following day, however, it was passed.[18]

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[16] *Maryland Gazette,* July 3, 1783.

[17] *Ibid.*, July 24, 1783.

[18] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* II, 127, 155-158.

The new law was soon tested by election riots in both Kent and Sussex Counties in 1783--the first to occur since 1777--in which bitterness between veterans and alleged Tories bubbled over and insults and threats were exchanged. A number of Whigs complained that nonjurors had been allowed to vote in the Kent election, while an opposing petition claimed that an inspector had altered a vote he had been given. One alleged nonjuror was ordered to appear before the Council so that his eligibility to vote could be ascertained, but he never appeared. Consequently, it was resolved that the Kent election should stand for lack of evidence. The Council was much harsher in its judgment of the Sussex election riot, where there was greater fear of renewed Tory strength. At Lewes, a number of former officers and soldiers of the Delaware Regiment as well as one of the election inspectors and his clerk had appeared with swords, bayonets and clubs, beat and threatened a number of persons and abused the constable who tried to maintain the peace. At one point, fifty Continental soldiers chased a man wearing a soldier's coat who insisted that he would have preferred voting for "General" Bannum (at that time, still at large) over any of the proposed candidates. Many of the electors became so frightened that they rode out of town without voting. Those who remained and had "lately" taken the state oath of fidelity (so-called "Act of Grace men") were not allowed to vote because their vouchers had not been sworn. It also appeared that a number of underage boys had been permitted to vote. The Council determined that the inspectors had exceeded their authority in preventing electors from voting, but the election results were not overturned.[19] The Whigs carried the election; William Adair

[19] *Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State*, 861-866.

contended that had the Tories won, the Whigs would have crossed "over the mountains" to escape their tyranny.[20]

Maryland and Virginia also passed laws which attempted to prevent former loyalists from regaining political power, although so few loyalists in either state had been politically prominent that such precautions were virtually unnecessary. In Maryland, those who had managed to enter into the political arena had almost all been lawyers, such as Daniel Dulany and Robert Alexander. The new law perpetuated the wartime pattern of distrust of attorneys, and was especially favored by persons who did not want to repay their prewar debts to British creditors: only those attorneys who had not taken the loyalty oath until after the preliminary peace treaty had been signed were to be penalized. In the words of the act, such persons had not sufficiently proven their attachment to American independence and to Maryland and were ineligible to regain their practice.[21] Following the peace treaty's ratification, anti-loyalist sentiment in the state immediately abated, and the Maryland legislature was prepared to be lenient to wartime offenders, passing in January 1785 a bill which would have extended to nonjurors the right to vote and to hold office. In an odd switch, the Senate rejected it as posing possible danger to the state--a move which was vigorously protested by the House of Delegates, which declared that the state would not be endangered by allowing former loyalists to become citizens.[22]

On July 2, 1783, Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia ordered the departure of all persons who had fought for the British or had left the United States and had since returned to

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[20] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 98-99.

[21] Jacobs, "The Treaty and the Tories," 94, 110, 158-159.

[22] *Ibid.*, 159.

Virginia. They were directed to stay out of the state until the legislature had enacted appropriate measures.[23] When the Assembly convened, John Taylor of Caroline introduced a harsh new citizen bill which would have repealed the old test law and enacted new, stricter qualifications for citizenship. Any person who had taken up arms against the United States, had owned an armed boat or privateer, or had served on the Board of Refugees in New York were to be excluded from citizenship. Zealots wanted to go even further and exclude anyone who had left the state since 1775. Conservatives led by Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee managed to defeat the bill in October 1783 by having recourse to a technical argument that the final peace treaty had yet to be signed. Overall, in the four votes taken over the issue of citizenship, considerable leniency towards returnees was revealed, especially in the counties near urban centers including those surrounding Norfolk.[24] And so, in spite of the fact that Virginia, unlike Maryland, experienced no immediate diminution of anti-loyalist sentiment, the moderate old test law remained in force: those who had taken up arms were not to be allowed to reenter the state or acquire citizenship, but passive loyalists who had simply withdrawn behind the British lines were permitted to return.[25]

Yet whatever probability the prognostication of a resumption of Tory power and return to public office had of being fulfilled, it was mostly an illusion. The new constitutions of all three states on the peninsula scarcely altered voter qualifications from what they had been before the war and in each it seemed assured that those who had ruled would continue to do so. Maryland's

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[23] *Ibid.*, 196-197.

[24] Norman K. Risjord and Gordon DenBoer, "The Evolution of Political Parties in Virginia, 1782-1800," *Journal of American History* 60 (1973-74), 966.

[25] Jacobs, "The Treaty and the Tories," 93.

1776 constitution was overtly calculated to keep political power firmly in the hands of the gentry: State Assemblymen had to have property worth £500; Senators, members of the Council and delegates to Congress had to possess estates of at least £1,000, and Governors had to hold property valued at £5,000. Virginia's laws had always been very liberal with respect to elector qualifications--there were no qualifications for holding office, and electors had either to have £50 of estate, hold twenty-five acres of improved land, one huindred acres of unimproved land, or own a house and lot in a town.[26] But just as power had gravitated among a coterie of wealthy families in the colonial period, there was no indication that the situation was likely to change in the immediate post-war years.

It was only in Delaware, where qualifications were also low and there had actually been a history of conservatives occupying office, that there was any danger of Tories returning to public life. Voter qualifications remained the same as in the prewar period, and representatives in the General Assembly and the Council had only to be freeholders in their respective counties, Councillors having to be, however, at least twenty-five years old.[27] And yet, with only two exceptions, hard core conservatives and wartime loyalists were completely excluded from political office after the Revolution: no more would a Thomas Robinson, a Joshua Hill or a Boaz Manlove be elected to office. The conservatism that manifested itself, perhaps more clearly in Delaware than anywhere else, lay rather in the essential nature of the gentry itself, much of which

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[26] Robert E. and B. Katherine Brown, *Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy?* (East Lancing, Mich., 1964), 133-134.

[27] Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America,* 7 vols. (Washington D.C., 1909), I, 562.

had supported the Revolution. With their most dangerous rivals removed and exiled, they could revert once again to political beliefs with which they had always been comfortable, and which greatly resembled those whom they had destroyed.

How else could individuals like Walter Hatton and Edward Ker have managed to secure commissions as justices of the peace in Accomack County? In Virginia, the county court system, like the parish vestry, was a virtually self-perpetuating body: upon the death or resignation of court members, the current justices would nominate replacements, and their nominations were nearly always included when new county commissions were issued.[28] We can therefore be quite sure that the majority of the Accomack County justices found nothing inharmonious in the presence of such future loyalists. And if we regard loyalism as a spectrum, what really divided the passive loyalists and nonjurors from certain very conservative men, like the enigmatic Marylander, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, who have otherwise been identified as belonging to the Whig camp? Almost from the start, the survival of the new Maryland government which had been framed by the Convention in 1776 was threatened by the nonattendance of elected senators like Jenifer, who was pressed to give the reasons for his absence. In a letter to Charles Carroll and others, Jenifer explained that the "partiality I have always had for the old Government, has and still is such a dead weight upon my spirits, that I am confident that I cannot discharge the trust which is about to be reposed in me, with that energy and alacrity which the new will require."[29]

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[28] Charles S. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1952), 81-82.

[29] Jenifer to Charles Carroll and others, February 2, 1777 in *MdArch* XVI, 107-108.

The moderation of much of the lower Shore was really just part of a general regional "middle temperament." A transitional area between South and North, both Maryland and Delaware had enjoyed a long period of semi-autonomy before the war. Delaware in particular was a state marked by "a conservative moderation," perhaps expressed best in a 1794 petition for gradual abolition, in which the petitioners professed a repugnance for "any sudden change in the established order of things, lest by benefiting a part, we should give a shock to the whole."[30] In Sussex County, conservatives had continued in office long after Independence, and the abiding British presence in the river and bay and Howe's landing at Head of Elk in the summer of 1777 only strengthened their hands. Not only could moderation be found in the prevailing conservatism of the bulk of the people on the lower Shore; it could also be seen in those who led the revolutionary movement in the region. As late as 1777, a year after the revolutionary movement had polarized and eliminated any possibility of a moderate, conciliatory course, Delaware politicians were still concerned with incorporating loyalist into the new government. Reflecting this viewpoint, the Assembly that year elected John McKinly president of the state. "I think they have been very exact in their Choice," Thomas Rodney observed in a letter to his brother, "as he is the only Man that could so fully represent the Whig & Tory Complexion of this State."[31]

The sort of men who composed the Whig leadership were nearly all moderates. Typical was Henry Fisher, who commanded the Lewes alarm post and was as committed to the

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[30] Quoted in Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 165.

[31] Thomas Rodney to Caesar Rodney, February 16, 1777, Rodney Collection, box 6, folder 12, HSD.

Revolution as anyone in the town. After the 1776 insurrection, both he and John Wiltbank worked for the acquittal of the insurgents. When copies of Howe's proclamation were delivered onshore in December of that year, rather than destroying them he gave one to anyone requesting it. Wiltbank himself, of an old and respected family, not only desired, but along with Jacob Moore, effectively prevented William Peery's attempt to limit the 1777 election only to those who favored the Revolution--a reversal of the Tory-controlled election of 1776. No state seemed more anxious to obtain the services of John Dickinson, who had received public opprobrium for his open opposition to the Declaration of Independence, yet who was repeatedly invited to occupy the president's chair. And there can be no better illustration of Delaware's forgiving temperament than its allowing Thomas Robinson to return in 1786. How different was Joseph Galloway's treatment when he requested permission to return to Pennsylvania in 1793, only to be tersely reminded by President Thomas McKean of the death sentence that had been passed against him twenty-five years before?

As for the "Old Line State," one anonymous young traveller was perhaps excessively ebullient when he reported in 1746 that "An universal Mirth and Glee reigns in *Maryland* amongst all Ranks of People. . . ."[32] Yet the middle temperament was almost as much in evidence here as in Delaware, extending, it seems, even to the religious front. Pennsylvanians had a name for easy-going clerics who could accommodate themselves to any company, passing nimbly "from grave to gay. . .from lively to severe"--they called them "Maryland parsons."[33] As

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[32] "Observations," 330.

[33] Alexander Graydon, *Memoirs of a Life Chiefly Passed in Pennsylvania Within the Last Sixty Years.* Edited by John Galt (1811; reprint, Edinburgh, 1822), 102.

for the politicians of the lower Shore, the Dashiells were most certainly of a moderate stamp. In spite of all Wheland's offences, but perhaps also because of his early capture, George Dashiell had willingly extended his friendship to the "old offender." One of the most prominent of the state's politicians and a native of Somerset County, Samuel Chase, while a vehement anti-Tory during the war, advocated lenient treatment of loyalists following the conclusion of the Peace. During his stay in London as an agent of the state, he even acted as a witness in support of Dr. Henry Stephenson's claim. Joseph Dashiell--George Dashiell's brother--held land as a tenant on the proprietary manor of Wicomico, which was ordered confiscated in 1783; among his ten fellow tenants were Samuel Williams, a 1777 insurgent, and Elijah Austin, who had been charged with rioting in 1780. Three others had close relatives who had been indicted by the General Court of the Eastern Shore.[34] In spite of such neighbors--or perhaps because of them--Dashiell was only one of seven who voted in the Assembly not to reject Henry Harford's request for compensation.[35]

An important factor involved in this was probably related to the region's physical and cultural isolation. The overwhelming majority of those brought to trial for disaffected behavior were descendants of the first residents on the Shore; their value to the community in which they lived was such that leniency towards them was essential for maintaining the neighborhood's welfare. All the more difficult to prosecute were members of particularly large and locally influential families. This would explain Whig reluctance in pursuing loyalists like Robert Parker

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[34] The four were James Hill, Smullin Layfield, Joshua Sturgis and William Williams. Dryden, *Land Records of Wicomico,* 435; General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

[35] Dryden, *Land Records of Wicomico County,* 435; *Maryland Gazette,* January 19, 1786.

of Watt's Island. The Virginia governor in 1778 had been forced to pardon him for having publically defended the authority of the King because of the avalanche of petitions requesting his release from prison. Informed upon two years later in 1780 by Thomas Doyle as having received slaves stolen in plundering raids along the Rappahanock, Virginia authorities nevertheless did nothing about it, and Parker was allowed to continue his activities with impunity. This kind of problem was compounded by the general tendency for isolated communities to treat dissidents with greater indulgence than "outward-looking" ones--a disposition which has been examined, for instance, with respect to two Sandemanian communities in Connecticut, one urban and the other rural.[36]

Important in the treatment of loyalists was the interpretation which the Whigs gave to acts of disaffection. Many and varied were the expressions of Toryism on the Shore. What action could be taken when a Quaker couple of Duck Creek Meeting silently rebuked the Whigs in 1780 by naming their newborn son Joseph Galloway Rowland? Even such a large and boisterous assembly as that at Black Camp was difficult to interpret because of the range of motives among the participants. Activities deemed to be "disaffected" were often stripped of ideological aspects as authorities questioned the degree to which they were of a purely criminal nature. "Crimes" which were committed during the war were after all remarkably similar to those which were committed in times of peace. Forest gang warfare had only been merged temporarily into the imperial conflict--no real, lasting ideological transformation had occurred. In an age when violence was in any case more common, this fact was certainly recognized at the time; in putting down the 1777 insurrection in Sussex, President John McKinly dispatched Caesar Rodney, who

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[36] Calhoon, *Loyalists and Community,* 31-43.

knew the area so intimately and the "character of every individual of note, whose party disputes, private views, and personal animosities have in a great measure been the unhappy occasion to bring matters there to the alarming situation they are at present."[37] Cases of simple outlawry committed by individuals were treated in a typically summary fashion: the story of "Big, Bad, Bold Ben Allen" of Somerset, a legendary Tory robber and pirate but probably a semi-fictitious figure, has often been repeated. Living in a cave on a tiny island in Humphreys Lake at the edge of Salisbury which served as his cache for stolen loot, the illiterate Allen made lone plundering raids from Cape Henlopen to Green Hill until his capture and execution "before a firing squad."[38] A similar tale is told about lone "Tory Jack" of Delaware, who sailed upriver in his small boat in search of spoils, capturing a prominent Wilmington merchant and eventually hanged for piracy.[39]

Loyalism was of course not suspected when the "incorrigible" slave Argil killed his overseer and ran away from the plantation of George Corbin of Accomack County, although it was suspected that he had been "Encouraged to distress the Whigs by the Tories." Escaping over the border into Worcester County, he called himself a "free man" and promised that "if they would let him alone he would not concern with anyone." Col. William Selby of Accomack, who owned substantial property near the Maryland border and was a neighbor of Corbin's, pursued Argil into Maryland where he captured and executed him. The white residents of Worcester

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[37] Ryden, *Letters,* 205-206.

[38] Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia*, II, 1137; Truitt, *Historic Salisbury,* 41.

[39] Scharf, *Delaware History*, I, 214; Charles Pope to Caesar Rodney, May 3, 1778 in *DelArch,* III, 1425.

were so relieved at the removal of "one of the most atrocious Negro villains" that a serious interstate dispute over jurisdictions was ultimately avoided.[40]

More ambiguous cases like that of John Bevins, however, would certainly have tended to confirm suspicions that many so-called politically "disaffected" acts were in fact nothing more than crimes. One of the three Bevins brothers who had participated in the 1780 Black Camp insurrection in Sussex County, John had also enlisted as a private in the Maryland Loyalist Battalion. In April 1783, he was brought to trial before the General Court of the Eastern Shore for having broken into the homes of two wealthy men of Worcester County--William Ironshire and Thomas Purnell--and stealing quantities of gold and silver coin, clothing, horses, saddles, swords, and a slave. Purnell had been active on the revolutionary side, serving as a justice of the peace and as Lieutenant Colonel of the Sinnepuxent Battalion, but Ironshire, who owned extensive property in the West Berlin District as well as in Cedar Creek, appears not to have been and was probably a Quaker. Released in 1780 for his participation in the insurrection, Bevins this time suffered the full penalty of the law and was hanged as a thief.[41]

Such violence did not end at the war's conclusion. Following their discharge from the army, thieves roamed freely across the entire lower peninsula. They were joined by released convicts from the Philadelphia jail who migrated to the Shore where they roved singly or in bands, robbing at will. For several years, local residents were terrorized by these "wheelbarrow men," as they were called, a reference to the form of their punishment while imprisoned.[42] The

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[40] *MdArch* XLV, 104-107; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore,* II, 1267, 1314-1316.

[41] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

[42] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 151.

depredations of these marauding vagabonds blended with the type of gang warfare which had been endemic in the region. At times, criminal combinations almost seemed to assume political overtones, such as when Robert Nicholas, a "notorious robber" of Northampton County, was supplied with arms and ammunition by William and Joseph Warner, the latter having served as a soldier in the Virginia Line.[43]

Always problematic when it came to the punishment of offenders suspected of political disaffection was their effective prosecution. Put simply, not only did traders, rioters and picaroons operating offshore outnumber the revolutionaries, who could never hope to bring them all to justice, the locals were in their native element and often extremely difficult to catch, as Colonel Richardson discovered following the 1777 insurrection in Sussex. "They are a set of Poor Ignorant Illiterate People," he complained to the Board of War, "yet they are Artful and Cunning as Foxes, tis hardly possible to detect the most open Offenders, yet they are almost every Day offending." He requested ten or twenty light horse to compliment his own "small and sickly" regiment, certain that they would be more effective than foot soldiers in apprehending suspected persons, who were "as wild as Deer and run almost as fast."[44] Watermen were no easier to capture than their land-based confederates. With creeks and guts separating even the closest neighbors, the two-masted canoe hollowed out of pine was as necessary a conveyance as horses were on land. Children not yet ten years old were often already experienced navigators and fishermen. So amphibious were the watermen that it was said as late as the 1860's that with

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[43] Northampton County Order Books, vol. 30 (1783-1787), 128, 139, NCC.

[44] Colonel Richardson to Board of War, August 9, 1777 in Ryden, *Letters,* 210-212.

or without the wind, when oars were resorted to, their canoes could outsail any vessel not propelled by steam.[45]

Behind the sang-froid of many prominent Whigs, there probably lay a far more tangible emotion: fear. Despite the prevalence of insurrections and piracy, it was relatively nonviolent at this period. A century later, when extensive piracy once again surfaced in Chesapeake Bay during the so-called "oyster wars," pitched battles similar to the "Battle of the Barges" fought in 1782 took place. Piratical oyster dredging boats waged an undeclared war against Maryland's "Oyster Navy," which was heavily outgunned and outmanned and helpless to deal with the spiralling incidences of murder, arson, kidnappings and the setting up of illegal prison camps of enslaved immigrants which provided free labor to boat captains.[46] While in the latter nineteenth century, the commander of the Oyster Navy risked being mortally wounded by the sudden fire of repeating rifles, in 1782, Commodore Thomas Grason had nevertheless been able to land on Smith Island with the object of depopulating it; he raided homes, confiscated personal property and bullied the island's inhabitants to such an extent that the name of "Grissom" has remained an object of hatred down to the present day. Yet he himself was never physically harmed.[47] In spite of that, it may well have been unnerving for many officials to face unknown numbers of hostile opponents who might have struck out with a vengeance at any time. The fact that they did not do so raises an important question: *why* was there so little violence in this area during the Revolution? At this point in time, the only possible explanation is that the Shore was isolated

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[45] Wallace, *Parson of the Islands,* 41.

[46] Wennersten, *Oyster Wars,* 37-87.

[47] Wallace, *Parson of the Islands,* 179; Dize, *Smith Island,* 44-45.

and received comparatively little support from the outside; in a dramatic switch, during the nineteenth century conflicts, watermen received substantial financial backing and material assistance from the oyster merchants of Baltimore--a city considered at the time to have been one of the rowdiest in the United States.

Compounding the problem of manning state vessels and raising reluctant militias to pursue suspected individuals were the long initial delays in inquiring into their conduct, subsequent complaints against confining those who were captured in counties other than where they resided, as well as the length of their imprisonment. As it often happened, witnesses chose not to travel either to the county seat or the state capital to testify against prisoners; the cost of travel was sometimes prohibitive and frequently there was resentment at being called to attend the courts and committees as it interfered with work routines. Nor was the problem confined to witnesses: the judges themselves absented themselves before the court's agenda was cleared. Prisoners had then to be released because of insufficient evidence.[48] At other times, the press of business was such that it became impossible to attend to cases. Such had been the case with Alexander Wickham, brought to trial before the Maryland Convention in May 1776 at a time when pressure was building for declaring independence.[49] Simply put, the sluggish General Court system as it existed in both the colonial and revolutionary periods favored the defendant.[50] The reorganization of state governments following independence also conspired to play into the hands of offenders. With the inauguration of new governments, the county committees of

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[48] Breen, *Tobacco Culture,* 55; *MdArch* XLIII, 247.

[49] Tilghman, *History of Talbot County,* II, 81.

[50] Frank L. Dewey, *Thomas Jefferson, Lawyer* (Charlottesville, Va., 1986), 21, 29.

observation, which had served as the principal vehicle of law enforcement, ceased to operate and were replaced by county lieutenants and sheriffs. In Maryland, the General Court only met for the first time in April 1778, which meant that the many insurgents captured that year could not be formally charged, and after a term of imprisonment of between four and six months, were released on bond.[51] Later on, even sentences of imprisonment did not guarantee an individual's confinement, since escapes were frequent. While deference was, with very few exceptions, reestablished when prisoners were brought personally before boards of powerful political elites, these various pressures served to diminish "terror" of the courts.[52] Nor would the Whig leaders, anxious not to let power and authority slip from their fingers to the "democratical" mobs, condone private acts of revenge on suspected individuals.[53]

A further complication was the sensitivity the Whigs had to the fact that a neighborhood was a cohesive unit for the residents living within it, bound together as they were by ties of kinship, reciprocity and other social pressures which would serve to mute or even completely silence minority views within the community. The threat might be implicit or direct. It was accordingly recognized that persons living in exposed areas near Delaware Bay where the amount of trade that was carried on with the British was especially heavy and who were otherwise known to be "hearty in the Cause" dared to "neither Act or Speak lest they should be taken away and their Houses plundered."[54] Because of it, a liberal attitude towards even an old

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[51] Overfield, "Maryland Loyalists," 215-217.

[52] *MdArch* XXI, 334.

[53] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 241.

[54] Caesar Rodney to Thomas McKean, May 8, 1778, Rodney Collection, box 6, folder 14, HSD.

offender like Marmaduke Mister became possible when it was thought that he simply could not "find his way out" of the situation that prevailed in the Sound.

In a twist of this was also a basic underlying belief that the majority participating in disturbances were not in fact the true villains, but were mere dupes of a few calculating individuals. No leap of the imagination was required for revolutionary leaders to conceive that ignorance generally prevailed among the "swamp men" living on the lower Shore. Many of the offenders had also been landless tenants, a class of individuals which was believed to lack an independent will and the power to choose. The marginal nature of the islanders is a possible reason why they were so seldom prosecuted. Only one of their number, Hamilton Collalo, described as a "gentleman," was exempted from pardon.

The ignorance and poverty of the offenders brought into play a traditional paternalism that had characterized the gentry's treatment of the poor classes throughout much of the colonial period. As Jeannie Lee has phrased it, nothing was too small to escape their attention. Since the poor had always been treated more leniently, and as the majority of offenders on the Shore during the Revolution were impoverished, it stands to reason that there was less persecution. Almost anything could be employed as a plea for clemency. Bold spirits might choose to tweak the consciences of the Governor and Council by requesting their release from a confinement which they expressed "to be unjust, cruel and Inconsistent with that Spirit of Liberty with which you profess to govern;"[55] but this was probably not as effective as the poor lying back on their impoverishment as a kind of cushion to elicit a sympathy which had always been received in the

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[55] Job Green to Governor and Council, 19 December, 1777 in Maryland State Papers (Red Books) S 989, MSA.

past. "Languishing" prisoners described in detail not only their physical "nakedness" and destitution in jail, but their social nakedness as well when imprisoned outside of the county where they resided and thus far from supportive friends and family; such pleas were often accompanied by reminders that they were the sole support of a large family. The latter was a particularly effective argument from the perspective of the gentry, many of whom were vestrymen, with its implicit threat of a woman alone with a brood of helpless children becoming "burdens" on the parish.[56] In the case of John Tims of Queen Anne's County, who had been with China Clow and sentenced to be drawn and quartered, it was the tender affection Tims and his wife showed to one another and their two children in the jail that softened the heart of the county sheriff, William Wright, and prompted him to write an eloquent letter on his behalf to Governor Thomas Johnson in 1778. As Wright reminded the Governor, probably needlessly, it was one of the "hardships of your office and mine in the taking care of such poor wretches, of which nothing further can be said than we must do the best we can for them."[57]

It was often perceived that those who were captured were less clever than the wilier spirits supposed to be guiding them. In spite of the numbers of "offenders" arrested in the various insurrections on the Shore, the Whigs conceded that they represented a small minority of the actual participants, and it always seemed possible to detect even more malignant and "atrocious villains" who were cunning enough to evade capture and escape the punishment they so richly deserved. In a society which was viewed as being hierarchical in structure, the highest

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[56] See the petition of eight of the 1777 insurgents in *MdArch* XVI, 171-172; Petition of John Travers, July 1781 in Maryland State Papers (Brown Books) S 991, MSA.

[57] William Wright to Gov. Thomas Johnson, September 29, 1778 in Maryland State Papers (Red Books) S 989, MSA.

ranks were regarded as being the mainspring of all action and, in a negative sense, the fountainhead of sedition. During the June 1776 insurrection in Sussex, John Haslet nevertheless believed "the source of corruption" was at Dover: "an Hint from thence, pervades the Lower Part of the County in a trice." John Miller, the minister of the Presbyterian Church of Dover, concurred that "there was a prevailing apprehension that some in Kent County were connected with it, and indeed had a hand in promoting it."[58]

Convincingly veiled by the familiar rhetoric of paternalistic authority, was the necessity many Whigs felt for acting with moderation and restraint in order to maintain public support and to bolster their authority. Travelling from Annapolis to Cambridge in Dorchester County, John Henry Sr. wrote to Governor Johnson after Christmas in 1777 about having found thirty-five Tories still in the jail there "in a most disagreeable situation." He urged all those who were bailable to be admitted to bail, explaining "They will be thankful, and I expect upon examination many of them will be found prisoners upon very small offences."[59] Following the roundup of insurgents in Maryland in February 1777, General Smallwood complained to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer that he was "daily discovering Persons who are not only more disaffected, but whose conduct has been more Criminal & from their Influence have injured the comōn cause much beyond what has been in the power of many of the Excepted Persons. . . ." Their absence of scruples allowed them to "avail themselves of the Benefit of the Proclamation" and view the oath of allegiance "in no other light than as a compulsory Act," while the more conscientious

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[58] Ryden, *Letters,* 88-89, 96.

[59] John Henry Sr. to Gov. Thomas Johnson, December 26, 1777 in Maryland State Papers (Red Books) S 989, MSA.

refused to take the oath because they could not "renounce their *beloved King,*" and accordingly sustained the full wrath of the State.[60] William Wright had personally witnessed the unpopularity of the decision to make a public example of Tims and wrote to the governor on his behalf, dwelling on the special pathos that surrounded the case. Utterly destitute and possessing no goods, chattels, lands or tenements to anyone's knowledge, Tims had given himself up voluntarily only to be sentenced to death, when there were "hundreds" of others "whose crimes could they be properly developed would appear perhaps ten times more glaring. . . ." Particularly odious were the "considerable people" (in this instance, undoubtedly a shrouded reference to the wealthy James Tilghman) who chose "rather to plan than execute, whose superior Degree in Life with other advantages caused them to influence others to commit crimes, which their superior Cowardice would not let them ever attempt tho they ardently wished it done."[61]

In another reflection of the perceived hierarchical nature of society, fathers were frequently held responsible for their sons' disaffected activities. Thomas Dickinson of Worcester County had enlisted for the term of the war, but was sick when his company marched and afterwards joined the British, for which he was arrested by the Somerset County sheriff. But it was not Thomas, a "very young man," whom Joseph Dashiell blamed. "That he was with the Enemy I have no doubt," he afterwards wrote to Governor Lee, "But I verily believe it was to please a Vile Tory father that he went at all." As was so often the case, Dashiell could only

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[60] *MdArch* XVI, 175.

[61] Transcript of Treason Trial, September 8, 1778: State vs. John Tims, Revolutionary War Collection, MS. 1814, MHS; William Wright to Gov. Thomas Johnson, September 29, 1778 in Maryland State Papers (Red Books) S 989, MSA.

assume that there were bigger fish to fry, and concluded his letter by suggesting that they had "One hundred more proper Objects in Somerset, then him to make Examples of."[62]

Similar views also held sway with respect to women. Very few women were ever brought before the courts on a charge of treason, even single women--*feme soles*--who were considered capable of choosing their own allegiance. Theoretically, marital status did not prevent women from being prosecuted for treason, but the paternalism of the day did seem to hold that all women, like children, blacks, native American Indians and the landless, essentially lacked any independent will. In fact only Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York ever required women to take loyalty oaths.[63] Even so, why were so few women on the lower Shore accused of having taken an active role, no matter how small, in what were termed disaffected activities? If society at large dictated that women were essentially passive, the women themselves certainly seem to have borne it out. Was there some psychological pressure exerted to prevent women from being implicated in disaffected activities? Or was it that in poorer society, there was less scope for either a married or unmarried woman to act in an influential way? Then again, given the overwhelming present-day resistance to passing death sentences against women, there may have simply been reluctance in charging women with treason because of the accompanying possibility of a sentence of death. A Mrs. Mary Caldwell and Mrs. Sarah Collins, both apparently widows, seem to have been the only women on the lower Shore to have had their property confiscated in 1785.[64] Sarah Collins, who had probably been

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[62] Dashiell to Lee, September 5, 1781 in *MdArch* XLVII, 477-478.

[63] Joan Hoff, *Law, Gender, and Injustice: A Legal History of United States Women* (New York and London, 1991), 91-92.

[64] Claim of John Henry Carey, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/60, Ontario Archives.

married to John Collins, owned property in Worcester and Somerset Counties and had patented land of her own while her husband was still alive.

Most of the cases involving women in disaffected activities, however, seemed to be of an Eve-like nature, in which they tempted others to sin: such could characterize the behavior of the two Philadelphia women who had attempted to persuade the chevaux de frise pilots to help Lieutenant Molesworth. Neither of these women, however, seems to have been arrested. On the other hand, Jane Clogg, a Talbot County spinster, was brought before the General Court of the Eastern Shore in 1778. During the British occupation of Wilmington in October 1777, she had "with force and arms" attempted to convince three slaves belonging to James Lloyd Chamberlaine and William Perry to join the British. She provided ten shillings for buying provisions, promised to go with them and to forge a pass so they could all get through the American lines. She was sentenced to seven days' imprisonment.[65] The case of young Hester West, who was captured with a group of more than thirty adult men, none of whom appeared to be a close relative and who were either armed or been employed in making cartridges, contained the disturbing element of an adolescent female who nevertheless appeared to have felt perfectly at ease in both a masculine and traitorous association. Although briefly imprisoned, predictably no charges were ever brought against her and she became an important witness against nine men in 1780.[66]

Other persons classified as lacking a legal personality similarly remained on the sidelines. These included Native Americans and free blacks, both groups being small minorities in the

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[65] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

[66] *DelArch,* III, 1300.

region and consequently preferring to remain neutral. William Johnson, who had traded with the British at Portsmouth, was probably the only Indian who was indicted in this area during the war. Ironically, one of the largest concentrations of Indians in the lower peninsula was in the area called Angola Neck in Sussex County. Hugging the northern shore of Indian River Bay, this had been the location of Thomas Robinson's store and domicile. Barclay Townsend's property was also situated there. But the prominence of these local loyalists did nothing to encourage the Indians' political activism. Besides the case of the Indian William Johnson, who was arrested and tried for having traded with the British at Portsmouth, one rare allusion to the existence of Indian Tories on the Shore appears in the narrative of J.F.D. Smyth. Among the eleven individuals who set out in search of a British warship which included Smyth, Thomas Robinson, Boaz Manlove and Dr. Patrick Kennedy were three unnamed Indians--probably Nanticokes. These three were taken aboard the *Preston* with the others and went to New York, but what their ultimate fate was is unknown.[67]

Free blacks likewise tended to remain passive. Besides Shadrack Furman, Philip and Titus Buley of Worcester County, Simon Collick of Somerset County and possibly Benjamin Driggers, who was with the Maryland Loyalist Battalion and died at Pensacola, the record is largely silent. This group, unlike their enslaved brethren, had everything to lose and really nothing to gain by joining either the British or the Americans. Free mulattoes appear in the records just as infrequently. One of the few who can be identified is Abel Jacobs, the Delaware river pilot.[68]

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[67] Smyth, *A Tour in the United States*, 340.

[68] Wright, *Vital Records*, 98.

Paternalism dovetailed with traditional patterns of deference. The gentry who supported the Revolution could only be alarmed when large numbers of "Poor Ignorant Illiterate People" participated in riots and insurrections in opposition to the measures they were taking.[69] While it was a relatively simple matter for such individuals far from county seats and state capitals to defy the gentry, when captured and brought face to face with their social superiors, deference was almost always reestablished. "Proper submission," which was generally demanded, consisted of taking the state oath of allegiance. Sometimes, the behavior of those under oath "shocked and concerned" the magistrates and officers, but the authorities, unwilling to "presume to judge or draw conclusions," were apparently able to hope that it might "not be productive of many perjuries."[70] John Travers, who had regularly traded with the British at Portsmouth in 1781, became promptly obsequious after being captured and cooperated fully in turning evidence against his former associates. A humble petition addressed to Governor Thomas Sim Lee to be released, however, met with an unexpected rebuff: the thrill of horror which Travers must have felt upon discovering that not only had he failed to recognize the governor when the latter paid him an unexpected visit in the prison, but that he had also been "wanting in respect" is almost palpable in the apology Travers hastily sent off to Annapolis.[71]

Participants in insurrections who were captured were often also enlisted into the Continental Army. In spite of the fact that these men had at one point engaged in "disaffected" activities, their records were purged by serving in the army. Consequently, it was an easy matter

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[69] Richardson to the Board of War, 9 August, 1777 in Ryden, *Letters,* 210-212.

[70] Smallwood to Jenifer, March 14, 1777 in Balch, *Maryland Papers,* 85.

[71] John Traverse to Governor Lee, 1781, in Maryland State Papers (Brown Books) S 991, MSA.

for them to return to family and friends who had supported them, and to live among those who had favored the revolutionary side. A considerable amount of latitude was sometimes given to even the most open rascality: Bartholomew Adams, one of whose relatives, Jacob, was a Black Camper, deserted the Delaware Regiment in 1778 and joined the Maryland Loyalist Battalion, serving as a private in James Frisby's company. At some time, he rejoined the Delaware Regiment, went south with it, where he was listed on August 16, 1780 as missing in action. He seems to have made a reappearance, however, for he received a state pension after the war.[72]

The very nature of the disaffection also affected the treatment of an individual. Those who committed bloodshed were dealt with very differently from simple rioters and traders. Following Independence, Joshua Hill retired from public life, absenting himself from the Assembly beginning in January 1777 and subsequently declining to qualify himself as a justice of the peace, probably because of the oath he would have had to take to the new state. Retiring to his home in Sussex County, he lived there quietly until the middle of March 1778 when a group of three militiamen unexpectedly visited the house. Those who knew Hill regarded him as a loyalist, although his wife was a Whig as was his eldest son.[73] No order for his arrest had been given, and there was every likelihood that he would have been allowed to remain quietly in the state for the duration of the war. The militiamen later claimed they had only gone to his home in search of some refreshment, but Hill had feared their intentions. Seizing one of their muskets, he shot and fatally wounded two of the militiamen and hid for several months in a nearby cedar

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[72] *DelArch*, I, 73, 139, 141, and II, 728, and III, 1127, 1267.

[73] Fraser, *Second Report*, I, 697.

swamp until he was able to make his way out to the *Roebuck*.[74] Exempted from pardon by the Act of June 1778, Hill, had he remained in Delaware, may well have shared the fate of China Clow, one of the very few loyalists in the state to have been executed.

Clow's case is an interesting one and illustrates divisions within the local community which ultimately determined the outcome. By the end of the war, Clow had returned to his home in Little Creek Hundred. It was a bold move, since he had never taken the oath of allegiance, had so far eluded capture and had been exempted from the Act of Pardon and Oblivion. Yet local inhabitants seem not to have been troubled by his homecoming, for he was apparently secure enough in his surroundings to indicate an intention of remaining there. Although the date of his return to Delaware cannot be determined, he lived at his home in Kent County for at least a year and a half in peace. Official attitudes against such unapologetic Tories had, however, hardened following the preliminary peace negotiations. Nevertheless, pressure to arrest Clow does not appear to have come from the state, but instead from county zealots like James and Nehemiah Tilton who occupied positions as justice of the peace and Assemblymen, and did not live in Clow's vicinity. As Kent County's most infamous loyalist, Clow's arrest was ordered in December 1782. The county sheriff, John Clayton, accordingly led a posse of men to Clow's house. While one part of the posse riddled the house with repeated volleys of gunfire which seriously wounded Clow's wife, another group forced the front door that had been barricaded with bedsteads, chairs, chests and loose lumber. In the melee, one of the sheriff's posse--Maj. Joseph Moore--was killed.

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[74] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* I, 253, 333-334, 517-518; Claim of Joshua Hill, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/96 Pt. II and A.O. 13/138, Ontario Archives.

Dressing in his captain's uniform, Clow was bound and put upon a horse, but on the way to Dover for his treason trial, the posse was stopped by a company of militia led by Capt. Isaac Griffin, who lived in the neighboring hundred of Duck Creek. Griffin was poor enough that he paid no tax, and his family had been divided by the war--a Samuel and Nathan Griffin, also of Duck Creek, had been captured while in arms and imprisoned for a time in Dover Jail. Griffin ordered the sheriff to hand over Clow so that he would receive summary punishment on the spot, but Clayton refused and the party continued on to Dover.[75]

Clow was acquitted of treason after showing the jury that he possessed a British commission as captain in the army, but fiery Whigs would not allow the erstwhile Marylander to escape so easily and succeeded in bringing him to trial five months later on a charge of murder. There were forceful reasons why this charge too should have failed: Clow argued that as an officer in the British Army, he had a right to defend himself: Moore's death had not been premeditated but accidental. Even more compelling evidence was presented when Clayton testified that he believed it was impossible for Clow to have killed Moore--from the nature of the wound he was confident that the fatal shot had come from behind and that Moore had been accidentally killed by one of the posse. But the jury was not persuaded by Clow's argument or Clayton's testimony and on May 5, 1783 found Clow guilty of murder for which he was sentenced to be hanged.[76]

While ardent Whigs pressed for his execution, more moderate men like Thomas Rodney struggled to have him pardoned. Clow had his friends and allies, such as the Burroughs family--

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[75] Turner, "Cheney Clow's Rebellion," 9.

[76] *Ibid.*, 11-12; *DelArch* III, 1298-1299.

Elijah Burroughs had married one of Clow's daughters--the Attixes, who were appointed to administer China Clow Jr.'s estate in 1788,[77] as well as the men who had garrisoned the "Tory Fort" in 1778. But he also had enemies like Griffin and the soldiers in Griffin's company, as well as powerful Whigs that included the Tiltons. In the end, Clow's position may have been fatally compromised because of a possible split in the Methodist society of which he had once been an integral part. Joseph Moore, the dead man, almost certainly belonged to the prominent Methodist family of the same name who resided in Kent and Sussex counties and were close friends of Francis Asbury.[78] If so, it may have cost Clow many potential allies who in turn might have swung the balance in his favor, even though the Rodneys were considered to be firm friends of the Methodists. As it was, the two sides were sufficiently equal in strength that succeeding governors, already doubtful as to Clow's guilt, found it politically expedient to do nothing and to continually postpone the day of execution.

It is possible that had Clow continued on his course, he eventually would have been pardoned. But after six years of close confinement and the death of his son China Clow Jr., he seems to have grown despondent. His wife stopped sending the governor pleas for mercy, and finally he himself dispatched to the governor what amounted to an ultimatum, demanding either an immediate pardon or that a warrant for his execution be issued without further delay. The order for his execution was at last given. Was it just for spiritual comfort or was it also possibly an effort to heal a badly fractured local community that on the appointed day, Clow walked to the gallows singing a Methodist hymn? The initial jubilation among the assembled spectators

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[77] Kent County Register of Wills, RG 3545, DPA.

[78] Clark, *Journal and Letters,* I, 306-307, 317, 332.

turned to remorse so dramatically that it caused Caesar Rodney, brother of Thomas Rodney and a witness of the execution, to declare that until then he had never wished to be governor and only wished for it then that he might have had it in his power to pardon Clow.[79]

In the aftermath of Clow's execution, stresses within the local community reached the breaking point. Isaac Griffin--who had been under Caesar Rodney's command during the Revolution--was hounded by Clow's family and friends. In 1783, the year after Clow's arrest, he had made himself obnoxious at the annual election by stealing one of the polls. Whigs complained that numbers of nonjurors had been allowed to vote. The election inspector of Duck Creek, the Hundred where Griffin resided, had separated "good Whig votes" from the rest and declared them to be the only ones that would be forwarded. Petitioners who wanted the election set aside included Griffin's own relative and wartime Tory Samuel Griffin.[80] At last, Griffin found it prudent to leave Delaware altogether. He settled in Fayette County, Pennsylvania where he was popular enough to be elected to four successive terms in the state legislature and sent twice to Congress.[81]

On the other hand, Clow's family and friends had no easier a time of things. Clow's son-in-law, Elijah Burroughs, tried in 1790 to recover China Clow's property, but without apparent success. At last the Burroughs' too left the state, part of the great Methodist exodus west to Ohio. At least one of Clow's sons, George, remained in Kent County. In 1805, he purchased

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[79] Turner, "Cheney Clow's Rebellion," 14.

[80] Minutes of the Council 1776-1792, 861, 863-864; *DelArch*, III, 1331.

[81] Turner, "Cheney Clow's Rebellion," 10.

land from Zachariah Burroughs on the Delaware-Maryland border, but later moved to Philadelphia.[82]

Perhaps the single most important factor that mitigated punishment was the loyalists' comparative weakness. In common with other areas in the United States, loyalist leadership was fragmented and transitory due to its being a reaction to events rather than a movement. This is in keeping with the basic unit in which loyalists assembled themselves in the area--that of the informal association or gang. Members of such groups were held together by a collective interest, but lacking the structure and often the kind of leadership that could be found in formal associations, their longevity was short.[83] And so it was that persons who appeared to dominate in one insurrection usually did not figure again in subsequent disturbances, and loyalism took on the characteristics of a hydra: when one head was removed either by capture or flight, others took its place. The tenuousness of the gangs was only increased by their ability to periodically interlock with other groups. Although this might temporarily swell the number of insurgents to a point that it frightened the Whig leadership, due to the subtle differences of the individual groups, the tendency was for these formations to rapidly disband. Such instability can be seen in the sudden dissolution of the 1777 insurrection in Worcester and the Black Camp Rebellion in 1780.

All this was in marked contrast to the solidarity and continuity displayed by the revolutionary leadership, who were able in most cases to retain the positions of authority which they had held before the war. Their strength lay not in the kind of inclusiveness practiced by the loyalist bands, but in the exclusion of any divergent viewpoint. While the most consistently

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[82] *Ibid.*, 15.

[83] Westman, "The Peasant Family and Crime," 13.

active loyalists who might otherwise have formed an effective cadre enlisted in loyalist corps and left the state to serve with the British forces, the revolutionaries were sufficiently powerful not only to maintain authority within their respective counties and states, but also to raise and lead troops outside of their boundaries. As Oswald Tilghman shrewdly observed in his *History of Talbot County*, the strength of the patriot party was evident when it was able to make "insignificance a sufficient shield from punishment for an offender."[84] In fact, if we strip the above-mentioned associations of their criminal aspect, the Whig party, by weeding out conservatives and many moderates, had clearly organized itself into what could be called a formal association, created for the sole purpose of conducting a war, with a recognized leadership, a clear division of labor, rules of conduct, and methods for regulating the "division of spoils" and the loyalty of its members[85]--all in contrast to how the loyalists in the area had arrayed themselves.

Consistent with the directionless aspect of loyalism in the area, Tories on the peninsula acted not from any preconceived plan, but out of convenience. Acts appeared to be random and spasmodic, committed when it was felt to be safe and opportune to do so. The single greatest source of potential strength lay in their ability to communicate with others, even across state lines, but this was not a product of deliberate planning and foresight but of the lower Shore's riverine system which, combined with the eight frequently used portages across the Delaware watershed, united the peninsula. On the other hand, this source of strength was never utilized to the extent it might have been: in spite of sharing a common bond of kinship, extreme localism

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[84] Tilghman, *History of Talbot County,* II, 81.

[85] Westman, "The Peasant Family and Crime," 13.

was more characteristic of the peninsula. So marked was this parochialism, that late into this century, residents of the various Hundreds in Sussex County could distinguish one another by their accent. Although many families such as the Truitts, Carys, Parkers, Townsends and Selbys extended across all three states, seldom was a family active in more than one. For instance, while the Messicks in Delaware were active in the Black Camp insurrection, in Maryland the family remained passive. The Townsends were active in both Maryland and Delaware, but not in Virginia. The rudderless aspect of their activities was probably in large part due to the mixture of motives among the participants: shortages of salt had led to attacks on plantations where supplies were plentiful; trading with British warships was easy and safe, bringing in money and cheap provisions; heavy taxation was resisted by means of mob action as were compulsory drafts; adventure and wealth were obtained by "picarooning." This quality negated their solidarity, and in spite of periodically closing some of the rivers and both bays to navigation, they were never really in a position to alter the course of the war.

Whatever strength they might have displayed was further undermined by British indifference, wherein lay one of the most basic problems for the loyalists. Whereas the Whigs were necessarily very much concerned with internal matters and achieving self-sufficiency, the loyalist side was clearly marked by externality. Indeed, local residents seemed to look forward to the landing of British troops on the peninsula with an almost millenarian expectation: apparently there was no thought that a landing might be predicated on anything substantive they themselves might accomplish. That is not to say they were inert--requests had frequently been made for troops and arms, and recruiters in the area were quite energetic. But their preoccupation with what was external effectively prevented any application being given to sustain their own

activities on an organized basis. In the end, the periodic gatherings of large numbers of individuals–what the Whigs called insurrections--appeared virtually functionless, as nothing more than a widely shared anticipation that the long-awaited event was about to occur. And all to no avail. In spite of intermittent spurts of interest in the peninsula, the British never seriously considered a landing there.

All these influences combined to quickly end prosecution of loyalists on the Shore as soon as hostilities had ceased. Sentences of death were lifted; those imprisoned were released. There is no evidence, for instance, that the three Queens' Rangers--Dukes, Langford and Whaley--who had escaped after the surrender of Yorktown and indicted for treason were ever prosecuted. However, cases of what on the surface appeared to be Tory plundering when such activities were at their height, from 1780 to 1782, but which struck Whigs as more closely resembling common theft continued to be prosecuted years after the war had ended. In 1785, Zorabable Maddux of Annamessex, "a man of land and property" who had turned state's evidence against his five former partners in crime, was under an obligation to appear as a witness at the General Court the following year.[86]

In turn, there were pressures for loyalists themselves to stop resisting. Perhaps the most important of all was also the first in terms of chronology--when Great Britain officially recognized American independence. In spite of a tendency to see loyalists as being out of step with the main currents of American society, even the most active had never really lost sight of their true identity. Maj. Walter Dulany of the Maryland Loyalist Battalion almost certainly

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[86] *MdArch* LXV, 674-675; General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1782-1786, S477-2, MSA.

spoke for the vast majority when he wrote to Sir Guy Carleton shortly after news of a general peace had reached the continent that in all his years of service, "I never forgot that I was an American," and in case of British recognition of American independence, he intended to decline to serve either directly or indirectly against fellow Americans.[87] Indeed, Benjamin Thompson in command of the King's American Dragoons later reported from New York that as soon as the news of British recognition of American independence reached the city, the American militia men performing garrison duty immediately refused to serve any longer.[88]

Many returned to their old homes, even those who had served in the Maryland Loyalist Battalion, since there was technically nothing to prevent them. Although there is an increasing tendency to recognize that officials in many of the states adopted a far more lenient attitude toward loyalists after the war, nevertheless Maryland, Delaware and Virginia were three of only five states which had never passed laws banishing particular persons from returning.[89] Others, however, chose not to return, since individuals, if not the law, could make life difficult if not impossible for those who did. It must have been a curious time as units of the Continental Army drifted home against a backdrop of contradictory emotions: relief at the war's end, the depression of parting from old comrades and a general war-weariness. Returning to the same neighborhoods were soldiers who had been earnestly involved in the conflict and others who had been enlisted as a punishment for disaffected activities. Individuals who had openly supported

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[87] Dulany to Carleton, March 29, 1783 in His. MSS. Comm., *Report on American Manuscripts,* III, 422.

[88] Philip Katcher, "Loyalist Militia in the War of American Independence," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 54 (1976), 139.

[89] Van Tyne, *Loyalists in the American Revolution,* 237.

the revolutionary cause once again took up residence among others who had rioted, traded and plundered. And yet, behind the apparent differences, there lay the foundations of future consolidation. For those who had served in the regular military forces as opposed to the militia, former Continentals would have shared remarkably similar experiences with those who had served in loyalist provincial units. Service in Continental units tended to make the men and officers more cosmopolitan in outlook and inspired within them a greater devotion to the nation as a whole which overrode former commitments they might have had to their individual states. In the end, this new nationalism would evolve into support for the Federalist Party in the 1790's. If anything, loyalists had perhaps had even more dramatic experiences, since provincial units were often composed of recruits from a number of different states, and like the soldiers in the Continental Army, they had frequently been made to serve far from their homes. The years ahead would witness whether it would be the differences that had arisen during the war or similarities such as the one above which bound together former enemies that would ultimately prevail. Evidence suggests that there was more success in returning to familiar patterns of life on the Shore than many other places in the United States.

A few of those who returned to the Shore at this time were only temporary visitors, taking advantage of the twelve-month period allowed them in the peace treaty to settle family business affairs and collect wives and children before leaving for new homes elsewhere. Not all of these individuals were under any actual necessity to leave, although the loss of whatever real property they had possessed may well have rendered it impossible for them to start anew. The waterman John Henry Carey came back to Somerset County, Maryland in 1784 neither outlawed nor exempted from pardon. His wife Ann had remained behind and had been allowed to reside on

the farm for the duration of the war. No money was ever taken from her; a few goods in the store had been plundered, a vessel on the stocks destroyed and a horse and several cattle taken away, but she was able to hide the pork and bacon in the woods, sell provisions to pay taxes and use the corn to feed her family. The lands were confiscated, but she was allowed to purchase all the moveables and slaves. These goods Carey later sold upon his return, and together with his wife and children left for Fredericton, New Brunswick.[90]

One historian has offered the simple rubric that those who left their estates lost them,[91] and indeed the confiscation of estates almost always came about when the owners left the state. Leaving the state also opened the door to the possibility of being outlawed, and perhaps no greater deterrent from returning was the sentence of outlawry. The dread sentence was never passed against even the most violent offenders so long as they remained close to home--which is why this sentence was never passed against either Shockley, Wheland, or the Timmons brothers. Littleton Ward of Northampton presented a similar case. Arrested twice during the war for suspected disaffection, he was finally captured with the British forces at Yorktown and ordered confined by a Captain Camp. For a time it would seem that his life hung in the balance. A request was sent to call on John Bowdoin of Northampton for more information about Ward, on whose testimony, Camp grimly assured, "he will hang."[92] Yet in the end, either because Bowdoin was unavailable, or bitterness against loyalists had subsided after the victory, Ward

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[90] Testimony of Ann Carey, January 15, 1787 in W. Bruce Antliff, *Loyalist Settlements 1783-1789: New Evidence of Canadian Loyalist Claims* (Toronto, 1985), 336; Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 259.

[91] Truitt, *Worcester County,* 451.

[92] "A List of Refugees Copied from the Papers Shown by Capt. Ellison Ellis," in *Virginia Genealogist* 18 (1974), 146.

was released and allowed to return home, where he continued to add to his already substantial landholdings. Although he had left the county of his residence, he had nevertheless remained within the state.

Occasionally, even those who were outlawed seemed to have been able to return to their old homes. Daniel Jones was outlawed along with twelve others for joining the British at Philadelphia in March 1778; however, he was back in court five years later for having engaged in a three-hour riot in August 1780.[93] Outlawed at the same time was James Ottwell, who on the basis of land records, also appears to have returned to the Shore.[94]

Maryland in particular was comparatively lenient to loyalists who had taken up arms and left the state during the war. While outlawry was most commonly imposed on those who had taken up arms, even former officers of loyalist corps were occasionally able to return so long as they had escaped this sentence, such as Philip Barton Key, a captain of the Maryland Loyalist Battalion who was soon went on to become a respected Federalist Senator in the 1790's and was appointed a member of the delegation who was to determine the boundary line between Virginia and Maryland. Another captain in the battalion, Levin Townsend, similarly managed to avoid being outlawed. In the claim which he submitted to the British commissioners, he described his capture by the "Rebels" in early 1776 in a colorful manner, perhaps correctly predicting that the details of his "sufferings, while chained for some Months in the most cruel Manner, to the Beam of a Room, and between two Negroes, would scarce obtain Credit." Instead of having been released by the Virginians, he was "happy enough to Effect his Escape" after several months

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[93] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

[94] Dryden, *Land Records of Worcester County,* 523, 563.

"from this treatment, as vigorous as unmerited,"[95] and joined Howe in Philadelphia in 1778. He later served with the corps in Pensacola, where they were captured by the Spaniards in May 1781, sent to Havana and afterwards to New York on exchange. He asserted that the inheritance from his deceased father amounting to a thousand guineas had been confiscated by the state; the value of the estate was verified by William Bacon, who claimed to be an eye witness to its destruction by a "Posse of armed Men" who "left nothing but the shells of the Houses standing." According to his testimony, they cut up the beds, scattering the feathers everywhere, stove in all the casks of liquor, threw out all the tobacco in the barn, turned loose 300 horses, killed all the cattle and fatted hogs and took them away with most of the family's salted provisions: "Such a scene," his certificate concluded, "I never beheld."

While he had been granted lot 222 in St. John and was offered £40 per annum by the Commission, which was almost as much as a regular lieutenant's half pay, Townsend instead requested a flat £50 for the "Experiment" of returning to America to recover his property.[96] Perhaps he harbored a certain amount of resentment over his failure to be promoted within the loyalist battalion; although eventually given command of a company, in seven-and-a-half years of service with the British, he had never risen above the rank of lieutenant. His pride could only have been further injured when Colonel Chalmers recommended John Sterling, who was junior in rank, for a captaincy at the end of May 1783. Chalmers' preference for Sterling was probably

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[95] He had escaped from a jail in Albemarle County in August 1777 with three others, but had been recaptured within a week and sent to Botetourt County. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia,* I, 472, 475.

[96] Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 336; Claim of Levin Townsend, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/62, Ontario Archives.

the reason behind Townsend's submitting a memorandum two weeks later concerning his nonpromotion.[97] Townsend ultimately succeeded in retrieving his estate. Though he once again obtained a certain degree of prosperity, he seems always to have retained pride in having been appointed an officer in the battalion--a commission which he never would have received in Maryland--for in his will of 1799 he referred to himself as "Captain Levin Townsend."[98] Perhaps even more noteworthy was the fact that this title could only have redounded to the credit of the holder if its value was recognized by others.

Unlike William Bartlett Townsend, Isaac Atkinson was much less fortunate in preserving his estate. After joining Dunmore, complaints about his estate's abandonment and "daily wasting" came not from a relative, but from his surety Samuel Sharpe. This had resulted in the Convention's sequestering the estate, which was then placed in the care of the staunchly patriotic Talbot Countian, William Hayward Esq., who was charged with its proper maintenance and return of an accurate inventory, the profits to be disposed for the benefit of the state. In the hands of the revolutionaries since the middle of 1776, Atkinson's surviving son, William, had little chance of ever reclaiming it and it was finally ordered sold in 1785. William's own property, which he had inherited from his maternal grandfather, had also been confiscated and was sold at the same time. Because of reports received about his kind treatment of American prisoners in New York, he was allowed to remain in Worcester for a short time to organize his mother's affairs. Afterwards, he first settled in St. John, New Brunswick, where he had been

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[97] His. MSS. Comm., *Report on American Manuscripts,* IV, 105-106, 148.

[98] V.L. Skinner, *Abstracts of Worcester County Estate Dockets 1742-1820* (Westminster, Md., 1993), 77.

granted lot 196. Later, he moved to Miramichi. He is listed as having received a British pension of £50 per annum until 1791, when it was ordered to cease as of June 5.[99]

Other officers were similarly unfortunate. Capt. Isaac Costin, outlawed by the General Court of the Eastern Shore in 1779, had his lands sold at public vendue at Salisbury in April 1785.[100] His wife Sarah bought up the land, but by 1788 she was referred to as a widow. The siege at Pensacola was both long and costly in lives, and Costin was probably already dead by the time the battalion returned to New York since he is not listed among the officers present there in 1782. Pensacola was not the only disaster to befall the Maryland Loyalists; the war's aftermath was to prove equally unkind to the battalion. In September 1783, the transport ship *Martha* left New York with the bulk of the unit for New Brunswick, where they were to be given land to settle on along the northern shore of the St. John River called Block One. It was wrecked, however, off Tusket River in southern Nova Scotia and over 100 were killed.[101] At least two Eastern Shore officers were drowned: 27-year old Lt. William Sterling of Somerset County--Captain Sterling's cousin and the battalion's paymaster--and 27-year old Ensign Levin Vaughan.[102]

Like Costin, Capt. John Sterling and Capt. Caleb Jones were also outlawed by the court and did not return to Maryland. Neither had any property in Somerset; Sterling's older brother

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[99] *AmArch,* ser. 5, vol. III, 98; Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 259; *Loyalist Transcripts,* T.O.50/11 and T.O.50/12, Ontario Archives.

[100] General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA; Claim of John Henry Carey, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/102, Ontario Archives.

[101] Ford, *Orderly Book,* 9-10.

[102] Hayward, *Loyalist Officers,* 13.

had inherited the father's estate, and Jones, although he possessed significant personal estate, including slaves, owned no land. The prospect of land ownership was probably the single greatest inducement for men of the battalion to emigrate to Canada after the war. Both Sterling and Jones acquired property in New Brunswick and achieved a degree of prominence there. An additional factor which kept Sterling from returning was that he had shot at an officer. So too did personal ties, for while he was in New York he met and married a certain Ann Leslie. Moving to St. Mary's Parish in York County, New Brunswick, Sterling died in 1826, the progenitor of the important Sterling family of that province.[103] Caleb Jones, in spite of having his house in New Jersey plundered in December 1782, also prospered in his new home. Within four years, the formerly landless Somerset sheriff had bought up five adjacent tracts of land belonging to men of the company.[104] He had also taken his slaves with him to Canada. This would eventually involve him in a landmark 1800 trial in Fredericton which challenged the legality of slavery in New Brunswick.[105] The quest for land may also have been the reason for Sergeant Zachariah Bayley's remaining on Block One.[106] Although he had come into some property in Wicomico which had been devised to him by his father-in-law in 1763, he was one of three devisees who had to share two tracts totalling only three hundred acres, and at least one of these tracts was rented.

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[103] R. Wallace Hale, *Early New Brunswick Probate Records, 1785-1835* (Bowie, Md., 1989), 432.

[104] His. MSS. Comm., *Report on American Manuscripts,* IV, 19; New, *Maryland Loyalists,* 112.

[105] T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada," Nova Scotia Historical Society *Collections* X (1899), 30-31, 103-105.

[106] Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 257.

Private soldiers in the provincial corps were far more likely to return to their homes than the officers. Being poorer and lacking social prominence, without exception they had avoided sentences of outlawry. No one cared, for instance, when the Charnock brothers returned to their home in Accomack County. Their service in the Maryland Loyalist Battalion. More surprising, perhaps, is the return of William Scarburgh to once again take up residence near his brother Edmund. He had served in the Prince of Wales American Regiment, and had seen action in Connecticut as well as in the Carolinas between 1780 and 1781. A very similar pattern holds true for the Western Shore as well. Although the commonness of surnames does not permit an accurate analysis, at least twenty soldiers of the battalion seemed to have returned to Maryland's Western Shore at war's end. Even those who had acquired land in Canada and settled on them were able to return without any apparent difficulty. In the Maryland Loyalist Battalion, Daniel Fooks, Benjamin Butler, Nehemiah Hayman and Ephraim Cottingham, all of Worcester County, had moved to Block One after the war, and within a few years all had returned to Maryland. Jacob Smith of New Castle County, a private in the Queen's Rangers, had been granted a town lot in St. John, but soon returned to his parents' home in Delaware. Painter Stockley of Sussex County briefly settled in King's County, New Brunswick, but had returned to Indian River Hundred by 1785. Five years later he married Esther Warrington.[107] It also seems likely that Captain Sterling's cousin, Isaac Sterling of Northampton, who had recruited sixty men to serve with the British, was able to remain in Virginia, never having been prosecuted for his activities. In 1787, he was listed as living in Accomack County.

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[107] *Ibid.*, 284, 291, 257, 265, 272, 329, 332; Wright, *Vital Records,* 133.

One of the groups that was extremely unlikely to receive conciliatory treatment were the Delaware River pilots. The most probable reason is that they were conceived by the Whigs to be so vital to the commerce and security of the river and bay that any who transgressed were nearly always exempted from pardon. An ancillary reason for their relatively harsh treatment may have been that while having provided a vital service to the state and thus considered to be valuable citizens, there was a general belief that there were too many pilots on the river. The loss of a few would not be deleterious, and might even improve the economic situation of those who remained.

Since state sanctions seemed to be effective in barring individuals from return, Samuel Davis, who had not been on the exempted list, was one of only two pilots who were able to return. His case is strange, however, on a number of counts. Davis was a very poor man, and may not have been a reputable pilot: while other poor pilots had petitioned the Pennsylvania Council of Safety for some form of relief, he in fact became the only Lewes pilot to serve in the land forces, enlisting as a private in David Hall's company of the Delaware Regiment on January 16, 1776.[108] That same year, he received permission from his commanding officer to transfer to the Continental Brig *Lexington*, commanded by Capt. John Barry. Discharged when the row galleys were laid up in 1777, he "some time afterwards, unfortunately fell into the hands of the Enemy and was carried to New York." Entering on board a refugee boat, he intended to take advantage of the first chance to escape. The boat captured a prize, and Davis was put aboard as one of the prize crew; still apparently not seeing any window of opportunity, the prize ran aground and he was captured. Confined at Philadelphia, he was ordered released, "no charge

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[108] *DelArch*, I, 42.

being brought against him." Returning to Lewes, he was not welcomed by the other pilots, who would not permit him to have "an equal chance" in guiding vessels upriver.[109] The reason for his unpopularity is not really clear. Perhaps Davis had always been a peripheral member of the pilot community, which might explain his willingness to enlist as a foot soldier in the Delaware Regiment; mariners and pilots were, after all, exempted from mustering in the militia. Even his service aboard a Continental vessel was an experience which none of the other pilots had either sought or shared. As poor as many were, they took special pride in their work, and few wanted to give it up: it's little wonder that today they are considered to be the area's "marine aristocracy."[110] Davis' assuming the roles of common foot soldier and sailor held in it an implicit rejection of a way of life fiercely defended by the rest of the community.

The only other pilot who was ever allowed to return to Delaware certainly never seemed to have suffered the same repudiation, which is all the more remarkable since Luke Shields had been exempted from the 1778 Act of Free Pardon and Oblivion. Shields had been captured in the Delaware aboard the Sloop of War *Raccoon* by the French frigate *L'Aigle*. Obliged to take charge of the frigate and pilot her upriver, the vessel unfortunately ran aground, and he was taken to Philadelphia where he was to remain a prisoner until exchanged. News of his aiding the French reached New York, and Shields understandably became frightened to return there. Although he had been exempted from pardon, he nevertheless tried to get back to his native Sussex County, where his luck once again ran out. Soon after crossing the county line he was

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[109] Memorial of Samuel Davis to the Delaware General Assembly, June 6, 1781 in *DelArch*, II, 905. In 1782, his poundage was 0.

[110] Jennifer Ackerman, *Notes from the Shore* (New York, 1995), 6.

stopped and forced to give security to appear at the next Court of Oyer and Terminer on a charge of high treason. Threatened now with punishment by both the British and Americans, Shields took the unusual step of petitioning the Minister of France in Philadelphia in March 1783 to request his release, which the Chevalier de La Luzerne subsequently did, warmly soliciting the state's president to use his influence for the bringing in of a bill permitting Shields' return to Delaware. Whether Shields would ever have tried to come back had he not been captured by the French is unknown, though in his letter to the Chevalier he had ascribed all his misfortunes to his "services on Board the L'Agle (sic) a Ship belonging to the King of your Excellency's nation," which would seem to indicate that his return had been much more in the nature of an accident.

Pardoned for his wartime activities, Shields took up once again the work of piloting. The year following his return to the state, the Philadelphia Port Wardens authorized the removal of the chevaux de frise from the Delaware River, which had become serious hazzards to peace-time navigation: on August 30, 1784 Shields was appointed by the Wardens to sweep the shipping channel in order to verify the success of the two men who had contracted to remove them (See Map 12).[111] Shields was a regular customer at Marriner's tavern at Lewes, where, according to the list of customers that was kept, he likely ran into men who knew all too well of his past activities, including Col. David Hall, and Stephen Atkins, William Bignall and Joseph Prettyman, all of whom had served in Captain Peery's Independent Company of Foot for the "safe guard" of the pilots. Unfortunately, what conversations and recollections might have been struck up over a dram will never be known, but whatever political convictions he held, it is clear that Shields was accepted back into the community. His acceptance was ensured by his work in

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[111] *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 2, vol. I, 812-820.

helping to remove the chevaux de frise from the river, in which he cooperated with wartime Whigs such as Samuel Rowland. It was also ensured by his continuing interest in the pilot community's solidarity and welfare: in 1788, he became one of the founding members of the "Society for the Relief of Distressed and Decayed Pilots, their Widows and Children," and so helped to establish the most important charitable organization for the welfare of the Delaware pilots.[112]

Another group of individuals unlikely to return to their old homes were the more infamous picaroons. While those on the islands were left alone, those who had resided ashore apparently found it much more difficult to return. The Timmons brothers, Stephen Mister--all these disappear from the records. In general, they were poor individuals, or, like Stephen Mister, still dependents. Census records for Somerset, unfortunately, were destroyed in a fire, but it is probable many simply moved to another state--either further south or even to the West Indies. Being watermen, it is unlikely they migrated west. In some cases, individuals may have changed their names. For instance, this is known to be the case for Bartholomew Bannum. Bannum, who lived on the Worcester-Sussex border, had been second in command of the Black Camp rebellion in Sussex and had managed to elude capture. Despite a reward of fifty dollars offered by the Delaware Assembly in 1782 for his arrest, Bannum adopted his wife's maiden name of Simpson as an alias and resided peacefully for a number of years in Worcester County, Maryland. In September 1786, he was captured by five Sussex County residents, two of whom had been in William Peery's unit, and sent to the county jail. Wartime animosities had long since cooled, and

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[112] Marvil, *Pilots of the Bay and River Delaware,* 298,302-303; *DelArch,* II, 940-942 and III, 1054-1055.

Bannum was soon released and back in Worcester County, where he died three months later in December. As late as 1788, his captors had still not received their reward money.[113]

It is difficult to explain why a similar fate did not befall the most infamous picaroon of all--Joseph Wheland. Most people on the Shore do not know Wheland's story following the end of the war; though one legend has it that he was killed in a naval engagement near Ocracoke, North Carolina, for many years most islanders refused to believe he was dead. The more popular story is that following the peace, he hid in the marshes of Straights Hundred until he went mad from feeding on the salt grass; it was said that his agonized screams could be heard for miles, terrifying the people of the Sound until he mercifully died.[114] The truth is more prosaic, but also in its way more interesting. Wheland survived the war, of course, and later submitted a claim in London. According to his own memorial, he had gotten his vessel loaded with provisions for the besieged British army at Yorktown, which the French fleet prevented him from delivering and nearly captured him in the process. With "great care, trouble and Fatigue," he carried the provisions to New York, making no mention of the fact that he had continued plundering in the Chesapeake for some time following Cornwallis' surrender. From New York, he sailed to the West Indies in a vessel he had purchased for £2,500, probably from the plunder he had obtained from the house of Ferguson and others, but "to add still more to his former misfortunes" he was cast away and lost the vessel and cargo along with all his clothes. Providentially, he found a berth as one of the mates aboard a ship bound from Barbados for England, where he hoped to

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[113] David V. Heise, *Worcester County Maryland Will Book JW-13 (1783-1790)* (Westminster, Md., 1991), 19; Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* II, 103-104, 540.

[114] Wilson, *Crisfield,* 246-247; Eller, *Chesapeake Bay in the Revolution,* 394; Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia,* II, 1003.

"get something for his losses. . . ." While it is generally believed loyalists tended to inflate the value of their estates in their claims, Wheland may actually have been one of the few who were short-sighted enough to submit an honest one: as a result of claiming a little over £1,300 for the loss of his lands, vessels, livestock, furnishings and farm utensils, while "in the same breath" admitting to having afterwards purchased a vessel worth twice as much, the commissioners expressed astonishment and judged Wheland's claim to be "very curious." Noting that he was anticipating some money from the Navy Office, they dismissed his claim since he "was worth double the money at the moment of the Peace than he was when the Rebellion began," and so had "gained by the war."[115]

Though witnesses certified that should he ever be seen in the vicinity of his former property he would be killed, there may be a grain of truth behind the old stories, for there is at least one piece of evidence to suggest that Wheland eventually did return to Maryland: a Joseph Wheland, over forty-five years of age, is listed as residing in Somerset County in the 1800 census.[116] Since his father was already advanced in years at the time of the Revolution, it is unlikely twenty-five years later that this was Joseph Wheland Sr.; and it is too advanced an age to have been a son. Despite the probable fact of his return, and, perhaps somewhat mellowed with age, living out the remainder of his life there in apparent quietude, during the next century his name became so hated that it was used in Somerset homes much as "Boney" was used in Britain--to hush restive children to sleep.[117]

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[115] Claim of Joseph Wheland, *Loyalist Transcripts,* A.O. 13/40 and A.O. 12/10, Ontario Archives.

[116] *Somerset County, Maryland: 1800 Census* (Baltimore, 1959), 28.

[117] Clark, *Eastern Shore Maryland and Virginia,* II, 1003.

Of the entire peninsula, the Virginia Shore was the area least accommodating to former loyalists, no matter how young they had been. In this respect, as in so many others, the Virginia Shore differs significantly from the rest of the peninsula.

The case of Severn Major of Accomack County illustrates the difficulties faced by returning loyalists, perhaps as much their own making as it was due to the intransigence of authorities. On November 6, 1790, he petitioned the Virginia Assembly to be granted "admission to the rights of citizenship within the Commonwealth" so that he might live with his aged father. Major was a waterman and at age twenty had "attached himself to the British cause." He claimed to have "passed through the disagreeable scenes of the war" in the Commissary's Department and never bore arms against the United States--that he was given a lieutenant's commission "as a gratuity" so that he could receive half pay which, he imprudently added, he continued to enjoy . Following the British evacuation of New York, Major had remained in the city--in spite of the bombast of an antiloyalist association which had resolved that no Tory fugitive would be allowed to remain for more than seven days.[118] There he enjoyed "all the privileges of a citizen of that State," married and carried on his occupation as a mariner.

Although making excuses for his youth and inexperience, the overall tone of impertinence ensured the petition's prompt rejection by the legislature in a 74-59 vote.[119] No doubt, the House of Delegates must have been irritated by the document's facile intermixture of republican terminology with references to Major's having embraced the British cause and

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[118] Jacobs, "The Treaty and the Tories," 65.

[119] Richard R. Beeman, *The Old Dominion and the New Nation, 1788-1801* (Lexington, Ken., 1972), 122.

enjoying half pay as a British officer. The Whig elites were not only interested in the wording of an apology, but were exacting as to the degree of debasement which an individual was to display: others before Major had experienced their prickly sensitivity. In 1776, Arthur Upshur had fallen afoul of the Accomack County committee concerning an alleged violation of the Continental Association; although acknowledged as appearing to be a warm friend of the Whigs and also that he had acted out of ignorance, Upshur was fined £100 for having behaved "obstinately and ill" in the affair.[120] But there were other factors working against Major. While he may well have worked in the Commissary's Department until 1780, British records of 1782 show that he had served two years as a lieutenant in the Armed Boat Company--hardly a gratuity and a fact which might even have been known to Virginia officials.[121] Even so, Major might have been able to return had he sought the Assembly's permission to do so much earlier. Instead, he had waited eight years, was living as a "citizen" in New York and continuing to receive British half pay.[122] While Major was living in St. George's Parish in Accomack at the time the petition was submitted to the Assembly, leaving the Shore sometime in 1791, one wonders who it was who had advised him that the laws of Virginia were "adverse to his residence therein," and why none of his "friends" submitted depositions on his behalf. Apparently neither a claimant nor a recipient of land in Canada, Major nevertheless eventually moved to Shelburne in Nova Scotia, though he was again living in New York City at the time he made out his will in 1797.[123]

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[120] Legislative Petitions, Accomack County, January 8, 1776, folder A-1, VSL.

[121] Hayward, *Loyalist Officers,* 24.

[122] Legislative Petitions, Accomack County, November 6, 1790, folder A-29, VSL.

[123] Stratton Nottingham, comp., *Land Causes, Accomack County, Virginia, 1727-1826* (Onancock, Va., 1930), 43.

To summarize, in spite of the large-scale and prolonged nature of disaffected activities throughout the lower peninsula, numerous factors were conducive to leniency on *both* sides which served not only to mitigate the punishment Whigs meted out on Tories, but also the severity of attacks Tories launched against Whigs. As a result, of the handful of peninsula Tories who received death sentences, only two are known with certainty to have been executed--and one of these, Walter Piggot, was executed not by the order of state authorities, but by the order of the Marquis de Lafayette. On the Virginia Shore, there were neither any executions ordered nor a single confiscation of property carried out. But whatever factors contributed to this official indulgence, they were certainly not peculiar to the Delmarva peninsula. However, when combined by such considerations as the area's relative isolation and removal from the main areas of the war, the general similarity in outlook between Whigs and Tories, and the degree of intermarriage, it becomes clear why there tended to be more moderation here than elsewhere during the war. Few of those who were self-avowed loyalists or who engaged in disaffected activities wanted to leave their places of residence. Those who fled the area during the war were only the most manifestly committed loyalists who would have been difficult to absorb back into the community. But such individuals, who lost everything as a result of their actions, are the exceptions in human behavior, not the rule. Most wanted simply to carry on with their lives as best they could. They embraced a wide gamut of opinion and sentiment, including those as committed to continued British rule as those who fled the state, as well as the many others who simply disliked the intrusive nature of the new state governments which were intervening in local affairs to an unprecedented extent.

On occasion, this latter group of individuals demonstrated their dislike when it was safe and easy to do so--either by ignoring state injunctions against trading with the British or taking part in insurrections and plundering raids. The difference was that those who were intent upon remaining were flexible enough to seek pardon when captured, to take the state oath of allegiance when pressed, and even to serve in the Continental Line to escape more severe punishment. It can probably never be known whether such outward pliability was the principal reason for their being able to remain, or whether it was consciously employed as a means for being able to, but it certainly worked well: it not only encouraged moderation on the part of the Whigs, but the ultimate effect of deference paid to a distant gentry was negligible within the local community. Much has been said about what relatively little effect Eastern Shore disaffection had on the war effort; it is generally forgotten how little real effect the Whig hierarchy had upon Eastern Shore communities. Of course for those who remained, loyalties spawned during the war did not end abruptly and occasionally even found an outlet in such muted confrontations as prosecutions for debt. But over time, post-war problems served to forge a new solidarity based not so much on religion or political orientation as on class and local residence. This gradual process of consolidation of formerly hostile groups will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter VII: Toward Reconciliation

Doubts expressed by more ardent Whigs in the immediate post-war period about the amount of change the Revolution had brought about on the Eastern Shore had a firm basis in reality. Because of Delmarva's comparative isolation, in a number of different respects--socially, economically and politically--the peninsula demonstrated a degree of conservatism that was seldom parallelled anywhere else in the United States. This was a key factor that made absorption of even stout Tories far easier than might otherwise have been the case.

A large part of this isolation was due to the lack of a public press, through which the peninsula could have shared in the dialogue concerning the preservation and enlargement of republican institutions. In the rest of the United States, excepting the lower South, radical discourse during the Revolution about personal freedom had had the effect of putting the cart before the horse: the psychological dissonance it had produced regarding the slavery of African-Americans provoked the passage of some sort of anti-slavery legislation throughout much of the upper South and the northern states. But because Delmarva had largely eschewed this kind of rhetoric and had no medium in which to air republican concepts, the region was consequently immune to the dissonance produced by it: Delaware was one of the few states north of the Mason-Dixon line which did not pass some sort of anti-slavery legislation. Maryland similarly failed to pass anything substantive. Virginia alone adopted, in 1782, a general emancipation bill which encouraged private manumission, but the impetus came from the interior counties, not the Shore. Modest though the manumission law was, petitions from Accomack County supported its

repeal on the grounds that freed slaves would protect and shelter slaves who had joined the British, and that slave property would be depreciated.[1]

For the most part indifferent to such stimulating events as the French Revolution, lower Delmarva was destined to be largely unaffected by the changes that were beginning to take place elsewhere and which were particularly reflected in the increasingly rapid tempo of New Castle County, which as John Munroe observed, was everything the rest of the state of Delaware was not--heterogenous, citified and nonagricultural.[2] Indeed, considering the length of time the area has been settled, the persistence of the lower Shore's agrarianism is truly striking: today, one hundred percent of the population in Somerset and Worcester counties continues to be classified as rural. Homogenous and inbred, the area was preserved as if in amber, and its traditionalism was apparent even in such mundane matters as the persistence of the river shallop, which continued to be a common sight on the Delaware long after this type of vessel had been abandoned by the rest of the country.[3]

Among individuals, lingering animosities seem rarely to have been settled in the courtroom in the post-war years. Stephen Mister probably attracted more hostility than anyone else, and was sued by an injured party after the war. But it would appear that not even Joseph Wheland, the most notorious of the picaroons, was sued by his victims. Perhaps one of the few examples of this occurred between Elisha Dickerson, a moderately prosperous blacksmith of Indian River, and a William Godwin. Dickerson had been indicted in 1778 and was afterwards

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[1] Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution,* 193-194; Brown and Brown, *Virginia 1705-1786,* 284-285.

[2] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 261.

[3] William A. Baker, *Sloops and Shallops* (Barre, Mass., 1966), 127-128.

discharged, paying fees. With a poundage rate of close to three times the average, he continued to buy land during the war, acquiring property in 1781 worth a total of £120. In 1785, he recovered a judgment against Godwin for the sum of £40, which necessitated the sale of a hundred acres of Godwin's property in the Broadkill forest. Godwin was a relative of Capt. John Godwin, the officer who was sent in pursuit of the wealthy loyalist Joshua Hill, and who was later killed while serving with the Southern Army in 1781.[4]

Naturally, neighbors continued to have dealings with one another concerning land which may only have been strengthened by their wartime experiences. Land transactions between wartime Tories were common. A poor free mulatto of Worcester County named Samuel Collick sold land after the war to Valentine Dennis, one of eleven persons with whom he had been captured in arms in 1779. Dr. James Houston of East Princess Anne who had associated in the county in 1775 sold land in Wicomico after the war to Hezekiah Carey, a participant in the 1777 insurrection. Pre-war patterns of wealth and poverty continued. Individuals such as Angelo Atkinson and Benjamin Shockley, already prosperous before the war, went on acquiring more property after it was over. Others, less fortunate, grew poorer. Custis Kellam, in spite of obtaining British protections for purposes of trade, left his children destitute when he died in 1811.[5]

Several factors provided ample opportunity for individuals to reintegrate themselves into the larger community. Probably the most important of these was religion, as Delmarva was swept by the tidal wave of Methodism. By the end of the war, the Methodists had twenty-two

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[4] Mason and Wright, *Land Records of Sussex County,* 24-25; *DelArch,* I, 128 and II, 993.

[5] Nottingham, *Land Causes, Accomack County,* 82.

itinerants in Delaware alone, compared with only five Anglican priests. In parishes where there was no rector, parishioners eagerly joined the Methodists. Nor was the shortage of clergy limited to the Anglicans: Presbyterians, with their emphasis on an educated ministry, suffered a similar dearth and within thirty years after the end of the war had lost five congregations on the lower Shore.[6] Following the Revolution, Methodism grew so dramatically on the peninsula that Delmarva has been called the "cradle of Methodism." In 1775, only nine percent of American Methodists lived on the peninsula; less than a decade later, in 1784, the year when Methodism really became independent of English and Anglican ties, one out of every three Methodists in the United States lived in Delmarva.[7] Reasons for the area's peculiar affinity for the religion are varied, but among them may certainly be added the influence of Quakerism. One lower Shore historian has written that it pervaded the thoughts and feelings of the area's inhabitants out of all proportion to the sect's numbers.[8] The rise of the Nicholites in the 1760's is only one example of that influence; many others who were earnest in their religious profession shared the sect's tolerance and beliefs such as its antipathy to "preaching for hire," its testimony against slavery, and its pacifism.

On the other hand, the ultimate reason for Methodism's appeal may lie in its non-intellectualism. While English society grew in wealth and sophistication all around him, JohnWesley clung to old-fashioned beliefs and values. He imparted to Methodism its intense emotionality, something he had gleaned from Moravian worship while in Georgia and which was

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[6] Williams, *Garden of American Methodism,* 92-93.

[7] *Ibid.*, 59; William H. Williams, "Delaware and the Methodist Revolution," *Delaware History* 22 (1987), 269.

[8] Tilghman, *History of Talbot County,* II, 299, 301.

so in keeping with the rough-hewn passions of Shoremen. The rich, whom he scorned, dismissed the simple kind of folk remedies he had advocated in his *Primitive Physic* in 1747 and which continued to be popular on the Shore at least until the end of the nineteenth century. He lamented that few believed in witches anymore or in possession by devils.[9] Luxurious, prodigal London was not in tune with his supernaturalism, but lower Delmarva was--a land studded with haunted houses. Here, belief in witchcraft continued until 1900, if not later.[10]

But there is another important reason why Methodism was so successful in garnering converts. It could appeal both to disaffected persons because Wesley's "Old Methodism" which Asbury planted in the region favored the society's continued inclusion within the Church of England, and to wartime Whigs nevertheless comfortable with its connection to Anglicanism. More zealous patriots probably appreciated it all the more after the whole society broke away from the Church of England in 1784.[11] It was this quality which enabled it to bind together individuals who had found themselves on opposite sides in the conflict, regardless of class. It must be remembered that the area had been strongly Anglican before the war, and many residents continued to be staunch Churchmen. Particularly loyal to the Church were the isolated communities of islanders and forest dwellers, which may well affirm Nelson's thesis of the Church preserving and disseminating a view of a corporate society which differed dramatically

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[9] Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (Philadelphia, 1989), 361-363, 387, 433, 435.

[10] Al Wooten. (1997). A Witch and Some Old Remedies. [20 paragraphs]. Available: http//www.rootsweb.com/~mdwicomi/let_yohe.htm [1998, February 18].

[11] Williams, *Garden of American Methodism*, 99.

from the secular, individualistic age of the eighteenth century.[12] Just as the Church was largely different from the age in which it existed, so these particular communities on the Shore differed from the larger one within which it was embraced. The collective nature of society which was espoused first by the S.P.G. missionaries and then the Episcopal Church, helped bind such communities together in the very way which they had envisioned.

Yet the loyalty to Anglicanism which these two communities expressed could not have rivalled that of the wealthy Day Scott family of Somerset County, wartime loyalists who disliked the Episcopal Prayer Book which was adopted and published in 1790. The family lived on a 648-acre tract at Green Hill in Stepney Parish; in 1755, Scott had given three hundred acres of land to the rector of Stepney Parish. While the story told about them concerns Scott's rejection of the revised style of prayer, it is possible that the tale confused the new American Prayer Book with wartime suppression of prayers for the king and the royal family, since Stepney Parish was taken over by the patriotic Rev. Hamilton Bell after John Scott, who had refused to take the state oath, left the country. According to the story, Scott was so incensed at the new form of prayer that he walked out of the service, locked the family pew and threw the key into the Wicomico River. Substantiation of the story seemed to have come in 1947 when Maud Heath Travers inspected the old church and noticed "the one pew in particular which was locked."[13] Unlikely though it may seem, Travers' discovery may be genuine: Stepney Parish Church, or Green Hill, has been described as being saved by its "providential isolation" in the forest of Wicomico. It

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[12] Nelson, *The American Tory,* 186.

[13] Cooper, *Profile of a Colonial Community,* 137-138.

has undergone virtually no alteration since it was built in 1733, and retains nearly all the original box pews.[14]

Until the society separated from the Church of England, Methodist itinerants were Anglican clergymen and were regularly ordained by Anglican bishops. S.P.G. missionaries in Delaware such as Samuel Magaw and Sydenham Thorne, themselves suspected of disaffection, were friendly to the itinerants during the war and tried to help them. As a result, well-to-do Anglican gentry honestly viewed the Methodists as a reforming movement within the church.[15] Similar loyalty to the Anglican Church prevailed in the counties of the Virginia Shore. The Rev. John Lyon, who had been arrested in 1781 for suspicion of providing aid and comfort to the British, was able to remain on the Shore until his death in 1785, having married into a prominent local family. His friends and kindred among the county gentry were sufficiently influential to have overridden the concerns of sterner Whigs like John Poulson, who complained of Lyon's returning to the pulpit "without satisfying the Publick by whose Authority" he had first come to the county.[16] Anglicans on the Shore were in turn readily supported by the Methodists, who had disassociated themselves from dissenters in 1776, declaring that they were a society in communion with the Church of England and in favor of continuing the Establishment.[17] Given such harmonious relations, it seems not so surprising that John Cropper of Accomack, wartime Whig and vestryman of St. George's Parish, occasionally attended Methodist services and

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[14] Forman, *Old Buildings,* 154.

[15] Williams, "Delaware and the Methodist Revolution," 275.

[16] Quoted in Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, II, 1399.

[17] Middleton, *Anglican Virginia,* 190-191.

following the Methodists' separation from the Church of England in 1784, became instrumental in finding a place for their ministers to preach.[18] In the Assembly, Cropper and Littleton Eyre of Northampton supported a continuation of some form of Church-State relationship during the years of debate over the Anglican Church's position. Both voted for the assessment in 1784, and Cropper voted against Jefferson's Bill for Religious Freedom the following year. Nevertheless, the Shore as a whole conformed to the general tide in supporting a complete severance of Church and State.[19]

Methodism's solidarity with Anglicanism had, however, been severely compromised during the war. Although the overwhelming majority of Whig leaders were Anglicans, the fact that many Methodists had been pacifists during the war had led to suspicions that they were loyalists. Following the withdrawal of the British from Philadelphia and the resultant decrease of disaffected activities in the area, by 1779-1780 that position had substantially changed as increasing numbers of patriot leaders began adopting the religion. In April 1780, Asbury felt free to leave his Delaware sanctuary to itinerate once again. Ultimately, "An Act to relieve nonjurors from certain disabilities" was passed by the Maryland Assembly in 1782 by which non juring Methodist preachers were freed from paying the prescribed fines.[20]

Given their earlier hostility to the faith, it is not easy to explain this sudden transformation on the part of the gentry, but their role in bringing about the conversion of numerous parishioners should probably not be underestimated. After the war, St. George's

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[18] Thomas E. Buckley, *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776-1787* (Charlottesville, Va., 1979), 193.

[19] *Ibid.*, 160, 193, 196.

[20] Jacobs, "The Treaty and the Tories," 114.

Parish in Accomack County was the most powerful center of Episcopalianism on the Virginia Shore and not only had Methodism attracted few followers, it was actively resisted by mobs of parishioners. Only when worldly and wealthy "Fox-hunting" Tom Burton was converted in 1801 did a large and spontaneous revival begin in the parish.[21] The conversion to Methodism by such prominent families as the Burtons of Accomack and the Whites and Bassetts of Kent, gave the society both prestige and protection on the peninsula.[22] Certainly, the gentry shared with the Methodists an interest in the reformation of manners and morals, such as Sabbatarianism, the abolishment of fairs and the prohibition of gambling, all of which were associated with disorder and resistance to authority. For instance, of the seventeen signers of an 1802 Broadkill Hundred petition for eliminating "the brutal and shameful practice of suffering them (the town's inhabitants) to cover mares in our streets and before our doors," at least twelve were Methodists.[23] Asbury had also been successful in keeping the Methodists of Maryland and Delaware within the Church of England, and consequently they had come to espouse the same position as the old Church Party. This in turn made it easy for the Anglican gentry of the region, who had made up the ranks of the old Party, to join in alliance with the Methodists. Together they composed the main strength of Federalism in the lower Peninsula. In yet another reflection of the Virginia Shore's variance from the rest of Delmarva, the Methodists there had at one point pressed for separation.

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[21] Mariner, *Revival's Children,* 37-40, 59-60.

[22] Simpson, *American Methodist Pioneer,* 150n.

[23] Harold B. Hancock and Russell McCabe, *Milton's First Century* (Westerville, Ohio, 1982), 74.

But there was probably another motive which attracted peninsula elites to the Methodists. During the war, the Methodists had been identified with the "meaner sort," the very classes which had engaged in the bulk of disaffected activity. By converting to Methodism, the gentry found an important method of controlling the new movement, particularly when it came to the itinerants' vocal opposition to slavery. Capt. Thomas Burton, for all his sincere attachment to the Methodists, was nevertheless a slave-owner who had signed a petition in 1782 opposing bills that had recently been proposed in the Assembly for manumitting slaves.[24] Burton invariably sat near the pulpit during sermons, and when contented with the minister's preaching, he would tap his foot continually on the floor--"keeping the spinning-wheel spinning," as parishioners called it. Parishioners and minister alike knew when the captain was displeased with the topic because the "spinning wheel" would suddenly stop, such as after any mention of anti-slavery sentiment. In this way, the captain succeeded in stifling certain tenets which had come to be closely associated with the faith, although the ministers' passionate convictions must have finally brought about a change of heart for at his death he willed that his slaves be freed upon reaching the age of thirty-five.[25] Nor was this an isolated instance: in 1803, following an anti-slavery sermon delivered by itinerant Richard Lyon in the same county, a lay committee subsequently monitored the minister's sermons to ensure they did not contain any provocative subject matter.[26]

Although Burton's case may be extreme, it is a useful illustration of how this kind of church patriarch could control the content of sermons and exhortations and influence even the

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[24] Legislative Petitions, Accomack County, June 3, 1782, folder A-11, VSL.

[25] Mariner, *Revival's Children,* 59-60; Wessie Nock Eason, *Methodism on the Eastern Shore of Virginia* (s.l., 1909), 10-11.

[26] Williams, *Garden of American Methodism,* 165.

emotional character of meetings. And the relationship between the new church and its most prominent slave-holding members would only grow closer over time. As the church became the region's dominant religion, and as the more abolitionist members freed their slaves and moved west, Methodism grew predictably more ambivalent about the South's "peculiar institution." Moreover, slave-holders could appreciate the soporific qualities Methodist teaching imparted upon their human chattels. On the upper Shore, it had once been impossible to keep the slaves from stealing whatever was left exposed, but in 1774, Mrs. Carvil Hynson could rejoice over how tractable they had become under Methodism's influence--no longer did the slaveholders fear their food being pilfered by their black servants. Early in the next century Tench Tilghman had to concede that "the best disposed" slaves on the Shore were "attached to the Methodist Church."[27]

Unfortunately, there are no known vital records for Eastern Shore Methodists before 1840;[28] nevertheless, it would appear that the bulk of those involved in wartime disturbances were not among the converts. Among the few wartime insurgents who did so were Robert and William Bell of Sussex County, two of four Bell family members who rioted in 1777. Both became trustees of Greenboro Methodist Church in 1789.[29] In 1801, a subscription was taken up in Broadkill for building a Methodist Church in the town of Milton. Of the forty-eight individuals who subscribed, eight could definitely be traced back to the Revolution, but possibly only one of these--John Fisher--had been imprisoned for disaffected activities; the rest had all

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[27] *Ibid.*, 166.

[28] Wright, *Maryland Eastern Shore Vital Records*, V, v.

[29] "Thomas Bell" and "William Bell," Genealogical Surname File, HSD.

been pro-Revolutionary, including two who had served in the Independent Company of Foot, two former officers, a member of the Sussex County Committee of Safety, and an invalided soldier.[30] Further north in Talbot County, Maryland the evidence is much the same. Of the nine trustees responsible for the construction of a Methodist meeting house at St. Michaels in 1781, five had been officers during the Revolution.[31] This is not terribly surprising: Methodism after all was a reform movement within the Anglican Church. The reason many were opposed to Whig efforts during the Revolution was to keep things as they were: it is far easier seeing tumultuous rioters anxious to preserve the rowdy fairs and public marts that underwent so much persecution after the war, with Methodists leading the assault.

At least part of the success of Methodism was, however, its practicality. While Annual and General conferences all formally condemned the evils of alcohol, gambling and horse-racing, Methodism on the peninsula was remarkably ambivalent about them.[32] If it had not been more forgiving, it would never have managed to convert the hard-drinking and gambling islanders on Smith and Tangier. Itinerant ministers who began arriving in the vicinity of the Sound in the 1790's met with a reception very different from what they had come to expect in the rest of Delmarva. The insular watermen shunned the Methodists, fearing they might "endanger their peace" and work to destroy the old church of their fathers.[33] Tangier Islander Levi Thomas tried with all his might to dissuade his young nephew Joshua, soon to become famous as the

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[30] Hancock and McCabe, *Milton's First Century*, 179-180; *DelArch,* II, 1235 and III, 1054, 1099, 1140, 1175, 1212, 1235, 1300, 1302, 1331.

[31] Tilghman, *History of Talbot County,* II, 308.

[32] Williams, *Garden of American Methodism,* 151-154.

[33] Wallace, *Parson of the Islands,* 67.

"Parson of the Islands," from going to a camp meeting. "If you go there," he warned, "they will have you down to worship them." He accused the itinerants of being a "a parcel of Irishmen who have run away from their country to keep from being hanged." While living in Dorchester, the elder Thomas had witnessed a disturbing altercation between the local Episcopalian minister and a Methodist minister, who "halloo'd. . .for nearly an hour" after the service had finished, and "tore the Church all to *shivers* . . . ."[34] These kind of invectives succeeded for a time in prolonging Joshua Thomas' doubts and distrust. When invited to attend a Methodist meeting by a local minister, the younger Thomas' face, the Rev. Miles later recalled, assumed an expression of disdain, as if to say "that he would not degrade himself so much as to enter the dreaded and despised place," and quickly hurried away "as if there was contamination in the neighborhood."[35] Confronted with so much hostility, it is little wonder that Methodist ministers were physically attacked and sometimes preached with blood running down their faces.[36]

One of the few characteristics of the itinerants which the unschooled watermen could respect was their ability to pray and preach extemporaneously. Still, outsiders had little real chance of bringing about the conversion of such rough and independent people. It wasn't until the long-delayed conversion of Joshua Thomas in 1807 that a "melting time" finally took place in the Sound. Plain, unassuming and unlettered, Thomas lived no differently from his fellow islanders. Barefoot in his striped waterman's jacket, his pants rolled up to the knees, he cut a familiar figure both aboard his boat tonging and fishing, and ashore, diligently tending his small

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[34] *Ibid.*, 85-86.

[35] *Ibid.*, 68-69.

[36] Wennersten, *Oyster Wars*, 9-10.

patch of corn and sweet potatoes. As a mariner himself, Thomas understood his flock and could preach to them in terms that they could readily identify with.[37] One of the most important converts was the influential "old offender" Marmaduke Mister, who invited Thomas to live on Smith Island. Since Thomas was the nephew of a fellow islander and wartime prisoner, Mister must have known him since birth.[38]

Thomas's wife was the daughter of Richard Evans, a 1777 insurgent who had dealings with Wheland and other bay raiders. Richard Evans together with his brother Solomon were two of the most influential converts on Smith Island. Because of his importance in local politics and general business among the islanders, Richard had come to be known as "King" Richard Evans. Wealthy and paternal, he entertained his fellow islanders by throwing great balls and "frolics" at his house.[39] He lived to be one hundred years old, and died around 1850--the year of the last presidential election in which he is known to have voted--and although it is not certain that he was the same man as the insurgent, he would certainly have been of age at the time of the Revolution. Yet if the two really were one and the same, it would throw some interesting light on possible motivations among participants of these large uprisings, otherwise so difficult to understand and interpret. Evans belonged to one of the oldest and largest families on the island and had always been known for his "sterling honesty." At one point during the war, the house of his brother Solomon was raided by British bargemen. Did Richard join the insurgents because

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[37] *Ibid.*, 10.

[38] The parson's uncle, also named Joshua Thomas, had been ordered to appear before the General Court of the Eastern Shore in 1782. General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records) 1778-1782, S 477-1, MSA.

[39] Wallace, *Parson of the Islands*, 100, 175.

he was personally concerned that measures undertaken by the revolutionaries might adversely affect the welfare of the local community? If so, then perhaps these large insurrections have more in common with Pauline Maier's conscientious, extralegal mobs than has hitherto been recognized.

Though both Smith and Tangier had been renowned as pirate hideaways, under Mister's authoritarian hand Methodism developed in a curious way on Smith Island which diverged sharply from the pattern that became established on Tangier. On Smith, a theocracy gradually developed, with the Church taking over the civil administration of the island. In fact the Church is still in charge of providing such traditionally municipal government services as the water supply, the maintenance of public buildings, street lighting and medical services.[40] Nor were these the only important centers of Methodism to develop on the lower Shore. Another center emerged on Hog Island, off the sea side coast of Northampton County, which was renowned as a "place for free spirits."[41] Several hundred people lived in the rowdy town of Broadwater at its southern tip where they made their living by fishing and hunting. Like other islanders in the region, they had been congenial enough to allow the British to establish an operational base there early on in the war. But even these could not resist the tide of Methodism indefinitely, and eventually they too became fervent converts.[42]

Examples of the kind of reconciliation that occurred between former enemies intermittently appear in the records. Following the war, John Cooper of Caroline County, who

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[40] Tom Horton, *Bay Country* (Baltimore and London, 1987), 113.

[41] Hog Island. [4 paragraphs]. Available: http//www.esva.net/ghotes1n.htm [1998, February 18].

[42] Mariner, *Revival's Children,* 27, 49, 421.

had attempted to raise a company opposed to the Convention, sat on the Board of Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Hillsboro. Cooper may have been related to Ezekial Cooper, a Methodist itinerant who had been spiritually awakened by Garrettson in 1775.[43] Among John Cooper's fellow trustees were Henry Downes, who had been the clerk of the 1774 county meeting and was first lieutenant in the 4th Battalion of the Flying Camp that had marched to Philadelphia.[44]

Another example occurred in New Castle County, Delaware, which was not, however, a bastion of Methodism. Jacob Deakyn of Appoquinmink Hundred had owned half a shallop with John Allee, who was among a group captured transporting goods belonging to John Anderson and selling them to the British frigate *Swift*. Deakyn married a Mrs. Mary M. Kane, and his son William married the daughter of Capt. Abram Staats, a militia officer under Caesar Rodney's command during the war. In-laws included relatives of the Derrickson family of Brandywine, Jacob Derrickson having been excluded from the 1778 Act of Free Pardon and Oblivion.[45]

Yet there is also evidence to suggest that Methodism did not always alleviate former hostility, but actually fuelled rivalry. This was especially true when American Methodism broke away from English Methodism and from the Church of England, In Delaware, Sussex County Methodists found support from the powerful Rodney family, who had spearheaded the revolutionary movement in the state. There, conservatives continued to occupy office both at the

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[43] Williams, *Garden of American Methodism*, 30.

[44] Horsey, *Origins of Caroline County*, 113n, 141.

[45] "Jacob Deakyne" and "Abram Staats," Genealogical Surname File, HSD; Elizabeth Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington, in familiar village tales, ancient and new* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1972), 13.

county and state level, gravitating naturally to the Federalist party. Barkley Townsend, who had gone to Worcester County with Job Ingram in 1776 to warn the county's inhabitants about independence, enjoyed some success in obtaining county offices which were keenly contested, becoming both a trustee for the poor and a justice of the peace in 1791. First elected to the state House of Representatives in 1792 on the Federalist ticket, he served for three terms and probably expected to advance to the state senate.[46] However, by 1795, the last year he was elected to the House, the Federalist party was beginning to change the manner in which they chose a county ticket.[47] Townsend was a devout Episcopalian who harbored deep suspicions about the schismatic Methodists. Unfortunately, he seems to have begun suffering from a religious mania after which rumors circulated that he had become incapable of taking care both of himself and his estate, and that he had burnt one of his slaves to death. It was while in this frame of mind that Townsend published a number of pamphlets attacking the Methodists in the state whom he accused of "raising a smoke from the Bottomless Pit," which he seems to have held largely responsible for his failed bid to become governor in 1798.[48] Besides venting his spleen against such a conventional target as "fat faced big buttock" Wilmington printer John Adams, whose Presbyterian father had established the first printing press in Delaware and was the patriot printer"of the General Assembly's Proceedings, Townsend advised others to "reform their lives," including William Huffington of Broad Creek, who had been indicted for treason in 1779, and Daniel Rogers, the Accomack County merchant who had worked in partnership with the Kellams

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[46] Scharf, *Delaware History,* I, 411.

[47] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 236.

[48] His daughter Comfort, however, would become the mother of Delaware Governor W.B. Cooper (1841-1845). "Barkley Townsend," Genealogical Surname File, HSD.

and had been tried for treason in Virginia.[49] Moving to Cedar Creek by 1782, Rogers thereafter rapidly climbed the ladder to political power, serving as a state senator from 1793 and becoming its president, which was probably when the friction with Townsend began. As president of the Senate, Rogers succeeded to the governorship when Governor Gunning Bedford died in September 1797.[50] The eventual winner of the 1798 election, however, was Richard Bassett, a prominent and intensely pious Methodist. Bassett, like many of the early governors of Delaware, had been born outside of the state. He owned 6,000 acres in Bohemia Manor in Maryland, the adopted son of the Lawsons and Inzers, the latter being the heirs of Augustine Hermann and until the Revolution possessed the title of "First Lord of the Manor." A fashionable man of the world prior to his conversion, Bassett had been suspected of disaffection early on in the war, but later served outside of Delaware as a captain in the Continental army.[51]

Doubtless, Barkley Townsend's frustrations in the political world, advancing age and internal demons had transformed his earlier loyalty to the British monarchy into a devotion to a loftier and less objectionable heavenly kingdom and the "crown" that was laid up for him there. Somewhat unexpectedly, he even concluded one of his pamphlets by offering his services as

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[49] *DelArch,* III, 1300.

[50] Robert Sobel and John Raimo, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States,* 4 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1978), I, 212.

[51] Bangs, *Life of Garrettson,* 105; Hancock, *Delaware Loyalists,* 43; *DelArch,* II, 1010; Robert Emory Pattison, "The Life and Character of Richard Bassett," *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware* XXIV (1900), 8, 13.

counsellor to the President of the United States in order that a "peaceable kingdom may take place throughout the States that he is now Supreme Magistrate of."[52]

Delmarva Methodists, however, were more inclined to move out of the area than other religious groups and join the western migration. Those who were land-poor were encouraged by Francis Asbury to seek new opportunities in the slave-free territory of Ohio. Around 1800, this group along with others who had already manumitted their slaves and also preferred to live in a slave-free environment, left western Sussex and settled principally in what is now Ross County, Ohio. In the decades to come they were followed by "tribes" of Sussex County families who settled in what became Milton, Indiana.[53]

As a schismatic development of the Anglican Church, Methodist communicants remained loyal to the politics of the old Church Party.[54] As such, the church became an important bulwark to the Federalist Party. Delmarva, like much of the rest of the country, generally exhibited disinterest in federal politics. Relatively few people voted in the decade following the war. But it was that as the Main Shore of Maryland and Virginia and became smitten with anti-federalist sentiment with respect to the Constitution, and afterwards Democratic-Republican, that Shore elites rallied to the Federalist side. The entire peninsula became a bastion of Federalism. Remote from not only the respective state capitals but the national capital as well, this development at first seems difficult to account for.

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[52] Barkley Townsend, *Declaration of the Holy War: Shewing the Fiery Trial, the Commencement of the Millennium, and the Destruction of the Wicked* (1801), 39.

[53] Williams, *Garden of American Methodism,* 72-73; Hancock and McCabe, *Milton's First Century*, 208-209.

[54] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 238-239.

In an attempt to outline probable reasons among the governing elite for supporting the Federalist or Antifederalist party, Norman K. Risjord extended an analytical technique used by Jackson Turner Main from which he drew a number of conclusions. He found that residence, the age of the family, education, military service and rank were all factors influencing an individual's political choices.[55] Unfortunately, none of these measures work very well for the Eastern Shore. Only one of Risjord's factors--the tendency for areas settled earlier to become predominantly Federalist--seems to fit. For one thing, the governing elite on the lower Shore tended to be less well-educated than their Western Shore confreres, a factor which Risjord found to be correlated to Antifederalism. And while he found a close relationship between a family's external interests and Federalism, the utter insularity of the lower peninsula should have thrown the inhabitants into the arms of the Antifederalists. Relatively few of the governing elite saw service in the Continental Line, and even fewer served outside of their respective states. Ironically, offenders in Delaware and Maryland who were compelled to serve in the army probably saw more such out of state service than their local political leaders. Taken together, these facts should have translated into the Shore's becoming a bastion of Antifederalism. Instead, the reverse happened.

A number of reasons might account for this unlikely development. For one thing, the counties of the lower peninsula felt separate from much of the rest of their respective states. The Virginia Shore maintained intimate ties only with Norfolk, the port from which much of its produce was shipped to the West Indies, and Norfolk merchants looked to the federal

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[55] Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* 313-316.

government for support in expanding their commercial opportunities.[56] Otherwise, the lower peninsula did not share many of the interests or ideals of those living on the Western Shore. At least for Virginia, Risjord found that a common denominator among Federalists was their atypicality in one respect or another. Federalists therefore shared with Loyalists the characteristic of being cultural minorities. Their isolation from the currents moving through much of the rest of the society in which they lived enabled them to cling to the policies of the national administration even as the majority of people were rejecting them.[57] Such a description would surely embrace the Eastern Shore, insular both in its interests and outlook.

Aside from these factors, there are two others which may have been influential. First of all, the lower peninsula was conservative in outlook. A majority of the inhabitants had been less than enthusiastic about participating in the war and had tended to oppose independence. Furthermore, like Methodism, Federalism was to a certain degree nonintellectual. There was none of the elaborate if rather forced philosophizing about compacts and revolutions nor the same brash and savvy political organizing. Stalwart and unimaginative men were entrusted with public office--men such as William Hindman of Talbot, who was accused by Republicans of being an unthinking and mediocre congressman who voted "slavishly" for every Federalist-sponsored bill.[58] Republican phraseology never really took root, and after the war the governing elites were content to leave alone such anomalies as the King's Highway in Lewes or the fact that

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[56] Norman K. Risjord, "The Virginia Federalists," *Journal of Southern History* 33 (1967), 497.

[57] Norman K. Risjord, "Virginians and the Constitution: A Multivariant Analysis," *WMQ* 31 (1974), 630.

[58] Whitman H. Ridgway, *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790-1840* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 31.

the Northampton County clerk continued to derive his title from the King of Great Britain. The Constitution was interpreted by many as instituting a British form of government: having little interest in the more democratic Confederation Congress, this was precisely the thing with which the Shore elites were comfortable. What a soothing reminder it must have been of Howe's wartime proclamations and the self-assertions of Tories when during the 1792 congressional election, the Federalists of Maryland publically styled themselves as "friends to government."[59]

On the other hand, there may have been a very different reason why the Federalists enjoyed such strength in the region. It must be remembered that local Whig leaders continued to predominate in the political arena after the war and that their wartime experiences may have constantly reminded them of the importance of some kind of centralized power. During the war, they had been all too aware of the weakness of their respective states in punishing offenders. Time and again, the state militias had proven themselves incapable of crushing insurrections and military forces had had to be repeatedly dispatched by the Congress. Ultimately, it was due to this outside help that the Revolution managed to succeed in such places as Delaware.

But it is easy to overestimate the importance of these matters among the general public. In the immediate post-war years, voter turnout was very low, ranging in Virginia between ten and thirty-five percent of eligible voters. Elections were perfunctory in many counties which included the Eastern Shore, where men like Thomas Evans of Accomack County expected to be elected to the Assembly almost automatically.[60] The 1800 Presidential election proved to be a

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[59] Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* 409-410.

[60] Richard R. Beeman, *The Old Dominion and the New Nation, 1788-1801* (Lexington, Ken., 1972), 39-40.

watershed in terms of voter participation; in 1804 and thereafter the percentage of eligible voters taking part in elections slipped back to colonial levels until by 1820 it was a mere three percent.[61]

The party was weakest, predictably enough, on the Virginia Shore which was much smaller in comparison to the rest of the state than was the case with Maryland's Eastern Shore. It was therefore able to wield less influence on Virginia as a whole. The esoteric Jefferson certainly aroused antagonism among Shoremen, who spiritedly responded to Federalist propaganda surrounding Jefferson's Deism. In 1800, Thomas Evans darkly predicted that belief in all religion and the immortality of the soul, even virtue itself would come to an end if Jefferson were elected president.[62] In spite of much wartime antipathy towards New Englanders, in that year's election 427 votes were cast for Adams while Jefferson garnered a mere fifty. The Shore accounted for two of only seven counties where the Federalist ticket obtained a substantial majority.[63] Shore Federalists proved to be less moderate in their opposition to Jeffersonian policy than their Western Shore counterparts. Evans, the Federalist representative from Accomack, could be just as intransigent at times as any New England "Blue Light." He was the only Virginia Federalist to vote for the Alien and Sedition Laws. Thomas Griffin, who represented the Shore in the Eighth Congress, voted against the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and voted against appropriations for the Purchase long after the New Englanders had given in.[64] Federalism managed to hold on until the 1804 election, when it succumbed

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[61] *Ibid.*, 239.

[62] *Ibid.*, 229.

[63] *Ibid.*, 232.

[64] Risjord, "Virginia Federalists," 503, 506.

temporarily to the general Republican mania. Exposed to potential British depredations and uninterested in quarrelling with Great Britain, the Shore briefly reverted to Federalism in 1808. The first section of the peninsula to become Republican, the Shore had nevertheless been one of the party's last refuges in the state, which was why it was often referred to as the "old Federalist Stronghold."[65] Only the far western counties remained Federalist for a longer time.

In contrast, Maryland's Shore composed half the state, and its continued strength in the legislature had been ensured by the localist 1776 constitution, which based the unit of representation on the county rather than the voter. Only the addition of new counties could alter the pattern of representation, not population shifts, which further buttressed the Shore's political power as it went into economic decline in the early nineteenth century.[66] Combined with the fact that Western Shore counties jealous of Baltimore's influence consistently allied with it, Maryland remained Federalist far longer than Virginia. Sharing few of the interests of the "Chesapeake" and "Potomac" factions, which arose during the complicated question of the permanent location of the national capital,[67] Shore Federalists nevertheless steeled themselves to ensure that the state capital would not be moved from Annapolis to hated Baltimore.[68] Several like Daniel Rodgers of Sussex County and William Hindman and Thomas Evans of Accomack achieved prominence in the party because of their value as informants and contacts for supplying character assessments of candidates for Army appointments. Federalist Senator James Lloyd of Somerset County was

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[65] Johnson, *Ebb and Flow*, 106, 108-109.

[66] Ridgway, *Community Leadership*, 5

[67] Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* 396-401.

[68] See, for instance, the voting results reported in *Maryland Gazette,* January 26, 1786.

appreciatively described by a colleague as being "as strictly government as it is possible. . .a man of nice honor and pretty good judgment, slow and heavy."[69] Credit must go to Lloyd for composing the first and most stringent draft of the Sedition Act, which was to prove so devastating to the party.[70]

But it was in Delaware that Federalism hung on the longest. The Democratic Party's sole stronghold was in New Castle County, which not only could boast of a newspaper of its own by 1785, but continued to be the one section of the state covered in Philadelphia newspapers. But Federalism's strength in the southern part of the state was bolstered both by the lack of any system of public education as well as a public press. Isolated and inbred, sons voted as their fathers had done. State rather than federal elections commanded almost the whole of the public's attention, and the question of who would be county sheriff easily overshadowed congressional elections.[71] One stratagem, so familiar today, for discrediting political opponents during closely fought campaigns involved dredging up unfavorable aspects of a candidate's past. Occasionally, wartime records served as convenient ammunition, but it was neither particularly common nor especially effective. Since almost all politically potent loyalists had been eliminated from the scene, few were left against whom such techniques could be used. Those who had been passive for the most part during the war continued to be so afterwards. Added to this was the conservatism of the vast majority of politicians who were not so far removed in outlook and sentiment from their erstwhile enemies to make such criticism seem particularly valid. One of

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[69] Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* 532, 798-799; Harold C. Syrett, ed.-in-chief, *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 27 vols. (New York and London, 1961-1987), XXII, 283-284.

[70] Johnson, *Ebb and Flow*, 109.

[71] Munroe, *Federalist Delaware,* 197.

the most celebrated cases concerned James Tilghman of Queen Anne's County, who was widely suspected of having been a secret accomplice of China Clow. A cousin of the much more famous Matthew Tilghman, James was an eminent lawyer who had attended the provincial convention in 1776 and had sat in the Senate for the duration of the war. Two of his sons, however, openly adhered to the British side: Richard went to England with Governor Eden, while Philemon was a British naval officer who did not resign his commission until after the end of the war. As late as 1792, Tilghman was still being accused of Toryism by essayists.[72] Nevertheless, he suffered no persecution, and his son Philemon was even able to return in peace to Maryland after the war.

In other instances, doubts might be raised about a candidate's wartime record or his eligibility to hold office. The election of William Perry of Talbot County to the state senate in 1784 immediately drew fire from an anonymous "Native of Talbot County" who attempted to prove that Perry was technically a nonjuror and therefore ineligible to hold public office. In spite of having constantly attended the county court as a magistrate, where he had administered the oath of fidelity to numbers of applicants, the essayist disclosed that Perry had nevertheless managed to avoid taking it himself until well after the expiry date of March 1, 1778. The Talbot Countian warned that should Perry be seated, there would legally be not fifteen senators, but only fourteen.[73] Later a staunch Federalist, Perry was destined to serve for many years in the state senate.[74]

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[72] Frederick Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1950), 279; Mason, *Region in Revolt,* 296, 299, 343.

[73] *Maryland Gazette*, October 28, 1784.

[74] L. Marx Renzulli Jr., *Maryland: The Federalist Years* (Rutherford, 1972), 187.

Another instance involved William Hindman of Talbot County, Treasurer of the Eastern Shore and a vehement opponent of confiscation, who in 1777 had allegedly read General Howe's proclamation of August 27 at the doors of the county court house. Hindman did not copy the aggressive electoral practices of the Republicans; he was an adherent to the old idea of standing for election rather than running for it. Rendered lame during one campaign after treading on a lady's fan while dancing, he afterwards observed rather reluctantly that it "seemed" to be necessary to move about among his constituents, as his opponent was "in perpetual motion."[75] During the hotly contested 1798 Congressional election, a supporter of Hindman's busy Republican opponent wrote several diatribes which alluded to Hindman's "Toryism" during the war. However, this did not curtail Hindman's long and successful career in national politics.

Together, Methodism and Federalism can be interpreted as defining characteristics of the region: nowhere else in the Union did so many Methodists reside; nowhere else did Federalism flourish to the same extent or remain the dominant party for a greater length of time. Both certainly served as important links in bringing together formerly hostile groups. But they had a possibly even more important role in subtly altering the ethos of the lower peninsula. Although often associated with conservative forces, both Federalism and Methodism, following its separation from the Church of England, were nevertheless truly American institutions. Both were able to blend with the Shore's peculiar culture, but each in its own way altered aspects of the area's cultural framework which had informed the daily lives of its inhabitants. Methodism, at one time fully incorporated within the Anglican Church, succeeded in winning over the poorer classes due in part to the strength of its emotional appeal. Rough-hewn and unsophisticated

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[75] Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* 109; Johnson, *Ebb and Flow,* 109.

individuals were drawn to the church by the shared outpourings of emotion during such rituals as love feasts, which also probably helped to reinforce a feeling already becoming ingrained among Shoremen of being part of a closed community.[76] In other respects, however, Methodism was also able to alter long-standing social patterns. Not only did the church promote a break with the past in terms of changing the habits of its congregation, inculcating the virtues of sobriety and frugality and encouraging the better cultivation of farms; folkways were also affected by such seemingly innocuous deeds as changing old familiar place names. For instance, fearful that there should be some recognition of Satan's proprietorship, the Rev. D. Daily insisted that Devil's Island be instead called Deal's Island during the time he was principal elder of the district. By the 1830's the new name had gained acceptance, and it has been known as such ever since.[77] Formerly rowdy and careless watermen who had grown accustomed to thinking of the island's marshes as illicit havens, may well have experienced a subtle shift in attitude because of a simple name change.

Federalism was also in harmony with the region's conservatism and its popular association with Anglophilia. Although the homes of some conservatives continued to be named after old English homesteads--Edward Ker's descendant John Ker named his home Cessford after the Kers' ancient manor in Scotland[78]--the symbols of the federal union were frequently incorporated into the homes of the area's most prominent residents. It is true that these private domiciles cannot be considered public buildings to the same extent as parish churches, ordinaries

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[76] Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), 166-167.

[77] Wallace, *Parson of the Islands,* 44.

[78] Forman, *Virginia Eastern Shore,* 169; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore,* I, 242.

or courthouses. At once both highly visible--especially from the rivers--yet inaccessible, the homes of wealthy country squires were often approached by a long shaded lane and were additionally obscured from full public view by a graceful tree park situated in front of the facade. Nevertheless, gentlemen's seats have been described by Rhys Isaac as "social metaphors," which openly communicated the consolidation of the gentry's power and their desire for order.[79] Because of their ornamentation, such homes were more likely to "speak" than a yeoman's plain and unadorned 'snuggery.' It was thus the privilege of the gentry and of no other class to impart their personal values and political opinions through artistic embellishment. Although the custom of hospitality may have waned in much of the rest of Virginia, the pineapple--symbol of friendship--continued to be carved on wooden gateways and mantlepieces on the Shore, and was not a decoration to be found in the homes of lesser men.[80] Kendall Grove and Eyreville in Northampton County both displayed a pride in the Union with their fan transoms over the front door lined with stars.[81] As might be expected, the Federal Style survived longer on the Shore than elsewhere; until the 1830's at least, by which time Jacksonian Democracy had become firmly entrenched, houses were still being built with Federalist stars lining the transom bar above the front door.[82]

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[79] Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia,* 34.

[80] Forman, *Virginia Eastern Shore,* 330, 335, 350, 353. Ironically, the two surviving houses which Forman gives as examples of having pineapple decorations are Bowman's Folly, built by the Shore patriot John Cropper Jr., and Ker's Place, built by one of Edward Ker's descendants, the bricks for building its front facade having been reputedly imported from England.

[81] *Ibid.,* 153, 158.

[82] *Ibid.,* 187.

It is difficult to estimate the potency such symbolism had on the local populace, and as noted above, county and state rather than national politics commanded the lion's share of attention. An exception to the general disinterest in national politics occurred in Delaware in 1787. The post-war years proved as difficult for Sussex as for much of the rest of the United States--the number of bankruptcies climbed precipitously, causing the Assembly to pass a moratorium on debt collections. So heavy was the tax burden felt to be that in 1784, no one could be found in the county who would accept appointment to the office of collector. The result was that no tax was paid. As in most of the rest of the country, debtor issues absorbed a great deal of attention in the mid-1780's. In 1786, seven large petitions were circulated in Sussex County requesting an emission of paper currency because of the scarcity of money.[83] Many of the signers appear to have been middling planters with above-average poundage rates, and unlike those who at the same time were beginning to agitate for relocating the county court house, were not concentrated west of the fall line. So great was the perceived crisis that the appointed collector, Israel Holland, refused to collect any taxes that year. Perhaps in gratitude for this meritorious service, Holland was elected to represent the county at the State Constitutional Ratification Convention in 1788.[84]

The election in 1787 was particularly significant in that the members elected would have to consider the new Federal Constitution which had already been hammered out in Philadelphia. At the same time, another source of pressure was building against pro-revolutionaries; Congress

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[83] Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 7, DPA. Two more petitions were circulated the following year. *Ibid.*, reel 8.

[84] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* II, 201, 397, 939.

hoped to sign a commercial treaty with Britain and secure removal of British troops that had continued to occupy western forts. With these ends in mind, Congress had resolved in March that the states should remove all acts and parts of acts which would be repugnant to a national treaty with Britain.[85] As was so often the case in Sussex County, the winds of change foreshadowed violence in the October election. Before the war, one of the most pressing issues for local residents had been the possible relocation of the county seat further west. The struggle for relocation had originally been spearheaded by John Clowes, but had soon been superceded by the passions engendered by the war. With the conclusion of hostilities, however, former concerns about the relocation of the polling place if not the county court returned with renewed force, although substantially modified by wartime experiences and alliances.[86] The center of political power in Sussex had long been located in the eastern part of the county along the bay, and focussed at Lewes, while disaffection had been concentrated in the western part of the county. In this respect, Sussex experienced the same sort of controversy as other areas in the United States, including Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Hampshire, where east-west, coastal-interior and up country-down country political divisions materialized as struggles over the location of the state capital. Part of the reason why rioting swept through the forested western areas during the war may have been due to dissatisfaction with political decisions made by the dominant "easterners" who were thought to be insufficiently sensitive to the needs of those dwelling in the forest.

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[85] Calhoon *et al, Loyalists and Community,* 68-69.

[86] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* II, 314-315, 318, 329.

By the end of the war, two new parties emerged in Sussex--the Whigs and the so-called New Party. The Whigs tended to be older; they had been governmental and military leaders during the war and their orientation was toward the Delaware River and Bay. Consequently they opposed moving the county seat further west. On the other side was the increasingly powerful New Party, whose leaders tended to reside west of the fall line and were now the driving force behind relocating the county court. Ironically, the evolution of the two parties witnessed a split in the old partnership between John Clowes and John Dagworthy: Clowes was now a principal Whig and his former zeal for moving the county seat west seems definitely to have waned--he signed none of the twenty petitions for its removal--while two nephews of General Dagworthy were New Party leaders.[87]

On October 1, the Whig party set about to prevent a New Party victory by limiting the number of voters to only a hundred. Over the two-week voting period, violent clashes occurred between groups of men, sometimes numbering over a hundred, armed with large clubs and muskets. The commotion was such that the sheriff, Peter Fretwell Wright, claimed to be "taken very sick" and retired to his bed. Whigs later defended the violence on the grounds that they were "honest peaceful" citizens who had fought Toryism in the county during the war and only wanted to keep "the late Refugees, Black Camp Men and Act of Grace Men" from voting which in any case was illegal.[88] However, the number of petitions which subsequently flooded the

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[87] John R. Kern, "The Election Riots of 1787 in Sussex County, Delaware," *Delaware History* 22 (1987), 245-247; Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* II, 966.

[88] Kern, "Election Riots of 1787," 252. Act of Grace men were individuals who had at first refused to take the state oath of allegiance, but did so following the passage of the Act of Free Pardon and Oblivion.

Assembly describing the level of violence, the intimidation of voters and the irregularity of the entire voting procedure persuaded the legislature to invalidate the election returns on November 7. A new election was then ordered to take place on November 26, at which representatives to both the Assembly and Ratification Convention were to be chosen. Curiously, the Assembly decided that the polling place should be at the home of Robert Griffith who lived near Vaughan's Furnace in Nanticoke Hundred, a New Party stronghold and coincidentally the site of the furnace established there by Thomas Lightfoot and the Franklin brothers. Griffith was known to have retired behind the British lines during the war and was classed by Whigs as a refugee; at the October election, he had been beaten over the head by an enraged Whig.[89] Sheriff Wright himself might not have been above suspicion, since he had been recognizance for Lightfoot and Thomas Cockayne.[90]

Many rightly conjectured that "club law" would govern the new election just as it had the last, only this time the tables were turned and it was New Party men who formed up in armed ranks on the 26th to intimidate Whig voters. Four of the successful New Ticket candidates were directly implicated in the violence: Charles Polk was heard advising his friends to carry firearms; Rhoads Shankland was seen at the head of a party armed with muskets, George Mitchell headed another consisting of thirty men, while Woodman Stockley, who had been indicted for participating in the 1777 insurrection, led a gang of 102 men.[91] Six hundred and

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[89] *Ibid.*, 247.

[90] Sussex County Court of Oyer and Terminer, Session Docket, RG 4825, reel 1, DPA. Wright was a Quaker, and was probably only supporting his co-religionist Thomas Lightfoot.

[91] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* II, 498-499; Kern, "Election Riots of 1787," 254, 256; Sussex County Court of Oyer and Terminer, Session Docket, RG 4825, reel 1, DPA. Stockley was the only one of the four who had been indicted during the war.

fifty-five persons cast votes that day. Whigs afterwards charged that refugees, Black Campers and Act of Grace men had been permitted to vote; although probably only about a quarter of arrested Black Campers actually voted at Vaughan's Furnace.[92] Witnesses, however, claimed to have heard huzzas for the king and hopes expressed for a return to the old form of government.[93]

The 1787 election was to be the last violent encounter between voters, although trouble reemerged in 1789 when a group of easterners challenged the validity of that year's October election. It was contended that fraud had taken place when an individual of no official status and without the sheriff's knowledge read out the votes. The petitioners claimed that Hap Hazzard of Broadkill had received more votes than John Wise Batson, who lived close to where the new county seat would be located. The Assembly eventually dismissed the petition for lack of evidence.[94]

In February1788, the Delaware Assembly passed a bill that was in accord with Congress' resolution of the previous year, though it was not until 1790 that the last law penalizing loyalists was finally expunged. In 1791, the General Assembly at last succumbed after years of receiving innumerable petitions for moving the county seat further west. On May 9, the appointed commissioners met at the home of Abraham Harris, a Broadkill carpenter who had participated in the 1777 insurrection, where it was decided to locate the new county seat on a 76-acre site which was purchased from Harris, Rowland Bevins, another 1777 rioter and Black Camper, and Joshua Pepper. The new town was, fittingly enough, to be called Georgetown--located in the

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[92] Kern, "Election Riots of 1787," 261.

[93] Hancock, *Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware,* 101.

[94] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* II, 645, 653.

heartland of loyalist camp sites, it was left to the individual to decide whether it was named in honor of George Washington or George III.[95]

On one level, the contest between "easterners" and "westerners" in Delaware during the 1787 elections and the struggle to relocate the court house and polling place can be seen as continuations of county turbulence that had existed since before the Revolution. Informed by wartime divisions, it persisted in altered form after the peace. The state Council certainly viewed the disturbances in this light.[96] But these were also indications that wartime divisions were beginning to break down and communities previously splintered by religious contention were coalescing into larger blocs of interest, a trend which can be seen in the very large number of individuals who signed petitions respecting these two matters.

Petitions were an integral part of the political process in the eighteenth century, being the customary way of informing the legislature of abuses and of improving and fine-tuning legislation that had already been passed. Throughout lower Delmarva, petitions were generally initiated and promoted by a relatively small group of prominent individuals who might be called "signers"--persons who signed their name to many of the petitions circulated and who were usually intimately concerned with political life, being either county officials, justices of the peace, Assemblymen or substantial landowners. Not surprisingly, they were almost invariably wartime Whigs. In the more hierarchical societies of Maryland and Virginia, nearly all such signers were in this class and were literate. In only one Virginia Shore petition between 1776 and 1800 did an illiterate person sign with a mark. In Delaware, however, there was far greater

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[95] *Ibid.*, II, 34.

[96] *Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State,* 1073.

"democracy" and significant numbers of illiterate individuals as well as women signed petitions. Strikingly, even here, relatively few persons accused of treason or disaffection during the war signed petitions. This may well be an indication of the socially marginal character of such persons, and their apathy or distrust of the political process.

Otherwise, it was clear that class and community interests were becoming the paramount factors in determining what measures an individual would support or oppose. The wealthy Edward Ker of Accomack County had been dropped from the commission of peace because of his hostility towards the revolution, but after the peace he shared with other gentleman of his class an abiding interest in establishing a "seminary of learning" on the Shore which would serve to educate future generations on the remote peninsula. Interestingly, an ancestor of James Sanford, who was charged in the Accomack County Court in 1777 for being inimical to the state, had established the very first privately endowed charity school on the Shore in 1710.[97] Ker became the Secretary of the Margaret Academy, and sat on its board of trustees with such active Whigs as Col. John Cropper. The President of the Academy was the Whig minister Samuel McCroskey. Ker also shared with the rest of the county gentry an interest in draining the county's marshes and improving communications with Maryland. Class solidarity and common interests made such alliances possible.

Such ties could also operate in the reverse, with wealthy Whigs lending support to erstwhile Tories. As rare as manumissions seem to have been on the Shore in the immediate post-war years, an exception had occurred in 1782, when Ann Roberts of Northampton County made up an emancipation deed which would have freed her slaves after her death. The wife of Humphrey

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[97]Middleton, *Anglican Virginia,* 48; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore*, II, 1275-1276.

Roberts, a British-born loyalist who had withdrawn to the "Territories of Great Britain" for the duration of the war in 1775, Ann's trauma of being forcibly separated from her husband and one of her children had caused her to become sensitive to the plight of African slaves. Religion had also evidently played a part: her family may well have been Quakers, since Charles Mifflin, her eldest son by an earlier marriage, belonged to the Duck Creek meeting in Kent County, Delaware. In 1783, however, Humphrey Roberts was able to return to Virginia, since he had never engaged in any hostilities nor taken any oaths, and retook possession of the slaves to whom his wife had pledged freedom. The well-to-do Whig justices of the Northampton Court appeared to be entirely in sympathy with Roberts, in spite of his having sought the protection of the British government, and quickly rejected the suit for freedom presented by one of the slaves, Thomas.[98]

The warm ties which formerly "obnoxious" individuals had enjoyed with British merchants also appear to have to have been useful to war-time Whigs. When militia colonel John Harmanson made out his will in February 1784, he inserted at the end an instruction for Edward Ker "to do my business in England."[99]

On the whole, the relatively easy-going gentry of the Virginia Shore differed little in essentials from wealthy loyalists. Except for drainage laws and petitions for a packet boat line to the Western Shore and for setting up a stagecoach to Maryland, they opposed most change. For instance, they were not bothered, as another group of petitioners was, that an embarrassing gap existed in Virginia law, by which the clerk of the county court continued to derive his title not from the Commonwealth but from the King of Great Britain. They were not bothered, in spite of the fact

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[98] Nottingham, *Land Causes, Accomack County,* 42-43.

[99] Marshall, *Abstracts,* 490.

that many either had been or were justices of the peace and constables, that the county clerk was an absentee living in Northampton County who visited the county only twice a year. They were also opposed to moving the clerk's office a mere five miles distance so that it could be consolidated with the county court in the same town. The petitioners begged that "no innovations may be introduced in the county. . .but that things of that nature may continue as they are. . . ." They denounced the "few designing men" who wanted to introduce dissensions and confusion where there was unanimity and concord.[100] Ker was among the signers; so was John Sherlock, who had been arrested during the war for not taking the oath of fidelity, and Edmund Scarburgh, who had once discussed a kidnapping scheme with Lord Dunmore. Scarburgh displayed the kind of paternalism that has come to be associated with loyalism, and allowed the young people of his neighborhood to assemble on the grounds of his estate for "innocent amusements," in the manner of an English "fete."[101] The majority of the signers were wealthy Episcopalians; they were almost twice as likely as their rivals to own carriages, and nearly all of them were slave owners.

The "designing men" whom they resisted tended to be of another class--a number of them signed a petition two years earlier that opposed a general assessment for the provision of clergymen, which was seen as a "stepping stone" to an Establishment.[102] They were obviously poorer--altogether they owned half as many slaves as their opponents, while nearly twice as many nonslaveholders were signers, indicating a possible religious rift. Although they were not holders of county offices, the petitioners claimed to dislike the justices having "to dance attendance" to the

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[100] Legislative Petitions, Accomack County, October 22, 1787, folder A-20, VSL.

[101] Hugh Ker to John Cropper, 1794 in John Cropper Papers, Mssl C8835a, reel B14, VHS.

[102] Legislative Petitions, Accomack County, October 28, 1785, folder A-12, VSL.

clerk's pleasure. They were dismayed that the clerk's title continued to be derived from the king, and his nonresidency and infrequent visits to Accomack only served "to constantly remind us of the abuses and impositions of that government."[103]

But while this Virginia petition indicated religious disharmony, elsewhere the opposite tendency was beginning to manifest itself. In the 1786-1787 Delaware election disputes and petitions for moving the courthouse further west, residents of Hundreds might be divided, but a new solidarity with close neighbors that may have first been forged in the Black Camp insurrection and which overcame class and religious bounds was becoming increasingly evident. Wartime Anglican loyalists now supported such politicians as Rhoads Shankland, a Presbyterian described as the son of a New Light, and John Wise Batson, whose family had invited the Baptist itinerant Elijah Laws to Sussex County where he founded the Sounds Baptist Church in 1779.[104] A principal New Party politician was Charles Polk, whose house had been attacked in 1780 by Black Campers in search of powder. Presbyterian Waples and Polks joined hands with Methodist Hollands and Anglican Burtons and Cannons in pressing to move the courthouse further west. They were supported by numbers of former loyalists, including--interestingly enough--Lewes resident Luke Shields. The same was true of those who petitioned against moving the courthouse: wartime Anglican loyalists like Peter Robinson, Branson Lofland, William Hinds, Joseph Stockley and Collins Truitt supported

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[103] *Ibid.*, October 22, 1787, folder A-20. The petitioners showed a certain lack of knowledge, since the clerk was an appointee of the justices who certainly did not have to "dance attendance" to him; it also raises the interesting question as to why the justices themselves did not raise a similar complaint.

[104] Clark, *Journal and Letters,* I, 314; White, *History of the Baptists,* 5.

Whig Presbyterians such as Avery Draper, David Train and David Hazzard in trying to keep the county seat at Lewes.

This air of growing solidarity and the erosion of religious animosities coincided with changes in the political climate. Whig nationalists were winning the national debate against antiloyalists for easing restrictions against former loyalists and paying prewar debts with interest to British creditors. In February 1787 Delaware acknowledged the peace treaty to be the law of the land; Maryland followed suit in April. Virginia somewhat tardily brought up the rear in December, after the Constitution had been ratified.[105]

In 1789, Peter Robinson was elected to the General Assembly. The brother of Thomas Robinson, he had been arrested as a suspected loyalist during the 1777 insurrection along with another brother, Burton, for carrying on a "criminal correspondence" and sent to Congress for examination. Congress ordered that both be returned to Delaware as soon as President John McKinly requested it.[106] Given McKinly's rumored closeness with Thomas Robinson during his confinement in Philadelphia,[107] Peter must have soon been ordered to return to Delaware where he remained outwardly passive for the rest of the war. However, unknown to the Whigs, Robinson was contacted in September 1781 by Col. Beverley Robinson, a distant relative, to assist in establishing a line of communications between Clinton's headquarters and Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. According to the plan that was drawn up, Robinson's identity would be hidden from all co-conspirators so that his apparent neutrality would not be compromised. Only a month remained

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[105] Jacobs, "The Peace Treaty and the Tories," 208, 210.

[106] Ryden, *Letters,* 207-208, 210; *JCC,* VIII, 644.

[107] Ryden, *Letters,* 253-255.

before Cornwallis' surrender and it is doubtful whether the arcane scheme was ever put into execution, but the New York authorities evidently trusted him.[108] As a member of the Assembly, Robinson of course had to qualify himself by taking the oath of allegiance to the state. Perhaps because of lingering opposition to the new government, he was only present for a single session of the Assembly, and though elected to the Constitution Convention of 1790, he did not attend.

Robinson was not the only wartime loyalist to be elected to the Assembly. Joseph Oliver of Mispillion Hundred, whose family would appear to be Quakers who lived in the Milford and Three Run area, served in the House in 1790 and 1791.[109] A shallopman and a member of the Kent County committee, his most notable action during the war occurred in May 1776, when he brought copies of several petitions against independence and a change of government from Philadelphia. These were then circulated by three other members of the committee eventually resulting in a riot at a Mispillion muster.[110] Oliver was never charged and seems to have remained passive for the rest of the war. Coincidentally, he was appointed to the committee for compiling a report on the petition of Margaret North who had been requesting support from her husband's forfeited estate. Oliver was a founder of the town of Milford and undertook to build a much needed bridge over the Mispillion River. In 1786 he signed a petition for creating a fourth county.[111] His daughter married another of the Kent County representatives, John Revell. But it was his son, also named Joseph, who brought the family squarely within the post-war commercial community. In 1815, Joseph Jr. entered the tan

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[108] Hancock, "Thomas Robinson," 27-29.

[109] Wright, *Vital Records,* 84, 88.

[110] Hancock, "Kent County Loyalists," 11; *DelArch,* III, 1386-1387.

[111] Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 7, DPA.

bark business, which was closely related to the shallop trade. His large water-powered grinding mill at Milford employed fifty men and sold $60,000 worth of bark annually, most of which was exported to Philadelphia and New York and often re-exported to France, Great Britain, Russia, Germany and New England. In the 1820's he was supplying black oak to A. Cardon & Company. Alexander Cardon was an ally of the Duponts and consequently snugly within the pro-revolutionary circle. Thus, by the second generation, the Oliver family had moved from the antiquated shallop business to ownership of a modern industrial enterprise and was connected with individuals who had supported the revolutionary movements in both the United States and France.[112]

The Oliver Family's entrepreneurial success was a rare occurrence. Perhaps more typical of Tory fortunes was Ebenezer Hearn, a 1776 insurgent, and among the last Sussex County slaveholders to be still growing tobacco as a cash crop in 1785.[113] But such success was not entirely isolated. The early Tory Barkley Townsend, whose political career in the state assembly had been so disappointingly brief, owned extensive tracts of land, several mills and a shipyard in the vicinity of Laurel and in Indian River. But it was succeeding generations of Townsends who really augmented the family fortune through the invention of a method of kiln-drying corn, which in turn became the foundation of a flourishing trade with the West Indies.[114] The dried corn, used as chicken feed, was also the start of an even more ambitious and successful venture as lower Delmarva became a national center for poultry production. By the third quarter of the twentieth century, Townsend Inc. had grown to be one of the five largest poultry firms in the United States.

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[112] Bushman *et al, Proceedings,* II, 698, 958-959; Welsh, *Tanning in the United States,* 49, 67.

[113] Williams, *Slavery and Freedom,* 45.

[114] "Barkley Townsend," Genealogical Surname File, HSD.

By the end of the eighteenth century, consolidation of formerly hostile groups had largely been completed. Its physical remoteness and intellectual isolation ensured that the lower peninsula would remain conservative and parochial, but the fact that it shared concerns with much of the rest of the country over debtor-creditor relations and political equity between eastern and western sections served to bind it fully within the greater cultural sphere of the United States. Religion and political affiliation, while further articulating the region's distinctiveness at the same time thoroughly "Americanized" it, and broke down older folkways which had almost marked it as a land apart.The change was best demonstrated in relations with Britons who chanced upon the peninsula's shores. After France had declared war against Britain in 1793, encounters were most likely to occur between Americans living in the major port cities and British cruisers that were sent out to comb the American sea coast in search of prizes. Officially, the public warships of France and Britain were given free and equal access to American ports, both in cases of distress and for comfort and convenience.[115] But many Americans continued to nurse a simmering resentment against Britain that was fanned into flames of hatred during Edmond Genet's triumphant progress north from Charleston, South Carolina when an intense Francophilia began to manifest itself in the cities he passed through on the way to Philadelphia. Mounting British impressment of American seamen was not calculated to improve matters, and anti-British incidents escalated as the war dragged on. The nearest center of disturbance was in Norfolk, Virginia, where the house of the British consul was regularly mobbed by unruly demonstrators and one of the first "Democratic Societies" was set up.[116]

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[115] Charles S. Hyneman, *The First American Neutrality: A Study of the American Understanding of Neutral Obligations During the years 1792 to 1815* (1934; reprint, Philadelphia, 1974), 54-56.

[116] *Ibid.*, 152-153; Henry Ammon, *The Genet Mission* (New York, 1973),106.

Such disturbances made a mockery of assurances extended by the federal government of friendly and hospitable treatment to both belligerents.

In the midst of so much turmoil, Captain Rodham Homes, commander of the third rate, 64-gun *Africa*, must have believed he was heading for more tranquil parts when he turned his vessel up the Delaware River in order to take on water and obtain fresh meat and vegetables for his scurvy-ridden crew. Perhaps he had heard wartime stories about how friendly the inhabitants of Lewes had been to the British men of war that had periodically prowled up and down the Delaware coast. Such hearsay could only have been strengthened when he was told upon his arrival at the town that he was certain of a "friendly reception." No sooner had the ship anchored in the roads when one of the pilots--unfortunately not identified--volunteered to take the *Africa's* empty casks ashore and fill them with water at a dollar a cask. For his efforts, people in the town threatened to burn his boat if he furnished the vessel with a drop of water. The pilot, reluctantly returning the empty casks, assured the captain that it would have given him "great pleasure to be of any use to the King's ships," and he was sincere enough in his professions that when supplies of fresh beef and vegetables for the ship were stopped, he travelled to his father's farm in the country and brought back a bullock for the benefit of the sailors aboard who were ill with scurvy. As punishment, he was fined forty shillings by one of the justices of the peace for having broken the Sabbath. Afterwards, he was so severely beaten by a mob that Captain Homes concluded that he could not continue jeopardizing the lives of those whom he referred to as "our friends."[117]

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[117] Captain Rodm. Homes to Rear Admiral Murray, August 3, 1794 in Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County,* 41.

Yet one pattern at least had endured the test of time. Two slaves, if not more, made their way out to the vessel and claimed British protection; one of them belonged to a "householder" in the town named Hall – but whether this was Col. David Hall, or one of his numerous relations, we will never know.

It is true that no gunfire had "welcomed" the British vessels this time, but the treatment meted out to the British differed little from that accorded to a group of British officers--prisoners of the French, who were "grossly insulted" by a Philadelphia mob just a year later while out on their parole.[118] Perhaps puzzled by his unexpected reception, Captain Homes continued on his patrol, provoking a serious diplomatic incident the following summer when he stopped an American packet boat, the *Peggy*, and searched baggage found aboard belonging to J.A. Joseph Fauchet, the former French minister to the U.S.[119] It is doubtful Homes ever made much of a distinction between the people of Lewes, and the angry mobs of demonstrators at Norfolk, or those who helped fit out privateers for French service in Charleston--on the surface, there was little to distinguish them. But beneath the seemingly altered disposition of the inhabitants, there still ran a deep vein of traditionalism, and that traditionalism expressed itself perhaps most of all in fear--fear over the security of the bay. Just eight years later, during the War of 1812, six old cannon were in the town ready for use; these same cannon were referred to again during the Spanish-American War, in 1898, when it was reported that they made "a mighty big noise" when fired, and would probably frighten raw troops coming from "quiet mill pond surroundings." The gun emplacements built during World War II can still be seen along the Delaware Bay and River. Today, with steady surveillance carried

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[118] Syrett, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, XVI, 388-389, 391-393.

[119] *Ibid.*, XIX, 206; Hyneman, *First American Neutrality,* 104-105.

out by no fewer than seven agencies of law and order, stretches along these shores are among the most heavily defended in all the United States.[120] They are the relics of the privateers, refugee boats, barges, "Sinnepuxion cruisers" and picaroons that once haunted this barren and exposed coast.

[120] Marvil, *Pilots of the Bay and River Delaware,* 229; Ackerman, *Notes from the Shore,* 29.

Conclusion

Loyalism on the lower Delmarva Peninsula has been difficult for historians to characterize. Contemporaries sometimes put the numbers of Tories as high as five out of every six inhabitants; more recently, it is believed that they probably consisted of the majority. It must be made clear, however, that while this study has attempted to illustrate the degree of loyalism among the peninsula's inhabitants, that is not to suggest the area was unique in either in the numbers of loyalists who lived there or the fact that so many were able to remain after the war. If we may be allowed to assume that twenty percent of the 2,500,000 people living in the colonies in 1775 became loyalists, it would mean that as many as 500,000 people were wartime Tories. Estimates put the number of emigres at perhaps twenty-four per 1,000, nearly five times more than were forced to leave France during the French Revolution.[1] Nevertheless, fewer than 100,000 eventually left the United States, which leaves approximately 400,000 former loyalists who remained in the country following the war. Delmarva's distinctiveness was shared with other communities and throughout the United States, remote pockets of discontent similar to the lower Shore continued to exist.

What does make the peninsula seem somewhat different from is the ease with which it was able to live with its royalist past, and its self-defined conservatism has made it a legendary area. Today, the main roads of many of its county seats have continued to be designated as the "King's Highway." The whipping post in front of the Georgetown jail was still being used as late as World War II.[2] The Hundreds of Sussex County continue to be indicated on road maps, making it the only place in the United States where they have retained some vestige of their former importance, and

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[1] Patton, "Beat of a Different Drummer," 11-12.

[2] Weslager, *Delaware's Forgotten Folk*, 83.

while the justice of the peace has become an inconsequential figure in most parts of the United States, J.P. court houses still dot the Sussex County countryside--an indication of the office's enduring vigor. Salisbury in present-day Wicomico County is the only town in Maryland which established a lasting relationship with an English counterpart, although to celebrate its foundation, Queen Anne's County invited Princess Anne to the ceremony.[3]

There is a strong connection between this kind of extreme parochialism and the large numbers of loyalists who lived on the peninsula. The reason for it was first proposed by William Nelson, who perceived the Tory "rank and file" as consisting of an assortment of conscious minorities who felt threatened by the American majority.[4] This position was later echoed by Robert Calhoon in his great work: he suggested that loyalists in general were not animated by fervent monarchism or British imperialism; they harbored no sweeping vision of the future, nourished no hatred of Whig leaders. Delmarva, like other remote regions and communities, was insulated by its own parochialism from the increasing consolidation that had been taking place in the middle of the eighteenth century and which in turn had begun to shape a national identity.[5] What makes the case of Delmarva so singular is that it did not initially develop in a condition of insularity; instead it would seem that its parochialism gradually took root over time.

In the seventeenth century, the area was far more central in importance than was true in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Individuals like Ensign Thomas Savage and Colonel Edmund Scarburgh were prominent not only on the Virginia Shore but in the rest of the colony as well. When

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[3] Richard W. Cooper, *Salisbury in Times Gone By* (Baltimore, 1991), 51.

[4] Nelson, *The American Tory*, 88-89, 91.

[5] Calhoon, *Loyalists in Revolutionary America*, 503.

in 1652, Northampton County sent a "Protest" to James City complaining that the county was suffering taxation without representation, it became the first place in the mainland American colonies to express one of the central principles that underlay the American Revolution. Moreover, the situation was viewed as being serious enough to warrant the dispatch of both the colonial Governor and Secretary to the county in order to pacify it.[6] Much the same importance was assigned to Somerset County, Maryland. The proprietary commissioners, Stephen Horsey--one of the six signers of the Northampton Protest--and Randall Revell, were instrumental in Lord Baltimore's plans for colonizing Maryland. At the same time, what later became Delaware comprised Sweden's only colony on North America's mainland, and was the focus first of Dutch jealousy and later a source of rivalry between the proprietors of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

By the eighteenth century, the area had lost almost all its former importance. The elites of the Virginia Shore could no longer compare in terms of wealth and influence with the gentry of the tobacco growing counties of the Western Shore, and must have consequently been less well known in the provincial capital. Thus have Shore aristocrats like Littleton Eyre of Northampton ended in being mistakenly characterized as coming "of an old but not really prominent" family.[7] Practically the same situation existed on Maryland's Eastern Shore. The boundary between Delaware and Maryland continued to be a thorn in the sides of the Penns and Calverts, but had been reduced to a mere geographical puzzle --the question of actual ownership of the three "lower counties" having been decided in Penn's favor in 1685.

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[6] Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore,* I, 29-30. Of course, it could be argued that the "Protest" was a product of Shore provincialism, since the county considered itself since the year 1647 to be "disjointed and sequestered from the rest of Virginia."

[7] Jackson Turner Main, *Political Parties before the Constitution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1973), 443.

It might be that a "revolution" takes place within a designated boundary of land; but the inevitable changes which must result from such an alteration in the ordering of things can be either deferred or muffled by individuals as well as communities who adopt the simple but elegant strategy of ignoring them. Such seems to have been the case in Delmarva. There are few better illustrations than Capt. Jeremiah Banning of Talbot County, who served in a multiplicity of county offices both during the war and afterwards. Not many people on the Shore could have boasted a more varied and interesting career. A former ship master who had sailed to England and the Iberian Peninsula, he had "left the sea" at the age of forty just two years before the war to purchase an estate and settle down as a country gentleman. It is perfectly reasonable to anticipate that Banning's wide experience of the Atlantic world predestined him to be a Whig. Elected first lieutenant of a militia company, Banning marched to Boston in 1775 to view Washington's army. On the way, he passed through Philadelphia and New York and was there exposed to revolutionary rhetoric at its most shrill. But whatever the captain may have thought of the newspapers and broadsides he had seen, none of the rhetoric found its way into his log book. All his life, he never referred to the Revolution as anything except the "late civil war."[8] He was justifiably proud of his numerous appointments to office, and over the course of sixty years he thrilled at the advances that had been made in Maryland--the improvements in leather making and cloth fulling, the introduction of wheat fans and the increase in the number of carts. But he made no connection between such improvements and a maturing American economy. It was as if the war, rather than being a dramatic watershed in the history of the United States, had instead been only a brief interruption of the otherwise changeless rhythms of the Shore--quickened perhaps of late, but nevertheless steady and predictable. Banning after all was

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[8] *Log and Will of Jeremiah Banning* (Privately Printed, 1932), 34, 38, 41.

every bit as much a product of the Shore as local Tories were, whom he never vilified in his diary; from first to last, he was a Talbot Countian. Years afterwards, the old sea captain was able to reflect without any discernible nostalgia that his rapid promotions during the Revolution had resulted from his firm attachment "to the *then* important cause of his country. . . ."[9]

Parochialism was indeed a defining characteristic of the region. Internal divisions were the order of the day. On the Virginia Shore, people identified themselves as "Bay Siders," "Sea Siders" or "High Woodsmen;" in Somerset, there was constant rivalry between "up country" and "down country" residents. A similar situation existed in Caroline County, where up country "Bridgeers" clashed with down country inhabitants over the location of the county seat.[10] Violence, as is the case with many other isolated societies, was a prominent feature of life in Delmarva. Yet, in spite of the fact that the majority of the people in this area can be traced back to migrants from the Virginia Shore, the patterns which wartime violence assumed were subtly different from one area of the peninsula to another. In Somerset, Worcester and Sussex counties, land-based acts of disaffection took on the coloring of popular uprisings: hundreds of individuals, sometimes exceeding 1,000 in number, assembled in "camps," where they remained for various periods of time before breaking up. This was the basic configuration for such large-scale insurrections as those of 1777 and Black Camp. While there might have been talk about seizing Continental magazines, individuals were very seldom targeted, and when they were, such attacks were almost always in the form of picaroon raids from the bay. By the end of the war, it was clear that in these more southerly areas, communities which had once been divided by religious differences or socio-economic class, had begun to

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[9] *Ibid.*, 39. Italics mine.

[10] Cochrane *et al, History of Caroline County,* 2, 9-10.

coalesce. This was not the pattern for Caroline and Dorchester and the disaffected parts of Talbot County. Here there were no "Tory camps," no large-scale assemblages which were characteristic further south. Far more localized in nature, disaffection took the form of relatively small raids aimed against particular individuals, usually for the purpose of obtaining salt or weapons. They seem to have nearly always been composed of neighborhood families who derived some degree of organization by serving in the same militia companies. If it can be said that there was little in the way of an ideology behind the large riots of Somerset, Worcester and Sussex, there was virtually none at all in Caroline and Dorchester. Why there should have been this basic cleavage between the two areas on the Shore is unclear, other than it was a reflection of the greater remoteness of Caroline and Dorchester.

Parochialism may have also influenced British strategy. Much attention has been given by historians concerning the strategic importance of Delmarva, with its large numbers of loyalists, its burgeoning quantities of provisions, its strategic flanking of Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, and its adjoining rebellious Virginia, the "first colony" of the land, as well as the rebel capital at Philadelphia. British disinterest in the area has appeared to many writers as having deprived the British of potential strength and undermining local loyalist effectiveness. Yet the region's isolation may itself be the ultimate explanation for that disinterest.

As a result, loyalist effectiveness has generally been seen as a failure--not only in military terms, but in socio-economic terms as well. Loyalists may have existed in such numbers that Whig leaders were unable to intimidate them and to impose their authority over them, but they constituted little more than "a serious irritant and embarrassment."[11] "Poorly organized and ineffective," not

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[11] Calhoon, *Loyalists in Revolutionary America,* 467, 469, 471.

only did they fail to substantially harm the American war effort, but the gentry's domination in the lower counties continued well into the nineteenth century. And yet, it is in order that we ask ourselves whether defeating the war effort was really ever the objective of the region's "disaffected" inhabitants. Reviewing the evidence, we can tentatively respond that it probably was not. The people of the Shore are renowned for their independent spirit; difficult for outsiders to understand, Shoremen have described themselves as being outwardly pliant and congenial, but strong and rigid when aroused. It would appear that as the Revolution became increasingly radical and intrusive, activities aimed against Whigs reflected resistance to changes in the society that were being initiated by the revolutionary leaders. If we take a conventional definition of victory to be either the overpowering of an enemy's armed forces or the frustration of his intentions, the degree to which the lower Shoremen managed to hobble the revolutionary movement in the peninsula leads us to the conclusion that the "old offenders" and their legions of followers enjoyed a considerable measure of success.

A Note on Sources

As if to reflect peninsular parochialism and particularism, literature on Delmarva is extremely fragmented. Due to the nature of this study, which not only attempted to identify as many individuals as possible who were suspected of being disaffected or were actually prosecuted for treason, but also to trace those people through the war years and after, it was necessary to utilize a wide variety of sources, including works of history, economics, geography, political science, cultural anthropology and conservation. Besides Charles B. Clark's *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia*, no single historical text covers more than two of the three states composing the peninsula during the colonial period, and with respect to the Revolution, none covers more than one state: Hancock's and Munroe's works deal exclusively with Delaware's responses to the war; Mason's and Truitt's center on Maryland, and Adele Hast's *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia* as well as her articles in Clark focus solely on Norfolk and the Virginia Shore.

Given its crucial role in the Revolution, it is surprising that until the publication of John E. Selby's *The Revolution of Virginia 1775-1783*, the only work which had examined Virginia's wartime role in detail was H.J. Eckenrode's *The Revolution in Virginia,* published all the way back in 1916. By far the most valuable study of Maryland is Ronald Hoffman's *Spirit of Dissension.* Hoffman advanced the innovative thesis that a conservative oligarchy consolidated and extended its control of the government by removing some of the more important sources of discontent in the state during the revolution--mollifying reluctant militias by allowing them to elect their own officers, and appeasing angry debtors by enacting far-reaching currency laws. The thesis has, however, recently been challenged by Keith Mason in *Region in Revolt.* Mason's study, while a careful examination of the Eastern Shore during the Revolution, is perhaps too quick to dismiss the depth of the gentry's

concern for maintaining their authority. For Delaware, the classic work has been Thomas Scharf's *History of Delaware,* although the separate index is required for accessing the massive amount of material embodied within it, which in any case has been found to contain numerous errors. Harold Hancock's *The Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware* is the standard starting place for anyone interested in the progress of the Revolution within this state.

A potential solution to the thorny problem of interpreting the activities that took place on the peninsula during the Revolution in the almost complete absence of written evidence may well lie within that body of work produced by scholars of the New Left, particularly E.P. Thompson and E.J. Hobsbawm, who have examined archaic social movements and "rebelliousness in defence of custom." Working largely with the inarticulate, they have utilized necessarily fragmentary evidence for decoding the nature of collective action at the popular level. Studies such *as Primitive Rebels* and *Captain Swing,* while presenting examples from different cultures and time periods, offer insights about protests undertaken by people who lack either the language or the necessary political devices for shaping and expressing their aspirations. Although their work has not been extensively used in this dissertation, their potential for furnishing insights about the underlying nature of loyalism during the Revolution should not go unrecognized.

For the post-Revolutionary period, there is a fortunate divergence from the pattern that has become established for the Revolutionary period. In his *Chesapeake Politics, 1782-1800,* Norman Risjord has interwoven the political histories of three separate states, two of which are Maryland and Virginia with the third being North Carolina. Risjord gives an overview of the gradual development of party politics in both Maryland and Virginia, as well as North Carolina; in terms of the Eastern Shore of Virginia, his article "The Virginia Federalists" is of more use than Beeman's

The Old Dominion and the New Nation: while reviewing political issues on both the local and national levels which helped to shape the Republican and Federalist parties, Risjord demonstrates the way an older form of political life in Virginia, based on wealth and prestige, was able to survive by utilizing an emerging system of party organization and mass voter participation. For Delaware, John Munroe's *Federalist Delaware* is indispensable for understanding the reasons why Federalism survived for so long in this state.

Unfortunately, all the above texts, with the exception of Adele Hast's and Harold Hancock's, tend to be quite general and deal much more extensively with the patriotic rather than the loyalist side. As a result, county histories were referred to. Every county on the lower peninsula except for Sussex has been the subject of a local history, but these histories vary widely in quality. With respect to the Virginia Shore, there are virtually no published works which cover the eighteenth century; besides Adele Hast, only Nora Turman has written about it in her *Eastern Shore of Virginia,* and the space allotted to the eighteenth century amounts to only a few pages. Given the dearth of material, even this small book covering three hundred years of Shore history in a necessarily cursory manner proved invaluable. Tilghman's two-volume study of Talbot County is probably the most noteworthy of the county histories. Torrence's *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore,* while containing a wealth of information concerning parish boundaries, the churches of the various religious sects which were on the Shore and the families associated with them, unfortunately does not cover the revolutionary period and is therefore of limited use.

John Munroe made the cogent remark that the Delaware historian must also be a genealogist. The same might be said for the entire lower peninsula. Perhaps nowhere else in the United States is it quite so necessary to refer to family histories. Even so, the scholar who blithely undertakes the

task runs into difficulties which seem virtually insuperable. The kind of family genealogies which individuals have compiled over the years by examining birth, marriage and death records and which are donated to state historical societies, might have been of more value than they proved to be. Unfortunately, few of the families targeted in this study were of sufficient stature to promote interest in descendants, and such genealogies that did exist for several of the families did not go sufficiently far back in time. Genealogies were found for only a handful of Delmarva "offenders," none of whom were Virginians --Littleton Townsend and Barkley Townsend of Delaware, Samuel Brittingham, Valentine Dennis and James Gunby of Maryland. Will books and tax assessments were the most valuable sources for identifying individuals and their economic status. Land records, such as deeds, were much less helpful than Ruth Dryden's printed compilations. Conversely, the 1783 and 1798 tax lists for Maryland would be of greater use if there could be more certainty about the identity of various individuals.

Generally speaking, newspapers proved to be disappointing. Following Delaware's separation from Pennsylvania in 1776, Pennsylvania newspapers virtually stopped reporting on Delaware affairs. They were more helpful for the post-war years, but the Eastern Shore was seldom mentioned in them.

Among the published sources, volumes of the massive *Maryland Archives* covering the revolutionary era proved to be invaluable. These contain letters from county lieutenants and county committees of safety, depositions of witnesses and orders of the Maryland Council. For Delaware, the most useful were the *Delaware Archives, Military*, which is an exhaustive compendium of muster rolls and returns for militia and Continental units, and contains letters pertaining to well as depositions with respect to the Black Camp insurrection. George Ryden's *Letters to and from Caesar*

Rodney is a compilation of some of the most important of Rodney's letters which have been copied from the holdings of the Delaware Historical Society. For Virginia, the published journals of the state council provided information on persons ordered arrested on suspicion of treason, while the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* contains a miscellany of letters from county officials relating to local matters.

Of the manuscript sources which proved to be the most valuable, at the forefront were the session docket for the General Court of the Eastern Shore (Maryland) and the session docket for the Courts of Oyer and Terminer of Sussex and Kent Counties, Delaware. Together they were by far the most important sources of information regarding persons suspected of disaffection--though only in terms of general identification. Unfortunately, none of the gentry on Maryland's lower Shore are represented in the collections of family papers held in the Maryland Historical Society, and the John Cropper Papers at the Virginia Historical Society proved to be disappointing both in terms of their legibility and the number of references to local Tories. More helpful were the Caesar Rodney Papers, which contained several references to Tory depredations. The Hamond Papers and Hamond Naval Papers contained a few interesting surprises relating to pilots and persons given protections.

A Note on the Appendices

The following three appendices vary in format due to the fact that they were extracted from different kinds of sources. They contain, for the most part, the names of persons indicted by county courts and courts of oyer and terminer on various charges relating to the war, which were interpreted to be acts of disaffection by the higher authorities. They include a few individuals who were accused of assault and felony, but only when the crimes could plausibly be interpreted as arising from a political stance. There are also names of persons suspected by others of being loyalists, but otherwise were never formally charged. By no means can all the persons in these lists be termed loyalists, since included are the names of witnesses who had had substantial dealings with accused individuals, but most were nevertheless regarded as being suspicious and/or "disaffected" by their contemporaries. I have not included the wives of several "disaffected" persons who were nevertheless acknowledged to be as active as their husbands, as was the case with Mrs. Bartholomew Bannum and Mrs Solomon Long, both of Sussex County.

In colonial times, as is well known, a name might be spelled any number of different ways and transcribed by the listener according to how he heard it pronounced. Generally speaking, by the time of the Revolution, there had developed a greater degree of consistency in spelling than had existed in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, there was still plenty of room for variation. Soundex numbers have only been included where a name was partially mutilated in the original document or where the name does not otherwise appear to be one common to the lower Shore. For the most part, I have added some of the most common variations of a name which otherwise might make it difficult to locate in an index.

Due to the commonality of particular surnames and traditional ways of naming children, the identification of individuals is frequently quite difficult. There can sometimes be as many as three or four persons bearing the same name and who are quite close in age. For this reason, the presence of an asterisk does not necessarily mean the individual in question was alive when the census was taken; it simply indicates that someone bearing this name is present in the census. Absence of an asterisk also does not necessarily mean the person was dead, or even that he had moved elsewhere. This is particularly true for Somerset County residents, since the schedules of the 1790 census were destroyed. An additional problem is raised when trying to ascertain the Hundred or county in which a particular person lived: because individuals often owned property in several different areas, because there was a good deal of movement from one area to another and because of the uncertain boundary between Maryland and Delaware, people were themselves confused at times about where they lived. Consider the case of John Houston, who almost certainly had been a resident of Worcester County, and wrote of himself in 1775 as living in the "new county on Delaware," yet had no idea of its name.[1]

Similarly, it is difficult, if not impossible, to judge whether a designated person is identical with a recruit in one of the loyalist corps bearing the same name. Was Private John Bevins of the First Maryland Loyalist Battalion the same as the John Bevins who participated in the 1777 insurrection and the Black Camp rebellion in Delaware? Was the Benjamin Shockley who enlisted in the Maryland Loyalist Battalion the same as the "old offender," or was it a son, a nephew or

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[1] Henry H. Hutchinson, "Collected Notes on Christ Church, Broad Creek and her Neighbors," *The Archeolog* 22 (1970), 5. Originally published in 1963.

cousin? I have not attempted to address these problems, and only those recruits whose surnames are common to the area have been included here.

Appendix A

Names of Delaware Disaffected
Sussex County

* Individual with this name was alive at the end of the Revolution, according to 1785 census (including Hundred). Source: Scharf, *History of Delaware,* II.
•Individual exempted from the 1778 Act of Free Pardon and Oblivion.
† Individual is listed in the Loyalist Claims List.
▪ Individual was in the First Maryland Loyalist Battalion (MLB). Source: Meyer, "First Battalion of Maryland Loyalists."
Year of indictment is in parentheses.
Unless otherwise specified, name of individual was derived from Sussex County Court of Oyer and Terminer: Session Docket, RG 4825, reel 1, DPA.

Abbot, George. High Treason. (1780). Joined Delaware Regiment. *DelArch.*
Abbot, James. *Broadkill. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780). Joined Delaware Regiment. *DelArch.*
Abbot, Nicholas. *Broadkill. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
▪Abdell, Littleton. *Indian River.
▪Adams, Bartholomew. Broadkill. Later joined Delaware Regiment. *DelArch.*
Adams, Jacob. *Nanticoke. (1780) Held a lot of property in Worcester Co., Md.
Anderson, William. *Nanticoke. High Treason. (1780)
Askridge, George. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Bagwell, William. *Indian River. Tried to escape Delaware with Thomas Robinson. Imprisoned in Philadelphia.
Baker, Clements. *Broad Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Baker, David Broad Creek/Broadkill? High Treason. (1780)
Baker, Jesse. Broad Creek/Broadkill? High Treason. (1780)
Banks, Samuel. Baltimore? High Treason. (1780). In Delaware Regiment. *DelArch.*
Bannum (Bainum, Baynum, Benam), Bartholomew. Broadkill. Yeoman. Black Camp leader. Charged with High Treason.
Bannum, Levi. *Broadkill. Yeoman. (1777). Fees forgiven.
Barker, Leatherbury. *Indian River. Tried to escape Delaware with Thomas Robinson.
Basnet, Samuel. Cedar Creek. Yeoman. Traded for salt; later captured while in arms or making cartridges. *DelArch.*
Beach, Solomon. Cedar Creek (forest). Hester West testified against him. (1777). *DelArch.*
Bell, John. Broad Creek? A prisoner at Dover. *DelArch.*
Bell, Robert. *Cedar Creek. A prisoner at Dover. *DelArch.*
Bell, Thomas. *Cedar Creek To be testified against. (1777). *DelArch.*
Bell, William. *Cedar Creek. To be testified against. (1777). *DelArch.*
Betts, John. *Broad Creek High Treason. (1780)

Bevins (Bebans, Bibbins, Bivins), Cornelius. *Broadkill. Yeoman. (1777)
Bevins, John. Little Creek? High Treason. (1780). [See Appendix B, part 2].
Bevins, Rowland. *Broadkill. (1777) Took oath.
Bevins, William. *Little Creek. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780). Sentenced to death.
Bevins, Zachariah. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Blocksom (Bloxom), William Jr. *Cedar Creek. Black Camp. (1780)
Bradley, Jesse. *Cedar Creek. To be testified against. (1777). *DelArch.*
Briderson, William. Black Camp. (1780)
Brown, Israel. *Cedar Creek. To be testified against. (1777). *DelArch.*
Bryan, Bennet. *Cedar Creek. A prisoner at Dover. (1777). *DelArch.*
Bryan, Shepard. *Cedar Creek. A prisoner at Dover. Deserted Delaware Regiment, 1782. *DelArch.*
Buckworth (Bukworth), Edward. *Cedar Creek. High Treason (1780)
Burroughs (Burrows--"Barrows" in 1785 census), Boaz. *Cedar Creek (forest). "For rebelling." *Revolutionary War Papers, box 32A.*
Burroughs, Jonathan. Cedar Creek (forest). Indicted for levying war (1778). Produced certificate; took oath.
Burton, Benjamin. *Indian River. Long-time member of the Assembly. Suspected by Rev. Matthew Wilson of being a Tory. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County.*
Burton, Eli. Indian River. (1777)
Burton, Joseph Hewes. Indian River. Commanded a privateer from New York that operated in upper Delaware River. *DelArch.*
Burton, William Jr. *Indian River. (1777)
Burton, Woolsey. *Gumborough? Kent Co. blacksmith? (1777). Not guilty of treason.
Butler, Samuel. *Broadkill. House carpenter. (1777 and 1780). Bought land from Levi and Bartholomew Bannum.
Callaway, Samuel. Little Creek? Black Camp.
Caldwell, Joseph. *Murderkill, Kent. (1777)
Cannon, Elijah. *Broad Creek. Attorney; married Arcadia Robinson, daughter of Thomas Robinson. In 1776 insurrection.
Cannon, Elijah Jr. (s/o Elijah). *Broad Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Cannon, Joseph. *Northwest Fork. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Carey, Collins. High Treason. (1780). In Delaware Regiment (May 17, 1782). *DelArch*
Carey, Ebenezer. *Indian River; Dagsborough? Yeoman. High Treason (1780). App. 50 yrs. old in 1784.
Carey, Edward (s/o Thomas). Cedar Creek? In June 1776 insurrection.
Carey, Nehemiah (s/o Thomas). *Cedar Creek. Indicted in 1778 for levying war.
Carey, Solomon Sr. *Gumborough. High Treason. (1780). Held property in Worcester Co. and Wicomico.
Carey, Thomas. *Cedar Creek. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Carlisle, John. *Cedar Creek. Black Camp. (1780)
Carlisle, Pemberton. *Cedar Creek. In June 1776 insurrection. (1777)
Carlisle, Thomas. *Cedar Creek (forest). "For rebelling." *Revolutionary War Papers, box 32A.*

Carlisle, Townsend. *Cedar Creek/Nanticoke? Black Camp. (1780)
Carlisle, William. *Cedar Creek (forest). "For rebelling." *Revolutionary War Papers, box 32A.*
Carpenter, Jacob. *Broadkill. High Treason. (1780)
Chambers, William. *Cedar Creek. "To appear" in 1780.
Clark, _____? In election riot, 1776; asked crowd who was willing and able to serve the king and blessed George III. Deposition of Dr. John Hill. *H.F. Brown Collection, box 18.*
Clendaniel (Clindaniel), Ahab. *Broadkill. Small farmer. High Treason. (1777, 1780)
Clendaniel, Avory. *Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Clendaniel, Luke. *Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Clifton, Richard. *Nanticoke. (1777). A prisoner at Dover. *DelArch.*
Cockayne (Cochane), Thomas. *Broad Creek. For counterfeiting. Ordered arrested in 1778.
Cole, John. Cedar Creek/*Duck Creek, Kent? High Treason (1780). Testified against China Clow.
Collins (Collings), Charles. High Treason. (1780)
Collins, Frederick. Cedar Creek? Black Camp. (1780)
Collins, Warner. *Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Collins, William. *Cedar Creek. (1777 and 1780--Black Camp)
Conner, Benedict. Duck Creek, Kent Co. High Treason. Black Camp. (1780)
Conway (Connaway), Isaac. *Nanticoke. High Treason. (1780)
Conway, John (s/o Levin). * Nanticoke. Black Camp. High Treason. (1780). Not guilty of treason.
Conway, Levin. *Cedar Creek (forest). High Treason. (1780). *DelArch.*
Conway, Philip. *Nanticoke. "Planter." 1777 insurrection.
Cooper, James. *Northwest Fork. Formerly a clerk who worked for the Whig leader, Col. Simon Kollock; he went to live with Phillips Kollock, and "became such a Tory, as to go voluntarily, with others to the English." Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County.*
Cord, Joseph. *Broadkill. Ship carpenter. (1775). Also assisted two British prisoners escape from Baltimore.
Cornwell (Conwell), Absalom. *Cedar Creek? Black Camp. (1780)
Cornwell, Avory. *Broadkill. 1777 and Black Camp. (1780)
Cornwell, John. *Broadkill. (1780)
Coverdale, Griffith. Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Coverdale, John Sr. Cedar Creek (forest). Yeoman. High Treason. (1780)
Coverdale, Richard. *Cedar Creek (forest). Yeoman. High treason. (1780)
Coverdale, Thomas. Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Daniels, Thomas. *Cedar Creek. Black Camp.
Daniels, William. *Cedar Creek. Black Camp.
Davis, David. *Cedar Creek. Husbandman. Traded. (1777)
Davis, Samuel. *Lewes. Pilot; very poor. Hester West testified against him. (1777)
Davis, William. *Cedar Creek. (1777). *Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 11.*
Day, John. *Broadkill (forest). (1777)
Dazey, Thomas. *Baltimore Hd. High Treason. (1780). Afterwards joined Delaware Regiment; deserted, 1782. *DelArch.*

Dean, John Wilson. *Broadkill. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*

Depray, Selby. *Cedar Creek. Indicted in 1777, with John Mullanix and John Truax, for felony--found not guilty.

Deputy, Jesse. *Cedar Creek (forest). Husbandman. High Treason (1780)

Deputy, Joshua. *Cedar Creek (forest). High Treason. (1780)

Deputy, Nunez. Cedar Creek (forest). Hester West testified against him. (1777)

Deputy, William. *Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1780)

Dickerson, Elisha. *Indian River ("Elisha Dickson"). Blacksmith. (1778)

Dolby (Dolbee), Peter. *Nanticoke? In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*

Donoho (Dunaho), Truitt. *Nanticoke. Black Camp. (1780)

Donovan (Dulavan), Foster Jr. *Broadkill (forest). "Planter." (1777 and 1780--Black Camp). Afterwards joined the Delaware Regiment. *DelArch.*

Downs, Barnet. *Broad Creek/Worcester–1790. Held land in Worcester Co., Md. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780). Sentenced to death.

Downs, Isaac. *Broad Creek. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)

Draper, Charles. *Cedar Creek (Slaughter Neck). Name listed in warrant from Chief Justice. *Revolutionary War Papers, box 32A.*

Draper, John. *Cedar Creek. Inn-keeper and miller. High Treason. (1777). Did not appear.

†Dryden, William. Pilot. High Treason. (1777). Did not appear.

Dukes (Dikes, Dykes), Jesse. Somerset, Md. High Treason. (1780). Afterwards joined the Delaware Regiment. *DelArch.*

Dutton, William. *Broadkill? A Black Camp leader. (1780)

• †Edwards, Samuel. Lewes. Pilot. Trusted at first by Henry Fisher. *DelArch.*

Ellenworth, Robert. *Broadkill/Dagsborough? Bricklayer? High Treason--Black Camp (1780)

Ennis, John. Broadkill (forest)? Yeoman. (1777)

Evans, Thomas. *Broadkill. Innkeeper. June insurrection, 1776.

• †Field, Nehemiah. Lewes. Pilot. *DelArch.*

Fisher, John. *Broadkill/Nanticoke? Yeoman. Listed as having been captured in arms or making cartridges. (1777). *DelArch.*

Fleetwood, Luke. Broadkill? High Treason. Soldier in Loyal American Regiment? (1780)

Fleetwood, Purnell. Broadkill? Enlisted as a Continental soldier, 1776. Later, a soldier in Loyal American Regiment? High Treason (1780). *DelArch.*

Fleetwood, William. Somerset, Md. Soldier in Loyal American Regiment? High Treason (1780, 1781). [See Appendix B, part 2].

Fosdue (Fosque?), Thomas. *Worcester, Md--1790. High Treason (1780).

Givans, James. Silversmith. High Treason. (1780). Property in Worcester after the war; sold land in Wicomico. [See Appendix B, part 2].

Gordon, Nathaniel. *Lewes? Yeoman. Reportedly had his house in 1781 plundered by a Whig sailor named Captain Ross.

Goslin (Gosling, Gozlin), William. *Gumborough/Baltimore Hd.? "Farmer." In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*

Gregory, John. ?

Griffith, Jesse. *Northwest Fork. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*

Griffith, John. Northwest Fork. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Griffith, Paris. *Northwest Fork. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Griffith, Robert. Nanticoke. Reputed to have withdrawn behind the British lines.
Gunby, James. *Broad Creek. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Hall, James. *Broadkill (forest). Yeoman. High Treason. (1780)
Hall, William (s/o James). *Broadkill. Tailor? (1777 and 1780--Black Camp)
Hammerman, Lafferty. Black Camp.
Harris, Abraham. *Broadkill. Carpenter. (1777)
Hart____?, Jacob. Broadkill (forest)? High Treason. (1780)
Haveloc (Heavelo, Heaverlo), Anthony. (Sr. or Jr.?) *Broadkill. In 1776 insurrection and Black Camp.
Haveloc, James. *Broadkill. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Hayman, James. ? In 1776 insurrection. Bushmen *et al, Proceedings.*
Hays, Nathaniel. *Cedar Creek. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Hazel, John. *Kenton, Kent Co. with Matthew Hazel? (1777)
Hearn, Ebenezer. *Broad Creek. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al,* Proceedings.
Hearn, George. Worcester, Md. Planter. High Treason. (1780). See Appendix B, part 2].
Hearn, Joseph. Sussex Co./Maryland? High Treason (1780). [See Appendix B, part 2].
Hemmons, Jonathan. *Nanticoke/Indian River? "Planter." High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Hewitt, William. *Gumborough. Black Camp.
Hickman, John. *Cedar Creek. Claimed to have received permission of Caesar Rodney to go aboard British vessels to retrieve slaves who had taken refuge with the British. Afterwards arrested by the militia. *Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 11.*
Hickman, Richard. *Baltimore Hd. (1777)
·†Hill, Joshua. Indian River. Eldest son was pro-British.
Hines (Hinds), Nathaniel. *Nanticoke. High Treason (1780)
Hines, William. *Cedar Creek. Claimed to have received permission of Caesar Rodney to go aboard British vessels to retrieve slaves who had taken refuge with the British. Afterwards arrested by the militia. *Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 11; DelArch.*
Hickman, Richard. *Baltimore Hd. (1777)
Hopkins, Robert. *Broadkill/Dagsborough? High Treason. (1780)
Hudson, Henry. Cedar Creek (forest). High Treason. (1780)
Hudson, Henry. *Cedar Creek. Substantial farmer. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Hudson, John. *Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1777). Indicted for horse-stealing. Not guilty.
Hudson, John. Cedar Creek. Cooper. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Hudson, John. Jr. Cedar Creek. (1777)
Hudson, Richard. *Cedar Creek. Black Camp. (1780)
Hudson, William. *Cedar Creek. Cooper. High Treason. (1780)
Huffington, William. Broad Creek? Treason. (1779). Same as the messenger employed by J.F.D. Smyth during the 1777 insurrection in Worcester? Smyth, *A Tour in the United States.*
Ingram, Job. *Broadkill (forest). Yeoman; militia captain. Justice of the peace. (1775). Taken prisoner in 1776. *DelArch.*

Ingram, John. *Broadkill. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Ingram, Thomas. *Broad Creek. Indicted 1779 for treason, with Robert West.
Jackson, Dr. Julius Augustus. *Northwest Fork. "Practitioner of physick." Witnesses deposed that he had been aboard the *Roebuck* in 1776. Poundage was £11 in 1782. Probably an in-law of John Rust. *Unpublished Revolutionary War Material, RG 1800.*
†Jacobs, Abel. Lewes? Pilot.
Jefferson, Job. *Gumborough. (1777)
Jefferson, Richard. *Gumborough? Yeoman. (1777)
Johnson, Baker. *Cedar Creek. Husbandman. In 1776 insurrection. Traded with British warships. (1777). Claimed to have received permission of Caesar Rodney to go aboard British vessels to retrieve slaves who had taken refuge with the British. Afterwards arrested by the militia. *Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 11.*
Johnson, Bartholomew Jr. *Gumborough. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Johnson, Benjamin. *Broadkill/Dagsborough? Carpenter? High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Johnson, Elias. *Nanticoke. Yeoman. High Treason. (1780)
Johnson, Isaiah. Nanticoke? High Treason--Black Camp. (1782)
Johnson, Jacob. *Nanticoke. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780). Sentenced to death.
Johnson, John. *Nanticoke? High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Johnson, Samuel (s/o Baker). *Broadkill. Traded. (1777)
Johnson, Southy. High Treason. (1780)
Johnson, William. Lewes. In 1776 insurrection. Indicted with Thomas Pettyjohn for High Treason. (1777). Found not guilty.
Jones, Burrell. *Broadkill (forest). Black Camp.
Jones, Ebenezer. *Gumborough. Planter; yeoman. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Jones, Elias. *Cedar Creek? High Treason. (1780)
Jones, Isaac (s/o John or Griffith?). *Nanticoke/Little Creek/Northwest Fork? Yeoman. High Treason. (1780)
Jones, Joshua (s/o James). *Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Jones, Zachariah. *Gumborough/Mispillion, Kent. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Josephs, Joseph. *Indian River. (1777)
Kellum, Jesse. *Gumborough. High Treason. (1780)
Kenney, Jester. Mispillion, Kent? Black Camp.
Kent, John (s/o Abraham). High Treason. (1780)
Kollock, Jacob (s/o Simon). Private, Loyal American Regiment.
Kollock, Joseph (s/o Simon). Private, Loyal American Regiment.
Kollock, Phillips. *Lewes. Suspected by Presbyterian Minister Matthew Wilson of being a recusant Tory. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County.*
·Kollock, Simon Jr. Counterfeit money. Captain, Loyal American Regiment.
Laws, John, Esq. *Nanticoke. Appointed J.P. in 1775 and signed a defence of Thomas Robinson. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Laws, Joshua. Cedar Creek (forest). Hester West to testify against him. (1777)

Laws, Robert. *Northwest Fork. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Layton, Alexander. *Cedar Creek (forest). Planter. High Treason. (1780)
Lightfoot, Thomas. Counterfeit money. Ordered arrested in 1778. Appears on *Black List.*
Lofland, Bransom (Brannar). *Cedar Creek (forest). House carpenter; husbandman. (1777). Claimed to have received permission of Caesar Rodney to go aboard British vessels to retrieve slaves who had taken refuge with the British. Afterwards arrested by the militia. *Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 11.*
·Lofland, Dorman. Cedar Creek (forest). Yeoman; high sheriff. In 1776 insurrection. Counterfeit money (1777). Found not guilty of uttering counterfeit money.
Lofland, Littleton. *Cedar Creek. Laborer. (1777)
Lofland, Zadock. *Cedar Creek. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Long, Elisha. *Nanticoke. Yeoman. In 1776 insurrection. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Long, Solomon. *Nanticoke. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Low, James. *Little Creek? High Treason. High Treason. 1782). [See also Appendix B, part 2].
Macklin (McLane), Job. *Broadkill. High Treason. (1780)
Macklin, Thomas. *Broadkill. Black Camp.
·Manlove, Boaz. 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Manlove, _____? (bro/o Boaz). Led followers to help Boaz Manlove during his escape from Delaware. J.F.D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States.*
Mason, Jacob. *DelArch.*
Mason, Thomas. Broadkill? High Treason. (1780)
Massey, John (Jr.?). *Baltimore Hd. High Treason. (1780)
McKey, Robert. Cedar Creek. (1777 and 1780--High Treason)
Messick, George Sr. *Broadkill (forest). Black Camp.
Messick, George Jr. *Broadkill (forest). Black Camp.
Messick, Isaac. *Broad Creek/Nanticoke/Gumborough. High Treason. (1780)
Messick, James. Broadkill? Black Camp.
Messick, Jewel. Broadkill. Black Camp.
Messick, Job. *Broadkill. High Treason. (1780)
Messick, John. *Broad Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Messick, Levi. *Broadkill. High Treason. (1780)
Messick, William. *Broadkill. High Treason. (1780)
Metcalfe, John. *Cedar Creek. (1777). Took oath. Claimed to have received permission of Caesar Rodney to go aboard British vessels to retrieve slaves who had taken refuge with the British. Afterwards arrested by the militia. *Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 11*; *DelArch.*
·†Milby, William. Indian River? Yeoman. Supplied information and supplies to the British.
Millikin, Thomas. *Northwest Fork. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Mills, Ryands (Reccords?). *Cedar Creek? Black Camp.
Mitchell, Stephen. *Cedar Creek (forest). "For rebelling." *Revolutionary War Papers, box 32A.*
Moore, Ephraim. *Broad Creek. High Treason-- Black Camp. (1780)
Moore, Isaac. *Little Creek/Gumborough? High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)

Moore, Jacob. Lewes. Lawyer. Suspected by Rev. Matthew Wilson of being a Tory. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County.*
Moore, Jesse. *Broad Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Moore, Littleton. High Treason. (1780)
Morris, George. *Cedar Creek. (1777 and 1780--High Treason)
Morris, John. (1780)
Morris, Mary (w/o George).
Morris, Noah. (s/o of George). High Treason. (1780)
Newton, William. *Gumborough. High Treason. (1780)
Nock (Knock), Joseph. *Indian River/Duck Creek? Yeoman. (1777)
Nutter, Zadock. In 1776 insurrection.
Otwell, James. *Worcester, Md.--1790? High Treason. (1780). [See Appendix B, part 2].
Otwell, Selby. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Overland, Mitchell. Militia captain? In 1776 insurrection. Black Camp. *DelArch.*
Owens, Jesse. High Treason. (1780). In Delaware Regiment. *DelArch.*
Owens, William. *Nanticoke/Broadkill? High Treason. (1780)
Painter (Pointer, Poynter), Ratcliffe. *Cedar Creek (forest). Hester West to testify against him. (1777). No prosecutor appeared: discharged.
Palmer, Jonathan. *Indian River. Hester West to testify against him. (1777)
Palmer, Joseph. Broad Creek/Cedar Creek? (1777)
Parker, Eli. *Cedar Creek (forest). In 1776 insurrection.
Parker, Anderson. *Lewes. House painter and a vestryman of St. Peter's Episcopal Church (1790). Suspected by Rev. Matthew Wilson of being a Tory. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County.*
Parker, John. *Mispillion, Kent Co. Saddler. In 1776 insurrection. Bushman *et al, Proceedings.*
Parramore, Zephariah. Broadkill? High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Parsons, Robert. *Gumborough. High Treason. (1780). In Delaware Regiment (May 17, 1782). *DelArch.*
Pettyjohn, Thomas. *Broadkill (forest). Yeoman. With William Johnson for High treason. (1777) Not guilty.
Piper, Joseph. *Gumborough. High Treason. (1780)
Piper, William. Soldier in Loyal American Regiment? High Treason. (1780)
Polk, Joseph Sr. *Cedar Creek. Husbandman. 1777 insurrection. Testified against by Joseph Polk Jr.
Postles, John Jr. *Cedar Creek (forest). Yeoman. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Postles, Shadrack. *Cedar Creek (forest).High Treason. (1780)
Potter, Sago (Seago). *Kent Co. Black Camp. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780).
Prettyman, Burton. *Indian River. In 1776 insurrection.
Prettyman, George. *Gumborough. In 1776 insurrection.
Prettyman, Reese (Rice). High Treason. (1777). Joined Delaware Regiment. *DelArch.*
Prettyman, Zachariah. High Treason. (1780)
Pride, John. *Broadkill. (1777). Fees forgiven.

Ratcliffe, Reuben. High Treason. (1780)
Ratcliffe, William. *Nanticoke. Not guilty of treason.
Rea, Peter. *Northwest Fork. Schoolmaster. In 1776 insurrection. (1777)
Rench, James. *Cedar Creek. (1777). Found not guilty.
Riccords (Reccords, Rickards, Ricketts), Charles. *Northwest. Fork. Substantial farmer. Black Camp.
Riccords, Charles Jr. *Northwest Fork. Black Camp.
Riccords, George. *Cedar Creek (forest). (1777)
Richardson, James. *Broadkill (forest). High Treason. (1780)
▪Riley, John. *Broadkill (forest?). Substantial farmer. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780).
Riley, Lawrence. *Broadkill (forest). Black Camp. *DelArch.*
Robinson, Burton. Indian River/*Cedar Creek? Brother of Thomas Robinson.
Robinson, Peter. *Indian River. Brother of Thomas Robinson.
·†Robinson, Thomas. Indian River.
Rortan (Rotten), David. *Broadkill. Black Camp.
Rortan, Nehemiah. Broadkill? High Treason. (1780)
Ross, John. *Nanticoke? High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Ross, William. *Northwest Fork. Planter. In 1776 insurrection. Clark, *Naval Documents,*
Ross, William Jr. *Northwest Fork. In 1776 insurrection.
Rowland, Samuel Jr. *Broadkill? Pilot/yeoman. (1777). Took oath
·Rowland, William. Pilot.
Rust, John. *Northwest Fork/Indian River? (1777). Took oath. Moved to Westmoreland Co., Va. Probably an in-law of Julius Augustus Jackson.
Scott, Mitchell. *Broadkill (forest). Yeoman. (1777). Took oath.
Sharp, Peter (s/o William). Worcester Co.? Small farmer. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
·Shields, Luke Jr.. *Lewes. Pilot.
Short, Allen. *Nanticoke. High Treason. (1780)
Short, Edward (s/o Edward). *Gumborough. Black Camp.
Short, Isaac. *Nanticoke. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Short, Jacob Sr. *Gumborough. Black Camp.
Short, Jacob Jr. *Gumborough. Black Camp.
Showers, William. High Treason. (1782)
Simpler (Simple, Simpleor), Andrew. *Indian River (forest). In 1776 insurrection.
Simpler, Paul. *Indian River. In 1776 election riot; repeatedly avowed attachment to the king and damned the congress. Deposition of Dr. John Hill. *H.F. Brown Collection, box 18.*
Simpler, Thomas (s/o of William). *Indian River. (1777). Took oath.
Simpler, William. *Indian River. (1777). Took oath.
Smith, George. *Little Creek. In 1776 insurrection.
Smith, Henry. *Cedar Creek? Planter. Land dispute with George Read. High Treason. (1780)
Smith, Isaac. Cedar Creek/Broadkill? "Gentleman." Suspected by Rev. Matthew Wilson of being a Tory. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County.*
Smith, Job (s/o David Smith of Worcester Co.). *Cedar Creek. Black Camp.
Smith, Olive. Black Camp.

Smith, Stoughton. *Nanticoke. High Treason. (1780)
Smith, Thomas. *Cedar Creek. Claimed to have received permission of Caesar Rodney to go aboard British vessels to retrieve slaves who had taken refuge with the British. Afterwards arrested by the militia. *Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 11.*
Spear, Henry. * Worcester–1790. High Treason. (1780)
Spicer, Hales. Nanticoke. High Treason. (1780)
Spicer, Philip. *Nanticoke. High Treason. (1780)
▪Start, James. High Treason. (1782).
▪Stayton, Horatio. *Nanticoke.
Stedham, Isaac. Traded. (1777).
Steel, James. Broadkill; *Worcester--1790. High Treason. (1780)
Steel, Nathaniel. *Broadkill. Black Camp.
Stewart, John. Broadkill. (1777). Took oath.
Stewart, Moses. Small farmer. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780). Trial by jury.
Stockley, Joseph. *Cedar Creek. Blacksmith. (1777). *DelArch.*
Stockley, Painter. *Indian River. In 1776 insurrection. Imprisoned as a refugee in N.J. (1780). *NJArch, ser. 2, vol. 5.*
Stockley, Woodman. *Indian River. (1777)
Tatman, Nehemiah. *Nanticoke. Black Camp.
Thomas, Luke. Broadkill. Yeoman. (1777)
Thompson, Carey. High Treason. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780). Joined Delaware Regiment. *DelArch.*
Thompson, Truitt. Gumborough. High Treason. (1780)
Thompson, William. *Lewes/Dagsborough? Name is listed in a warrant from the Chief Justice. *Revolutionary War Papers, box 32A.*
Timmons, Matthias. *Broad Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Tingley, Rev. Samuel. Anglican minister in Sussex County mission.
Townsend, Barkley. *Little Creek. Surrendered in 1776. *DelArch.*
Townsend, Elias. *Cedar Creek. Claimed to have received permission of Caesar Rodney to go aboard British vessels to retrieve slaves who had taken refuge with the British. Afterwards arrested by the militia. *Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 11.*
Townsend, Job. *Cedar Creek (forest). In 1776 insurrection. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Townsend, Littleton. *Cedar Creek. 1777 insurrection. Attempted to escape Delaware with Thomas Robinson.
Townsend, Luke. *Cedar Creek (forest). Yeoman. In 1776 insurrection.
Townsend, Major. *Cedar Creek. Black Camp.
Townsend, Stephen. *Cedar Creek. An Assemblyman (1772-73); member of Committee of Correspondence and Boston Relief Committee. In 1776 insurrection.
Truitt, Benjamin Jr. *Cedar Creek (forest). In 1776 insurrection.
Truitt, Boaz. *Cedar Creek. In 1776 insurrection.
Truitt, Collins. *Cedar Creek/Baltimore Hd.? Yeoman. 1777 insurrection.
Truitt, George. *Nanticoke. Black Camp.

Truitt, German. *Broad Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Truitt, James. *Broad Creek? High Treason. (1780)
Truitt, Jesse. *Nanticoke. Black Camp.
Truitt, John (s/o James?) *Nanticoke. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Truitt, John (s/o Samuel). *Nanticoke. High Treason. (1780)
Truitt, Samuel. *Nanticoke. Black Camp.
·Truitt, Solomon Jr. *Cedar Creek. Yeoman. Traded.
Truitt, William. *Nanticoke. Black Camp.
Truitt, Zadock. *Cedar Creek. In 1776 insurrection.
Tucker, John. *Cedar Creek. Hester West to testify against him. (1777)
Veach, Jeremiah. *Cedar Creek? High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Veach, John. Cedar Creek. Black Camp.
Veach, Purnell. High Treason. (1780)
Veach, Solomon. *Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Veach, William. *Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1780)
Vinson, Levin. *Nanticoke. Black Camp.
Walker, George (s/o Jacob). *Lewes. Noted by Presbyterian minister as being a Tory. Wright, *Vital Records.*
Walker, Jacob Jr. (s/o Jacob). *Lewes. See George Walker.
Walker, James (s/o Jacob). *Lewes. See George Walker.
Walker, Thomas (s/o Jacob). *Lewes. See George Walker.
Waller (Walter?), Charles. *Broadkill. In 1776 insurrection.
Walls, Levin. *Indian River (forest). Yeoman. (1777)
Walls, Samuel. *Broadkill. (1777)
Warring (Warren), Henry. *Broadkill. Black Camp.
Warring, Job. *Broadkill. High Treason. (1780)
Warring, Major. *Broadkill. Black Camp.
Warring, Pritchard (Richard?). *Broadkill? High Treason. (1780)
Watson, Luke. *Cedar Creek. In 1776 insurrection.
Webb, Charles. High Treason. (1780)
Webb, Jacob Jr. Cedar Creek/*Mispillion? High Treason. (1780)
Webb, William. *Murderkill, Kent. High Treason. (1780)
West, Hester. *DelArch.*
West, Robert. *Gumborough? Indicted 1779 with Thomas Ingram for treason. Found not guilty.
Whalley, Isaac. *Little Creek/Worcester--1790? High Treason. (1780)
Wharton, Eli. *Cedar Creek/Baltimore Hd.? High Treason. (1780)
Wharton, Isaiah. *Broadkill/*Baltimore Hd.? Charged in Kent County Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1778, for "aiding and comforting certain enemies of the Delaware State–High Treason. *Kent County Court of Oyer and Terminer, RG 3825, reel 1*
Wharton, Thomas Jr. High Treason. (1780)
White, George. *Nanticoke. High Treason. (1780)
Willey ("Willery" in 1785 census), William. *Cedar Creek (forest). Listed in a warrant for rebelling. *Revolutionary War Papers, box 32A.*

Williams, Charles Jr. *Cedar Creek. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Williams, Eli. High Treason--Black Camp. (1780)
Williams, George. *Nanticoke. In 1776 insurrection.
Williams, John. *Cedar Creek. High Treason. (1780). Joined Delaware Regiment. *DelArch.*
Williams, Jonathan. *Cedar Creek. (1777). Took oath. Claimed to have received permission of Caesar Rodney to go aboard British vessels to retrieve slaves who had taken refuge with the British. Afterwards arrested by the militia. *Legislative Petitions, RG 1111, reel 11.*
Williams, William. *Cedar Creek. (1780)
Wilson, John. *Broadkill. (1777). No prosecutor appeared; discharged.
Wilson, Reuben. *Broadkill. (1777)
Wilson, William. *Broadkill. (1777)
†Wiltbank, Abraham. Pilot; traded.
Wiltbank, Jacob (s/o Abraham). Joined the British, 1777.
Wiltbank, John. *Lewes. Miltary Treasurer for Sussex County. Vestryman of St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Lewes (1790). Suspected by Rev. Matthew Wilson of being a Tory. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County.*
Windsor, Levin. High Treason. (1780)
Windsor, Solomon. High Treason. (1780)
Woolf, Francis. Indian River (Long Neck). Listed in a warrant from the Chief Justice. *Revolutionary War Papers, box 32A.*
Wooten, John. *Little Creek. Planter. In 1776 insurrection.
Workman, John. *Broad Creek. High Treason. (1780.
Young, Robert. *Cedar Creek? Black Camp.

Appendix B

Names of Maryland Disaffected
1. Caroline and Dorchester Counties.

* Individual with this name alive at the end of the Revolution, according to 1790 census (including county).
· Individual exempted from the Assembly's pardon/outlawed according to the Security Act.
† Individual is listed in the Loyalist Claims List.
▪ Individual was in the First Maryland Loyalist Battalion (MLB). Source: Meyer, "First Battalion of Maryland Loyalists."
Year of indictment in parentheses.
Unless otherwise specified, name of individual was derived from General Court of the Eastern Shore (Criminal Records), MSA.

Andrew, Beauchamp. *Caroline. For being in arms/levying war/rioting. On 4 September 1777 was armed and riotous. Stole a gun from Bromwell Andrew plus 15 other guns belonging to different persons and 5 cartouche boxes. (1778). Fined £5. Individuals involved in this attack will be hereafter labelled as "Andrew."

Andrew, Curtis. Caroline (N.W. Fork Bridge). (1779). Fined £15.

Andrew, Nehemiah Jr. Caroline (*Dorchester). For being in arms/rioting. "Andrew." (1778). Fined £5.

Andrew, Richard. Caroline ("Fork"). Special bailiff, 1774. Militia captain. Led a salt riot of 70-80 men against Dorchester County Committeeman James Murray, November 1776.

Banning, Thomas. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)

Bell, Arthur. *Dorchester. For stealing 14½ bushels of salt from store house of James Murray, Dorchester County Committeeman. (1778). Fined £10. Hereafter, individuals who participated in this raid will be identified as "Murray."

Bestpitch (Baptist), John. Dorchester. On Basil Clarkson's boat, he went aboard British tenders in Hooper's Strait and gave them information.

Bishop (Bushope), William. *Caroline (Bridge Town). Signed loyalty oath, but said it was meaningless.

Black, James. *Caroline. For aiding, assisting and advising James Black Jr and Aaron Townsend to join China Clow at his camp in Kent Co., Delaware. (1778)

Bland, Joseph Jr. *Caroline (Bridge Town). For being in arms/levying war/rioting. (1778)

Brannock, Thomas. Dorchester. Rioting with guns and breaking into the store house of Robert Wilson. (1778). Fined £5. Hereafter, individuals who participated in this raid will be identified as "Wilson."

Bright, Benjamin. Caroline (*Dorchester). On October 1 1777, with force of arms, assembled with other people and assaulted Joseph Douglass on the highway. Remained armed and riotous for six hours. (1779). Fined £15 Individuals involved in this assault will be hereafter labelled as "Douglass."

Broughton, John. Dorchester? Apprehended in Dorchester as a spy.

Brown, James. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Brown, Jesse. *Caroline. "Murray." (1779). Fined £10; Dorchester. "Murray." (1780). Fined £10.
Brown, Levi. *Caroline. "Andrew." (1780). Fined £10.
Busick (Bowsick), Caleb. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Busick, Joshua. *Dorchester. "Wilson." (1778). Fined £5
Busick, Solomon. Dorchester (Dorchester Parish). "Wilson." (1778). Fined £5.
Cahill, John. *Caroline. Planter. For taking up arms against the state contrary to American Act of Assembly. (1778)
Callender, William. *Dorchester. "Wilson." (1778). Fined £5.
Cannon, Levin. Dorchester. "Murray." (1781). Fined £0.7.6.
▪Carrol, Patrick. *Dorchester?
Caulk, John. Dorchester (*Talbot). "Murray." (1778); Refused to assist sheriff. (1781). Fined £10.
Clarkson, Basil. Dorchester. Traded.
Clymer, John. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Connally, Allen. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Cook, John. Dorchester. Rioter. (1781)
Cooper, John. *Caroline (Bridge Town). Sub-sheriff, 1774. With John Williams, attempted to raise a loyalist militia company. Later had second thoughts. Mason, *Region in Revolt.*
Cotterill, William. Caroline (*Dorchester). "Andrew." (1779). Fined £10.
Covey, John. *Caroline. For being in arms. (1778); Stole horse from Thomas Conner. (1779). Not guilty.
Covey, William. Caroline. Rioting Attacked house of James Wright Jr, 1 April, 1778. (1778). Fined £20; "Andrew." (1778). Fined £5.
Covington, Thomas. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
▪Cullen (Cullin), Isaac. Dorchester? Corporal, MLB.
Delahay, John. *Caroline. Planter. "Andrew." (1778). Fined £5.
Dillon, James. *Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Dillon, Joshua. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Dwiggins, James. *Caroline. For rioting. On 27 December 1777 assembled with others and attacked James Lloyd Chamberlaine in Talbot Co. Stole 17 bushels of salt from the store house. (1779). Fined £3.
Edgell, Henry. *Caroline. "Andrew." (1778). Fined £5
Evans, John. Dorchester? Sailed with Joseph Wheland and captured with him in 1776.
Evans, Warrington. Caroline. "Douglass." (1779). Fined £15.
Falconer (Faulkner), Benjamin. *Caroline. "Andrew." (1779). Fined £20; Dorchester. "Murray." (1780). Fined £20.
Falconer, Greenberry. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Falconer, Nathaniel. Dorchester. "Murray." (1780). Fined £20.
Falconer, Salathiel. Caroline. "Murray." (1779). Fined £10.
Flowers, Edward (Edmond). Caroline. Levying war. (1778)

Goutee, John. Dorchester. Furnished supplies to British; confined September-October, 1777. Took oath of fidelity.

Gray, Andrew. Dorchester. "Murray." (1778). Fined £10.

Gray, Isaiah. Caroline. Detained William Hoskins on the highway. (1780). Found not guilty; Dorchester. "Murray." (1778). Fined £10; For stopping William on the public road. (1780)

Gray, James. Caroline. For seizing guns collected for the use of the militia and depositing them in the house of Bromwell Andrew. (1778). Fined £0.1.3.

Gray, William Jr. *Caroline. "Murray." (1779). Fined £10.

Green, William. Dorchester. "Murray."(1778). Fined £10.

Greenhawk, Jonathan. Caroline (*Talbot). "Murray." (1779). Fined £5.

Greenhawk, William. Caroline (*Talbot). Rioted. "Murray." (1779). Fined £0.7.0; Dorchester. "Murray." (1780). Fined £0.7.6

Handley, Levin. Dorchester. Stole goods from William Dawson. (1781)

Henderson, Richard? Dorchester.

Henry, John. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)

Hogans, Cornelius. Dorchester? Small planter--owned 33 acres. Tried to break up a militia muster in Caroline. Arrested by Caroline County committee, 1776. Mason, *Region in Revolt.*

Hollick (Herlock), Jonathan. *Dorchester. "Murray." (1778). Fined £10.

Hollick, William Jr. *Dorchester. "Murray." (1778). Fined £10.

Horseman, Shadrack. Dorchester? A trusted lieutenant of Joseph Wheland; commanded a barge.

Howith (Howard), Robert. ? Dorchester. Sailed with Joseph Wheland.

Hunter, Ezekial. *Caroline. Attempted to break up militia musters.

Jackson, William. *Caroline. Levying war. (1778)

Lane, Owen. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)

Lane, Richard. Dorchester. Rioter, November 1, 1777. "Murray." (1780). Fined£10.

Lane, Richard Jr. *Caroline. Levying war/"Murray." (1778; tried in 1779). Fined £10.

Lankford (Langroff, Langfitt), Levin. Dorchester. Ringleader in 1777 insurrection. Captured and charged with traitorous acts. Took oath of fidelity.

Lecompte, John. *Dorchester. Planter. "Murray." (1779). Fined £2.5.0.

Lister (Lyster), John. *Caroline. Planter. "Douglass." (1779). Fined £15.

Lister, William. *Caroline. "Douglass." (1779). Fined £15.

Mace, Edmond. Dorchester. "Wilson." (1778). Fined £10.

Mace, John. Dorchester. "Wilson." (1778). Fined £5.

McBride, Hugh. ? Dorchester.

McGwire, John. Dorchester. "Wilson." (1778)

McKenney, Kenneth. Dorchester. Assaulted James Mowbray. (1781). Individuals involved in this incident are hereafter labelled as "Mowbray."

McKready, Andrew. Dorchester. High Treason. (1778). *MdArch 21.*

McNamara, John Stewart. Dorchester. Assaulted Thomas Vickers Jr. and Elizabeth Vickers. (1781). Individuals involved in this incident are hereafter labelled "Vickers."

McNamara, Thomas. Dorchester. "Vickers." (1781)

Means, Henry. Caroline. "Douglass." (1779). Fined £15
Mills, James. Caroline (*Dorchester). Yeoman. Levying war/see William Covey. (1778; tried in 1779). Fined £20.
Medford, Nathaniel. Dorchester. "Murray."(1778). Fined £10.
Mitchell, Ambrose. *Dorchester. "Murray." (1780). Fined £10; Caroline. "Murray." (1779). Fined £10.
Moors (Mears), Zadock. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Morgan, William. Dorchester? Mentioned by Cornelius Hogans as someone to be rescued by loyalist companies from Whig custody.
Newton, Edward. *Dorchester. Planter. "Murray." (1779). Fined £1.10.0.
Newton, Nimrod. *Dorchester. Planter. "Murray." (1779). Fined £0.0.10.
Nicolls, Daniel. Dorchester. "Mowbray." (1781)
Noble, Levin. *Caroline. Planter. Levying war. Riotous/"Douglass."(1778 and 1779). Fined £15.
Owings (Owens), John. Dorchester. Going on board enemy vessel. (1781)
Payne (Pain), John. *Dorchester. "Murray." (1778). Fined £10.
Payne, John (s/o William). Dorchester. "Murray." (1778). Fined £10.
Payne, Joseph. *Dorchester. Planter. "Murray." (1779). Fined £5.
Payne, Thomas. Dorchester. "Murray." (1778). Fined £10.
Price, John. Dorchester. "Murray." (1778). Fined £10. [See John Price in part 2 of this appendix].
Price, Thomas. Dorchester. Helped Joseph Wheland. Arrested, 1781. Had to post a bond of £100 specie and was confined to the county. [See Thomas Price in part 2 of this appendix].
Pritchard, Edward Sr. Dorchester. "Vickers." (1781)
Pritchard, Edward Jr. *Dorchester. "Vickers." (1781)
Pritchard, John Stewart McNamara. Dorchester. "Vickers." (1781)
†Ragg, Andrew. Dorchester. Comptroller of Pocomoke.
Ross, Lewis. *Caroline. "Murray." (178). Fined £10.
Rowens, Joseph. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Sewell, William. Dorchester (*Caroline). "Murray." (1778). Fined £10.
Shehorne (Shehan), Levin. Dorchester. "Wilson." (1778)
Sherwood, Joseph. Caroline. Assaulted William Hoskins. See Isaiah Gray. (1780). Not guilty; Dorchester. For contempt in not paying Captain William Hoskins his order of account for his attendance as a witness against Isaiah Gray. (1781)
Simmons, John. Dorchester. Uttered threats against Col. William Ennalls.
Slack, Joseph. Dorchester. Dorchester. "Murray." (1778); "Mowbray." (1781). Fined £10.
Slack, Levin. Dorchester. "Murray." (1778). Fined £10.
Slocum (Slacom), George. Dorchester (Straights). Traded with the British.
Slocum, Job. Dorchester (Straights). Persuaded by Basil Clarkson to join Dunmore.
Smith, Levin. *Caroline. "Murray." (1779). Fined £10.
Smith, Solomon. Dorchester. "Wilson." (1778). Fined £5.

Smith, Thomas. *Caroline. "Murray." (1779). Fined £10; Dorchester: "Murray." (1780). Fined £10.
Sullivane, Florence. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Sullivane, William. *Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Swift, Thomas. *Caroline. See James Black. (1778)
Timmons, John. Dorchester. Adhered to the enemy. (1781). Sentenced to death.
Timmons, Michael. Dorchester (Hooper's Strait). Served under Joseph Wheland.
Timmons, Zadock. ? Dorchester.
Timmons, William Jr. Dorchester (Hooper's Strait). Commanded a barge under Joseph Wheland.
Todd, Job. Dorchester. Along with Lt. Levi Willen, charged with having committed acts of disloyalty as an ensign in Henry Lake's company. Court-martialed, 1776.
Towers, Thomas. *Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Townsend, Thomas. Caroline (*Talbot). Planter. See James Black. (1778)
Traverse, John Hicks. Dorchester. Going on board enemy vessel. (1781)
Tucker, Samuel. Caroline. Levying war/rioting. "Andrew." (1778). Fined £5.
Vickers, Thomas. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Waddall, James. *Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Walker, Philip. Dorchester. Overfield, "Loyalists of Maryland."
Weatherly, Abner. Caroline. Levying war/"Murray." (1778). Fined £10.
Weatherly, Isaac. Caroline. For being in arms/levying war. (1778)
Weatherly, Isaiah. Caroline. Riotously assaulted with others assembled James Wright Jr. in his house. Stole gunpowder, ball, flints and shot from a chest. See William Covey. (1778). Fined £20.
Weatherly, Jesse. Caroline. "Douglass." (1779). Fined £15.
Weatherly, John. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Weatherly, William. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Whaleton (Whealton), William. *Dorchester. "Murray." (1779). Fined £3.
Wheatley (Whiteley), Abing (Byng). Dorchester (*Caroline). "Murray." (1779). Fined £5
†Wheland, Joseph. Dorchester. Infamous picaroon. *MdArch 12, 45, 47, 48.*
Williams, John. Caroline. See John Cooper. Mason, *Region in Revolt.*
Williams, Obadiah. Dorchester. "Murray." (1778). Fined £10.
Willin, Levi. Dorchester. As a lieutenant in Henry Lake's company, charged with having committed of disloyalty along with Job Todd. Court-martialed, 1776.
Willis, Andrew. Dorchester (*Caroline). "Wilson." (1778). Fined £5.
Willis, Elijah. *Caroline. "Murray." (1779). Fined £10. Also, stole a horse from Thomas Conner. (1779). Fined £10; Dorchester. "Murray." (1780). Fined £10; Assembled in Caroline Co. In 1777 and stole a cow from Thomas Conner. (1780). Fined £10.
Willis, Ezekial. Caroline. Levying war. (1778)
Willis, Joshua (s/o Richard). *Caroline (Great Choptank Hd.). Constable, 1774. For levying war/rioting. "Andrew." (1778). Fined £5.
Willis, Joshua Jr. *Caroline. For being in arms/levying war/rioting. "Murray." (1778). Fined £0.1.3; Dorchester. "Murray." (1781)

Willis, Shadrack. Caroline (*Dorchester). For levying war: on 3 September 1777 at Northwest Fork, assembled and rioted. (1778). Fined £30; "Douglass." (1779). Fined £15

Willis, Thomas. Dorchester. "Murray." (1780). Fined £10.

Willis, Thomas Sr. *Caroline. "Murray." (1779). Fined £10.

Willis, William. Levying war. (1778); "Murray." (1779). Fined £10; "Douglass." (1779). Fined £ 15.

Willson, James. Dorchester (*Caroline). "Murray." (1780). Fined £10.

Wright, James. *Caroline. Levying war. (1778)

Wright, Joshua Jr. Caroline. "Murray." (1779). Fined £10.

Wright, William (s/o William). Caroline. "Murray." (1779). Fined £20; Dorchester. "Murray." (1780). Fined £20.

2. Somerset and Worcester Counties.

Adams, Cornelius. ? With the Townsends in Norfolk, November 1775. Captured in Va. Same as Cornelius Dickerson?

Adams, David. Somerset (Brinkley's S.W.) In 1777 insurrection.

Allen, Ben. Somerset/Wicomico. Probably a fictional character.

Allen, William Esq. *Worcester. Signed oath of fidelity, 1778. *MdArch 12.*

Anderson, Isaac. *Somerset (Wicomico). Attempted in 1775 to raise a company for opposing state convention; offered protect to those who refused to sign the Association of Freemen. Forfeited £1,000 surety when he joined the British Navy. Truitt, *Worcester County.*

Atkins, Stanton. *Worcester. "Old Offender." Attended Tory camps early on in war; in 1777 insurrection; captured.

·Atkinson, Angelo (Angells). *Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; captured. Exempted from pardon, 1778.

Atkinson, Isaac. Stepney Parish, Somerset. Fairly wealthy planter. Joined Lord Dunmore. *AmArch.*

·†Atkinson, William (s/o Isaac). Somerset. Yeoman. Charged with having joined the British in Philadelphia. (1780). Outlawed.

Austin, Elijah. Worcester. (1780)

†Bacon, William. Worcester (Atkinson's). Collector of Pocomoke.

Barret, (Joseph?). *Somerset? Worked with a British Navy deserter named John Anderson who often carried information to the British. (1780)

Bartlett (Bontlet), John. Somerset/Worcester. Property confiscated and sold, 1785. *Maryland Brown Books.*

▪Bayley, Zachariah. Somerset. Sergeant, MLB?

▪Beauchamp, George. Somerset?

▪Beauchamp, Stephen. Somerset.

Bedsworth (Botsworth), John. Somerset. Ordered apprehended. *MdArch 43.*

Bedsworth, Samuel. Somerset: High Treason--went to Portsmouth March 1781 without permission. State vs. S. Bedsworth (1782; tried in 1783). Fined 1£.

Bell (Beall), Josephus. *Somerset. An alleged ringleader in 1777 insurrection; captured and charged with traitorous acts. Truitt, *Worcester County.*

Bennett, John. Worcester. "Old Offender." In 1777 insurrection; captured. Sentenced to imprisonment.

Benston, Michael. *Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; captured. Ordered jailed in Cambridge. Truitt, *Worcester County.*

▪Benston, Thomas. *Somerset. A "volunteer."

Bethard, Jerman. *Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; captured. Took oath of allegiance; released. Truitt, *Worcester County.*

▪Bevins, John. Sussex Co. Delaware State vs. J. Beavans. (1783). Convicted of robbery; ordered hanged. [See Appendix A].

Bird, Solomon. *Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; captured and jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Bounds, James. In 1775, was reported not to approve of the Association. *Maryland Gazette.*

▪Bozman, Curtis. ?

Britt, Francis. *Worcester. At Norfolk with Levin Townsend; listened in on kidnapping scheme. *MdArch 12.*

Brittingham, John. *Worcester. Tried to discourage people from joining the Whigs. (1778). Released on bond.

Brittingham, Samuel. *Worcester. Mariner. Confessed 1778 to having gone aboard a British ship. Fined £41.10. Signed oath. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Brooks, Capt. James Daniel. New Jersey? Commanded Tory barge *Jolly Tar*; captured 1782. *MdArch 47.* [See Jacob Eckstein].

Broughton (Brattan), Solomon. Worcester. Listed as a prisoner forwarded to Annapolis, 1778.

Broughton, William. (Sr.?). *Worcester, though possibly Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

▪Brown, Andrew. Worcester (Atkinson's). Private, MLB.

Buley (Berly), Philip. Worcester. Free black. Rioting. (1780)

Buley, Titus. Worcester. Free black. "To answer what shall be alleged against you." (1780)

▪Burbage, Isaac. Worcester.

Burdell (Briddell, Briddle), James. Worcester? Listed as a prisoner at Onancock, 21 June 1781. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Burdell, Samuel. Worcester. In 1781, captured off Watt's Island with four others. Sent to Worcester for trial.

Burton (Buson), James. Prob. Virginia. Had a schooner; went to Portsmouth with William Harris. [See Appendix C].

▪Butler, Benjamin. *Worcester. Tailor.

Butler, Joshua. Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

Butler, Solomon. *Worcester. Openly joined ranks of Tories; concerned in kidnapping scheme.

Caldwell, Mary. Somerset/Worcester. Her property was confiscated and sold, 1785. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Cannon, Elijah. Worcester. Rioting. (1780)

Cannon, Matthew. In 1775, along with Isaac Atkinson, supported Stephen Horsey. *Maryland Gazette.*

▪Cannon, Winder. Somerset. Son of Burton Cannon?

Carey, Hezekiah (s/o Thomas). Worcester (swamp and forest). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Also to answer a charge of committing a misdemeanor. (1778).

†Carey, John Henry. Somerset. Joined British Navy.

Carmine, Smith. Pocomoke River area. Considered a "Tory Villain." Plundered a ship belonging to Captain Alexander Gordon, July 1777. Friend of Stephen Mister [See Appendix C].

Case, Thomas. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Cheney, Dr. Andrew Francis. Somerset/Worcester. High Treason. (1781)

Cheney, Francis. Somerset. High Treason. (1781, 1782).

Cheney, Joseph Francis. Somerset. *MdArch 45.*

Cluff, Thomas. Worcester. Concerned in kidnapping scheme. Later arrested and sent to Annapolis, 1778. *MdArch 12.*

Colbourne, Aaron. Somerset (Lawson's). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Colbourne, John. *Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

▪Colbourne, Solomon. Somerset.

Colbourne, William. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

·Collalo, Hamilton. Somerset (Somerset Parish). "Gentleman." Probably of either Portuguese or Spanish descent (Soundex number C440). High Treason. (1778). State vs. H. Callilo (1780): for levying war and enrolling volunteers for Howe.

Collick (Kollock), Samuel. *Worcester. Free mulatto. Indicted 1779 for joining the British.

Conway, John. Somerset. High Treason--for aiding bay raiders. (1782)

Corbin, William. *Worcester? *MdArch 12.*

Corkwell (Kirkwell), Henry. *Worcester. For rioting. (1780; tried in 1783). Fined £0.2.0.

▪·Costin, Isaac. Somerset (Somerset Parish). Periodically went to consult with Lord Dunmore. Organized 200 people in June 1776 to oppose Independence. Captain, MLB. Property confiscated and sold, 1785. (1779; tried in1780). Outlawed.

▪Costin, Levin. ?

Cottingham, David. Somerset (Brinkley's S.W.). Discouraged enlistment and through terror prevented support for independence. (1781)

▪Cottingham, Elisha. Worcester?

▪Cottingham, Ephraim. Somerset (Brinkley's S.W.).

▪Cottingham, John. Worcester?

▪Cottingham, Levi. ? A "volunteer."

Cottingham, Thomas. *Worcester (All Hallows Parish). In 1777 insurrection: charged with committing a misdemeanor against Maryland. (1778; tried 1779). Fined £10.

▪Cottman, John. Somerset.

▪Cottman, Joseph. Somerset.

Cowely, William. *Worcester. Indicted in 1779 with eleven others for joining the British.

Cox, John. *Worcester? Captured in a barge in 1781. Sent to Worcester for trial.

Crapper (Cropper), Edmund. *Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

Crapper, Reuben. Worcester. For disobeying commands of the sheriff. (1779). Fined £10.

Crockett, "Old." Possibly Joseph Crockett. Accomack (Tangier Island). [See Appendix C].

Cullen, Daniel. Worked on the flat-bottomed boats with the British at Portsmouth. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Cullen, Jacob. Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

Cullen, Jesse. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Cullen, Joseph. Somerset. High Treason. (1781)

Cullen, Samuel. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Cullen (Collins), Sarah. Somerset. Property was confiscated and sold, 1785.

Cullen, Thomas. Somerset. In 1777 insurrection.

Davis, Benjamin. *Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

Davis, Jesse. *Somerset/Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; sent for trial before the Council in Annapolis. Took oath of allegiance.

Davis, John. *Worcester. Miller. An early associate of loyalist armed groups. Signed oath of fidelity.

Deal (Dale/Dial), Josiah. *Worcester? Refused to obey command of the sheriff. (1779). Fined £10. *MdArch 12.*

†Dean, Hugh. Somerset/Worcester. Property confiscated and sold, 1785.

Dennis, Valentine. Worcester. Indicted 1779 with eleven others for joining the British.

▪Denston, Isaiah. Somerset/*Worcester.

▪Denston, Solomon. Somerset/Worcester.

Dickerson (Dickinson), Cornelius. *Worcester. Cooperated in schemes of William Bartlett Townsend. *MdArch 12.*

Dickerson, Thomas (s/o Cornelius?). *Worcester. *MdArch 47.*

Dickerson, William. Worcester. Accused of being a follower of William Bartlett Townsend, 1775. *MdArch 12.*

▪Dickinson (Dickson), Joshua. Somerset/Worcester. Joined the British, 1778. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Disharoon, Levin. Worcester. Yeoman. Reported to have participated in "every insurrection" on the lower Shore. For adhering to the King, and for entering the British service with one John Dempsey. (1781). Sentenced to be hanged.

Dixon, Thomas (s/o Isaac). Coventry Parish, Somerset. High Treason--for trading with the British at Portsmouth. (1781, 1782)

Donoho, William. Somerset. For going aboard enemy vessels at Portsmouth. (1783)

Donoho, William Jr. Somerset. High Treason. (1781)

▪Dorman, George. Somerset. A 'volunteer."

Dorman, Levin. Somerset (Coventry Parish). m. Leah May 10, 1772. "To appear." (1780). For attacking house of David Polk. (1782). Fined £0.15.0.

Dorman, Solomon. Joined the British. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Doyle, Thomas. Worcester? Arrested in 1781 for illicit trading and as a spy and an emissary of the British. Found guilty of the second charge. His property was confiscated.

Dryden (Dreadon), Samuel. *Worcester (Acquango and Atkinson's). In 1777 insurrection. Signed oath of fidelity.

Dubley (Dubberly), Eliakim. Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Dukes (Dikes, Dykes), Jesse. Somerset. [See Appendix A].

Dukes, John. *Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Sent to Annapolis, 1778. Signed oath of allegiance.

Dukes, Robert. Somerset/*Worcester. High Treason. (1782)

Dukes, William. Worcester. Meetings held at his house were attended by Benjamin Shockley and William Bartlett Townsend. *MdArch 12.*

▪Dunbar, John. *Worcester. Sergeant, MLB.

†Eckstein (Extine), Jacob. (R.I., N.Y.). Operated as a picaroon in the Chesapeake and Delaware bays. [See James Daniel Brooks].

Ellis, Jesse. Worcester (Pitts Creek Hd.) In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Ellis, Levi. *Worcester (Pitts Creek Hd.). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

▪·English, Thomas. Somerset. Yeoman. Corporal, MLB. (1780)

▪Eshon, Daniel. *Worcester (Colbourne's). Indicted 1779 with eleven others for joining the British.

▪Evans, George. Worcester (Berlin area?). A "volunteer." Arrested and sent to Annapolis, April 1778.

Evans, John. ? *Smith Island/Dorchester? Sailed with Joseph Wheland; captured with him in 1776.

Evans, Isaac. Worcester. To appear for contempt in not appearing as a Grand Juror. (1780)

Evans, Richard. Somerset/Worcester. In 1777 insurrection?

Evans, Thomas. Somerset (Pocomoke Sound). Board of Worcester registered concern about his loyalty. Charged with High Treason. (1782)

Farlow, Benjamin. *Worcester. Rioted in August 1780; tried in 1783. Fined £0.2.6.

Farlow, George. Worcester (Acquango Hd.). Rioted in August 1780; tried in 1781. Fined £5.

Fassitt, James. *Worcester. For refusing to obey sheriff's commands. (1779). Fined £20.

Fassitt, John. *Worcester. For refusing to obey sheriff's commands. (1779). Fined £10.

Fleetwood, William. Somerset. High Treason. (1782). [See Appendix A]

▪·Floyd, John. Somerset (*Worcester). Yeoman. Indicted for joining the British in 1779. (1780). Outlawed.

▪Fookes, Daniel. *Worcester (Acquango Hd.?). In 1777 insurrection; arrested and sent to Annapolis to appear before the Council. Promised to take oath of allegiance.

Fookes, Jonathan. *Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; sent to Annapolis to appear before Council. Promised to take oath of allegiance.

Fookes, William (s/o Daniel?). *Worcester (Atkinson's). Arrested April 1778 and sent to Annapolis jail.

Fosdue (Fosque?), Thomas. *Worcester. [See Appendix A].

Furnace, George (s/o James?). Somerset. (Westover) A schoolmaster? In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath.

Gawkin, _____? (Soundex number G250). May possibly be William Gaskins of Somerset. Local names bearing same Soundex reference number: Gascoyne, Gohegan.

Gerrock, Samuel (bro/o John). Baltimore. Set up a trading ring with the British. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Gibbs, Abraham. *Worcester (Atkinson's). Associated with Benjamin Shockley. *MdArch 12.*

Gibbs, Robert. Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

Givans, James. *Worcester. Indicted in Sussex county, Delaware for High Treason. (1780). [See Appendix A].

Gladstone, Arthur. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Gordy, Peter. Worcester. "To answer what shall be alleged against you." (1780)

Grant, John. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

▪Gray, Benjamin. *Worcester.

▪Gray, Isaac. Worcester.

Gray, Jesse (s/o Benjamin). Somerset/Worcester. An alleged ringleader of 1777 insurrection; captured and charged with traitorous acts.

▪Gray, John. Worcester.

Gunby, Isaac (s/o James?). *Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Gunby, James (f/o General John Gunby). Worcester? Urged his son not to join Whigs. Two of his sons were ardent Tories.

Gunby, John. Worcester? Captured off Watt's Island in 1781. Sent to Worcester for trial. *MdArch 47.*

Gunby, Joseph (s/o James?). Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Hall, Charles. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Handy, Joseph. Somerset. For trading with the British at Portsmouth. (1781)

Handy (Handley), Levin (s/o Captain John Handy). Worcester (Rewastico Hd.?). High Treason. (1781). Sentenced to be hanged with John Timmons and Levin Disharoon.

Handy, Thomas Sr. Somerset (Annamessex) Planter and J.P. For declaring allegiance to the King. (1778)

Handy, William. *MdArch 12.*

Harris, James. Somerset. Joined the British in 1776. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Harris, John. Somerset/Worcester. Joined the British. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Harris, William. Somerset. Went to Portsmouth without permission. (1782). To be imprisoned 2 months in Somerset County as punishment.

Hart, Dr. John Adell. Somerset/Worcester? An alleged ringleader of 1777 insurrection; imprisoned and charged with traitorous acts. Released on a peace bond.

▪Hayman, David. Worcester. A "volunteer."

Hayman (Hammond, Hamon), Isaac. Worcester. Openly joined loyalists in 1775. *MdArch 12.*

Hayman, John (Sr. or Jr.?). *Somerset/Worcester. His case struck off by the General Court, 1782.

Hayman, Johnson. Somerset (*Worcester). In 1777 insurrection; captured but released on bond. Afterwards took oath.

▪Hayman, Nehemiah. *Somerset.

Hayman, Nicholas. Worcester. Openly joined loyalists in 1775. *MdArch 12.*

Haywood (Hayward), Jacob. *Worcester. Quaker. Board of Worcester registered concern about his loyalty. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Heath, Daniel. ? *MdArch 16.*

Heath, William. Worcester. Arrested and sent to Annapolis jail, April 1778.

Henderson, Benjamin. *Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Henderson, Ephraim. Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Hearn (Heron), Elijah. Worcester. Rioted in 1780, threatening Peter Gordy and stealing his gun. (1783). Fined £0.2.6.

Hearn, Elisha. Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. May be the same as Elijah Heron above.

Hearn, George. Worcester. Planter. For rioting. (1780). [See Appendix A].

Hearn, Jacob. Somerset. In 1777 insurrection. Signed oath of fidelity.

Hearn, Joseph. Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. [See Appendix A].

Hill, William. Worcester. Refused to obey commands of sheriff. (1779). Fined £5.

Hill, Zorobabel (Babel). *Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Hillam, Henry. ? Examined by the Council of Safety, September 1776, for going over to the British. *MdArch 12.*

Holland, Michael. *Somerset (Brinkley's N.W., Lawsons). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Holloway, Joshua. *Worcester (Land in Wicomico forest, Acquango Hd.). In 1777 insurrection; arrested and sent to Annapolis jail, April 1778. Took oath of allegiance.

Holloway, Thomas. *Worcester (or Caroline). Suspected to be a Tory, 1778.

Hopkins, Matthew. *Worcester (West Berlin, Mattapony). In 1777 insurrection. Took oath of fidelity.

Horsey, Outerbridge. Somerset. *MdArch 21.*

Horsey, Stephen. Worcester. In 1775, was reported to be raising a company; supported by Isaac Atkinson, Matthew Cannon.

Horsey, William. Somerset. High Treason. (1781)

Hoshier (Hogshier, Hosier), John. Worcester (forest land in Colbourne's and Acquango Hd.). Was among loyalists who were planning to attack Snow Hill, 1777.

Houston, Dr. James. Somerset (E. Princess Anne?). Associated in Somerset.

*Houston, William. *Worcester.

Hudson, Solomon. Somerset. "Kept away" after being drafted. *MdArch 45.*

Hudson, William. Worcester. Planter. Refused to obey command of the sheriff. (1780). Fined £0.7.6.

Isaac, William. Somerset. Suspected of illicit practices. *MdArch 45.*

Jackson, John. Joined the British. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Jackson, William. Somerset. High Treason--went aboard enemy vessel without permission. (1782). To be imprisoned 2 months as punishment.

Johnson, Benjamin. Worcester. Planter. Rioted October 1, 1776 in Somerset Co; unlawfully entered storehouse of William Winder Jr. in Somerset Co. Took away salt. (1780). Fined £20.

Johnson, Daniel. *Worcester. Obstructed the constable of the Hundred from suppressing a tumultuous meeting of blacks, 1778. In 1781, was captured in a barge off Watt's Island.

Johnson, Elisha (Elijah). *Somerset/Worcester (Mattapony Hd.?) In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Johnson, Jesse. Somerset/Worcester? High Treason. (1782). [See Appendix C].

Johnson, Littleton (s/o Lame). *Somerset (Lawson's). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Johnson, Purnell. Worcester. Taken by the British fleet and later joined the British, "as it is said." *Maryland Brown Books.*

Johnson, Samuel. Worcester (Atkinson's, forest land). Merchant. Confessed, 1778, to having gone aboard a British ship. Fined £32.10.

Johnson, William. Worcester. Indian. The Board of Worcester registered concern about his loyalty.

▪·Jones, Caleb. Somerset. Yeoman. Former county sheriff. Arrested 1776; released on £200 bond, and escaped to Dunmore. Indicted for joining the British in Philadelphia. (1780). Outlawed.

▪·Jones, Daniel. Somerset. Yeoman. High Treason. (1780).

▪Jones, Elijah. *Worcester.

▪Jones, William. Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Justice, Elijah. Somerset? "Kept away" after being drafted. *MdArch 45.*

Kennerly (Kennedy), William. *Somerset (Rewastico Hd.). Owned "British property." *Maryland Brown Books.*

▪King, James. *Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; captured and held without bail for further investigation. Tried for trason, 1781, for discouraging people to enlist. Fined £200 (currency) and imprisoned for 15 days.

Knight, Josiah. Somerset. Planter. Attacked house of David Polk (1780). Fined £20.

Lambden, Robert. *Worcester. Indicted by county court for teaching school without taking the oath of fidelity. Fined £1.18.

Lamden, Thomas. *Worcester (swamp lands on w. side of Dividing Creek). Crier of the County Court. His son-in-law was James Atkinson. Accused in 1775 of calling those who had taken arms against Great Britain as "rebels." Declared to be an enemy of the country.

Lambertson (Lamberron), John. *Somerset/Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; captured and later took oath.

Langford, Jesse. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Langford, Levi. Somerset? *MdArchives 16.*

Lawrance, Elisha. Worcester. Refused to obey commands of the sheriff. (1779). Fined £5.

Lawrance, Henry. Worcester. Refused to obey commands of the sheriff. (1779). Fined £2.5.0.

Layfield, James. Somerset. *AmArch, ser. 5, vol. I, pg. 385.*

Layfield, William. *Worcester. In 1777 insurrection. Discharged on bond.

Lingo, Smith (s/o Robert). Worcester. One of Benjamin Shockley's group.

Linton, Nathan. Somerset. High Treason. (1783)

▪·Lowe (Low), James. Somerset. Yeoman. Indicted for having joined the British in Philadelphia. (1780). Outlawed. [See Appendix A].

Lumber, Thomas. (Va. but active in Somerset). *MdArch 45.*

▪Macklin, Eli. *Worcester.

Maddux, Staughton. Somerset/Worcester (land in Fairmount). An alleged ringleader in 1777 insurrection; captured and charged with traitorous acts.

Maddux, Zorobabal. *Somerset/Worcester (land in Brinkley's S.W.)? In1785, entered into recognizance for £50 to appear at the April 1786 court to testify against George Mason.

Malcolm, Thomas. Somerset/Worcester. An alleged ringleader in the 1777 insurrection; captured and charged with traitorous acts.

▪Malone, John (s/o Mary). Somerset/Worcester. His property was confiscated and sold, 1785. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Malone, William. High Treason. (1779)

Marchant, John. Somerset. Went to Portsmouth without permission. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Marshall, Ephraim. High Treason. (1782)

Marshall, Isaac Esq.(s/o Thomas). *Somerset (Brinkley's). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Mason, George. Somerset. *MdArch 45.*

Mason, John. Somerset. *MdArch 45.*

Matthews, David. Somerset. Traded at Portsmouth along with his son (name unknown). *Maryland Brown Books.*

Mathews, William. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

McClish (McLych), Thomas. *Worcester. "To answer what shall be alleged against you." (1780)

McCready, Andrew. Somerset. *MdArch 21.*

McDaniel, William. Worcester. Indicted in 1779 for having joined the British.

McMullen, John. Worcester. Protege of Joseph Wheland; commanded the picaroon barge *Restoration.* Attacked home of Captain Levin Gale, whom he kidnapped. Captured in 1781 but escaped. *MdArch 47.*

Meekings, Ezekial (s/o Richard). Dorchester Parish, but operated further south. *MdArch 21.*

▪Melvin, Robert. Worcester (Pitts Creek). Private, MLB.

▪Merrill, Joshua. Worcester? Private, MLB. Relatives were tenants of Dr. Henry Stevenson, a loyalist resident of Baltimore, who owned substantial property in Worcester County.

▪·Miles, Samuel (s/o William). Yeoman. Somerset Parish. Yeoman. High Treason. (1779; tried in 1780). Outlawed.

Mister, Marmaduke. *Somerset (Smith Island). Sailed with Joseph Wheland. Arrested, but allowed to go home at end of war.

Mister, Stephen (neph/o Marmaduke). Virginia, but operated in Tangier Sound. [See Appendix C].

▪Mitchell, John. Worcester? Private, MLB.

▪Mitchell, Thomas. *Worcester? Somerset? Private, MLB.

·Moore (More), Thomas. Worcester. *MdArch 12, 16.*

▪Newton, Job (s/o Thomas). *Worcester (Mattapony). Indicted in 1779 for having joined the British.

▪Newton, Selby. *Worcester (Mattapony).

▪Noble, John. Somerset. Sergeant, MLB.

Noble, Thomas. Somerset. High Treason. (1781)

▪O'Deer (O'Bier), Levi. Somerset/Worcester. Private, MLB.

·Otwell(Otley), James. Somerset (Coventry Parish). Yeoman. High Treason. (1780) Outlawed. N.B. In Bradley, "Loyalists of Maryland's Eastern Shore, he is listed as "James Asley." [See Appendix A].

Outten, Purnell. Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Took oath of allegiance.

Parker, Benjamin. Worcester. (1780)

Parker, Charles. Worcester (land in Atkinson's). Planned an uprising in 1777 for seizing arms at Snow Hill. Mason, *Region in Revolt.*

Parker, Elisha. *Worcester. For rioting "against the state." (1780 and 1781). Fined £10. For threatening Peter Gordy. (1782). Fined £10.

Parker, Henry (s/o Schoolfield, or Shafield). *Worcester (land in Acquango Hd; Colbourne's). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Parker, John (s/o Elisha?). For going to the British and against the Act of Assembly. (1779)

Parker, John Jr. Worcester. For going on board the enemy's ships and for rioting on August 1, 1780 for 3 hours. (1781). Fined £0.20.0.

Parker, Robert. Accomack (Watt's Island). Board of Worcester registered concern about his loyalty. [See Appendix C].

Parker, Samuel. Worcester. An early associate of Benjamin Shockley, though he soon broke off relations.

Parker, Schoolfield (Shafield). *Worcester (land in Acquango Hd.; Colbourne's). Vetoed Charles Parker's plan to attack Snow Hill in 1777.

Parker, Thomas. *Worcester (Atkinson's, Colbourne's). Charged with going aboard British ships. (1779,1781)

Parks? Job Jr. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Parramore, Samuel. Somerset. High Treason--went aboard enemy vessel without permission. (1782). To be imprisoned five days in Somerset County as punishment.

Parramore, Thomas. Somerset. Farmer? High Treason. (1781,1782)

Parsons, George Jr. *Worcester. Good friend of Levin Disharoon, in whose house he sang disaffected songs.

Parsons, John. ? Listed as being in the guardhouse at Annapolis, waiting for a hearing before the Council. Promised to take oath of allegiance.

▪Pepper, William. *Worcester (Mattapony Hd.).

Pettitt, Edward. *Worcester (E. Berlin). *MdArch 12.*

Pettitt, Thomas. ?

Phillips, John. Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; arrested and sent to Annapolis jail, 1778. Took oath of fidelity.

Pitts, Robert. Worcester (Pitts Landing). Board of Worcester registered concern about his loyalty. Accused by Thomas Doyle of possessing a protection paper from the bay raiders. Pitt denied carges, claiming the Robert Pitt in question was a resident of Virginia.

·Pollitt, Thomas Jr. Worcester (Atkinson's). An alleged ringleader in 1777 uprising; imprisoned at Annapolis. Discharged after taking oath of fidelity.

·Pollitt, William. *Worcester (Atkinson's). An alleged ringleader in 1777 uprising; imprisoned at Annapolis. Discharged after taking oath.

Pop__?__, William. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Potter, Thomas Wood. *Somerset (Brinkley's S.W.). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Price, John. ? Sailed with Joseph Wheland and captured with him in 1776. *MdArch 12.* [See John Price in part 1 of this appendix].

Price, Thomas. Somerset. Arrested in 1781; posted a £100 bond and confined to the county. *MdArch 43.* [See Thomas Price in part 1 of this appendix].

Pridix (Perdue, Purdue), John. *Worcester. For disobeying commands of the sheriff, (1779). Fined £0.15.0. Rioted in 1776; entered storehouse of William Winder Jr. and took salt. (1780). Fined £20.

Purnell, Levi. Worcester. Refused to obey commands of the sheriff (1779). Fined £1.2.6.

Pusey (Peausy), John. Somerset. Planter. For breaking and entering into David Polk's house and trying to steal salt. (1780). Fined £20.

▪Pusey, Lankford. Somerset/Worcester (Atkinson's).

Quinton, Dixon. Worcester (Pitts Creek, Pocomoke Hd.). Merchant-planter with loyalist leanings; accused in 1775 of breaking the Association. Signed oath of fidelity, 1778

Rain, Philip. Worcester (Colbourne's and Acquango Hd.). Joined a Captain Schoolfield's armed band who trained for ultimate action. Signed oath of fidelity,1778

▪Ratcliffe (Rackliffe), John. *Worcester.

Read (Reed), Obadiah. Somerset/Worcester. His property was confiscated and sold, 1785. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Redden, John. Somerset. *AmArch, ser.5, vol. I, p. 385.*

▪Riggin, Cannon. Worcester. Yeoman. On March 1, 1778, at Philadelphia joined the British, 1776. (1781). Outlawed. *Maryland Brown Books.*

▪Riggin, Darby (s/o Pierce). Somerset.

▪Riggin, Jacob. ? A "volunteer."

Riggin, James (s/o Teague?). Worcester (Atkinson's). In 1777 insurrection; arrested and sent to Annapolis jail. Signed oath of fidelity.

Riggin, John. Somerset/*Worcester? In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

Riggin, Jonathan. Worcester. (1780,1781)

Riley, Stephen. Worcester (E. Berlin). Was in on proposed scheme to kidnap prominent Shore leaders and bring them to Lord Dunmore.

Roach, Charles. *Worcester. (1780)

Roach, Stephen. *Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

Robins, Josiah. Worcester (All Hallows Parish--Mattapony Hd.). Church warden. *MdArch 12.*

▪Rogers, Jacob. Worcester? Private, MLB (Caleb Jones' company).

Ross, Rev. John. Worcester. Rector, All Hallows Parish.

Round (Rownd), William. *Worcester. Refused to obey commands of the sheriff. (1779). Fined £0.3.9.

Russell, James. Somerset (Rewastico Hd.). *Maryland Brown Books.*

Russell, William. Somerset (Rewastico Hd.). *Maryland Brown Books.*

Schoolfield, Robert. *Worcester. Sinnepuxent Batt. Refused to obey the commands of the sheriff. (1779). Fined £10.

Scott, Rev. John. Somerset/Worcester. His activities were reviewed by the Council; required to post a £1,000 bond and was expatriated to Frederick County. *AmArch III.*

Selby, Benjamin. Worcester. He was in on the scheme to kidnap members of the Worcester County Committee.

▪Selby, Daniel. *Worcester. Signed oath of fidelity.

▪Selby, Henry. Worcester. Yeoman. Charged with joining the British at Philadelphia, March 1778. (1781). Outlawed.

▪Selby, John (s/o John). *Worcester. Indicted in 1779 for having joined the British.

Selby, Joshua. *Worcester (Atkinson's). Belonged to Benjamin Shockley's group, but did not leave home.

Selby, Philip. Worcester. Wrote to Thomas Doyle. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Selby, Thomas. *Worcester. Refused to obey the commands of the sheriff. (1779). Fined £10.

▪Selby, William Atkinson. *Worcester. A vestryman of All Hallows Parish. Indicted in 1779 for having joined the British.

▪Shockley, Benjamin. *Worcester (All Hallows Parish). A long-time insurgent leader. In 1777 insurrection; charged with committing a misdemeanor against Maryland. Fined £30.

Showell, Eli. *Worcester (land described as "back in the woods.") Refused to enlist in 1778. Later moved to Kent County, Delaware.

Slocum, Riley. Worcester. *MdArch 47.*

Smith, Carmine. Pocomoke River area.

Smith, James. *Worcester. Arrested and sent to Annapolis jail, 1778.

▪Smith, William. Somerset/Worcester. Went to the British when Dunmore was in the bay. His property was confiscated and sold, 1785. *Maryland Brown Books.*

▪Smulling (Smullen), Nathaniel. Somerset. Joined the British--a "volunteer." *Maryland Brown Books.*

▪Smulling, Randolph (Randall). Somerset /*Worcester. A "volunteer."

Spear, Henry. * Worcester. [See Appendix A].

▪Stayton (Staton), Horatio. *Somerset/Worcester. Sergeant, MLB.

▪·Sterling, Aaron (s/o John? Not the same as listed below). Somerset. Yeoman. Charged with joining the British in Philadelphia. (1780). Outlawed.

Sterling, Henry. *Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

▪·Sterling, John. Somerset (Coventry Parish). Yeoman. In 1778, led an armed band and attacked David Wilson, William Winder and Benjamin Venables with intent to take them to the British. (1779). Joined the British at Philadelphia that same month. (1780). Outlawed.

▪Sterling, Southy. Worcester (Pitts Creek Hd., St. Martin's).

▪Sterling, William. Somerset (Crisfield). Paymaster to the Maryland Loyalists.

Sturgis, Elijah. *Worcester (Snow Hill). Participated in an illegal trading ring with Samuel Brittingham; arrested in Worcester in 1781.

▪Summers (Sommers), Benjamin. Somerset (Crisfield).

Summers, George. Somerset (Crisfield). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

Summers, Isaac. *MdArch 12.*

Summers, Thomas (Sr.?). Somerset (Crisfield). In 1777 insurrection. Signed oath of fidelity.

Tarr, Azariah. Somerset. Traded at Portsmouth. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Tarr, Uriah. Somerset? *MdArch 47.*

Taylor (Tyler), David. Somerset. *MdArch 21.*

▪Taylor, Elisha. Worcester (forest land, Mattapony Hd.).

Taylor ("Taytor" in 1790 census), Joseph Gray (s/o George). *Worcester (Colbourne's, Atkinson's). Privy to scheme for kidnapping members of the Worcester County Committee

Taylor, Thomas. *Worcester (Mattapony). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge. Signed oath of fidelity.

▪Thomas, George. Somerset.

Thomas, Joshua. Probably Somerset (Smith Island), but ordered "to appear" in Talbot.

Thomas, Samuel. Worcester (Snow Hill). Ship carpenter. Worcester Committee registered concern about his loyalty.

▪Tilghman, Ephraim (s/o Gideon?). *Somerset?

Timmons, John. Worcester? Served under Joseph Wheland. High Treason. (1781). Sentenced to be hanged.

▪Timmons, Zadock. Either Maryland Shore or southern Delaware.

Timmons, _____? Whitehaven area. Aided J.F. D. Smyth to cross the lower Shore to Lewes. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States.*

Tomlinson (Tomlins), Samuel. Somerset. Worcester Committee registered concern about his loyalty. High Treason. (1782)

Tomlinson, William. Somerset? *MdArch 12.*

Townsend, Elias (s/o W.B. Townsend). *Worcester. Active loyalist in 1775.

▪Townsend, John. *Worcester? Signed oath of fidelity March 1, 1778 (James Selby).

▪Townsend, Joshua. *Worcester?

Townsend, Levi (s/o W.B. Townsend). *MdArch 12.*

▪†Townsend, Levin (s/o W.B. Townsend). *Worcester (Atkinson's). Joined Lord Dunmore in 1775; proposed scheme for kidnapping members of the Worcester Committee and sending them to Dunmore. Had dealings with John Collett, Edmund and William Scarburgh Sr. [See Appendix C].

Townsend, Lucas (Luke) (s/o W.B. Townsend). *Worcester. Active loyalist in 1775.

Townsend, William (s/o W.B. Townsend). *Worcester. Joined the British in 1778. Refused to obey commands of the sheriff? (1780). Fined £10. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Townsend, William Bartlett (Barclay). Worcester (Atkinson's). An influential local leader of resistance to the Whigs.

Townsend, Zadock. *Worcester (Atkinson's). Privy to scheme for kisnapping memvbers of the Worcester Committee and sending them to Dunmore.

Traverse (Travis), John. Worcester (Snow Hill). Refused to obey commands of the sheriff. (1779 and again in 1781). Arrested in 1781 off Watt's Island while trying to deliver a petition to General Leslie pleading for the dispatch of British troops.

Truitt, John. *Worcester. Meetings held in his house were attended by Benjamin Shockley and allies of W.B. Townsend.

Truitt, Patey. Worcester. Refused to obey the commands of the sheriff. (1779). Fined £5.

Tubbs (Tybbs), Levin. Somerset. In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

▪Tull, James (s/o Stephen). Worcester? Sergeant, MLB.

▪Tull, Isaac. ?

▪·Tull, Levin. Yeoman. Somerset. Yeoman. Charged with joining the British in Philadelphia. (1780). Outlawed.

Tull, Thomas. Somerset. Carpenter?

Turner, William. Worcester (Mattapony, Colbourne's). Headed a loyalist company; escaped with Thomas Moore after planning to attack Snow Hill.

Turpin, Denwood (s/o William). *Worcester. *MdArch 12*

·Turpin, Whittington (s/o William). Worcester. An alleged ringleader in 1777 insurrection; imprisoned and charged with traitorous acts.

Turpin, William. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Twilly, William. *Worcester. Rioted August 1780. (1783). Fined £0.2.6.

Tyler, Thomas. *Worcester (Colbourne's). Gave evidence about a proposed loyalist attack on Snow Hill.

▪Vaughan, Levin. Somerset/Worcester.

Vestry, Hugh. Worcester (Colbourne's). Participated in scheme for kidnapping members of Worcester Committee, but evinced a desire to go home.

Vinson, Elisha. Worcester Acquango Hd.). Rioted in August 1780. (1781). Fined £5.10.

Wall, Thomas. (Va. but also active in Somerset). *MdArch 43.*

Ward, Ezekial. Somerset (swamp land in Lawson's). "Planter." In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

Ward, Josiah. Worcester. Approved of the Townsend's scheme for kidnapping members of the Worcester Committee. *MdArch 12.*

Ward, Solomon. Somerset. *MdArch 12.*

Ward, Stephen (s/o John). Somerset. Went on board armed vessels of the enemy without permission. (1782). Fined £4.

Ward, Thomas. *Somerset (Coventry Parish). In 1777 insurrection; jailed in Cambridge.

Watson (Walston), Ben. Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; captured and held without bail for further investigation.

Watson, Boaz (Booz) (s/o Thomas). Worcester. Eldest son of Thomas. Rioted in August 1780. (1781). Fined £5.

·Watson, John.. Somerset. Yeoman. Charged with having joined the British in Philadelphia. (1780). Outlawed.

Welsh, James. Somerset. Suspected of illicit practices. *MdArch 45.*

Whaley, Ebenezer. Worcester. In 1777 insurrection; arrested and sent to Annapolis jail, 1778. Later took oath of fidelity. *Maryland Red Books.*

Wheatley, Jamison (Sampson?). Somerset (swamp land in Brinkley's S.W.). His property was confiscated and sold, 1785.

Wheatley, Thomas. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

·Wheatley, William Jr. Somerset (Coventry parish). Planter. "Prepared to levy a cruel war" Attacked house of William Winder Jr. etc. (1778 and 1779). Outlawed.

▪White, Henry.(s/o Barclay; bro/o William). *Worcester (Colbourne's). Innkeeper. Refused to obey commands of the sheriff. (1779). Fined £5.

▪White, John. Worcester (Pocomoke Hd.). Joined the British, 1778. Refused to obey the commands of the sheriff? (1779). Fined £10. *Maryland Brown Books.*

▪White, Major (bro/o John). *Worcester (Atkinson's). His property was confiscated and sold, 1785.

Whiteman, William. Partner of William Johnson the Indian. *MdArch 45.*

Whitney, Joseph. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Williams, Samuel. Worcester (W. Berlin). In 1777 insurrection; listed as being in the guardhouse in Annapolis, waiting for a hearing before the Council. Promised to take the oath of allegiance.

Willis, William. *Worcester (Bogernorton). Went to Norfolk with the Townsends, expressing a desire to go home. Charged with rioting (1780). Later, charged with intimidating Peter Gordy and stealing his gun. (1782). Fined £5.

Willson, John Jr. Somerset. High Treason. (1782)

Wilson, Samuel. Somerset? Wanted to sell provisions to the British. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Wilson, William. Somerset. Went on board enemy vessels without permission. (1782). Fined 1 pence.

Appendix C

Names of Virginia Disaffected
Accomack and Northampton Counties

* Individual with this name living at the end of the Revolution, according to 1787 census (including county).
† Individual is listed in the Loyalist Claims List.
▪ Individual was in the First Maryland Loyalist Battalion (MLB). Source: Meyer, "First Batalion of Maryland Loyalists."
Unless otherwise specified, name of individual was derived from Hast, *Loyalists in Revolutionary Virginia.*

Aitchison, Samuel. Northampton. Partner in a Scottish mercantile firm. Refused to sign oath of allegiance, March 1777; planned to leave Co. in August 1777, but remained, openly professing his views.

Aitchison, Thomas. Northampton. Left the shore. His brother, Samuel Atchison, protected their Virginia interests.

Arbuckle, James. Accomack. Member of the County Committee, 1774. Accused, 1775, of drawing a map for Andrew Sprowle, who in turn had passed it on to Lord Dunmore. Arbuckle and other witnesses explained that the map did not show the harbors in detail or any of the shoals. Exonerated.

Beach (Beech), Capt. _____? Accomack. Involved in a trading ring with several Marylanders for provisioning the British at Portsmouth. *MdArch 45, 47.*

Bedworth, William. Accomack. Lived in Somerset County. Among ten men charged, March 1778 with high treason. Maintained innocence; found guilty. (See George Wright, William Pratt, Moses Deane, John Connaway, Benjamin Connaway, Leonard Guerney, John Tull, Obadiah Trahern, Jesse Johnson).

Bunting, Samuel. Accomack. Planter of 354 acres. A parishioner of John Lyon. A leader in an anti-draft riot, May 23, 1781. Tried for treason; found guilty, but allowed to return to his home. (See John Custis, William Garrison).

Burton (Buson), James. Prob. Virginia. Had a schooner; his partner had no protection, but applied to Samuel Tomlin for his protection and he went to Portsmouth with William Harris. *Maryland Brown Books.*

▪Charnock, Abel. *Accomack.

▪Charnock, John. *Accomack.

†Collett, John. Originally from Philadelphia; settled in Accomack in 1774, where he kept a store. Had dealings with Levin Townsend and Edmund and William Scarburgh, 1775. [See Appenix B, part 2]. Captain, Prince of Wales American Regiment until resignation, 1782; fought in Southern Campaign.

Connaway, Benjamin. Accomack. Lived in Delaware? Among ten men charged, March 1778 with high treason. Pleaded guilty. (See George Wright, William Pratt, Moses Deane,

John Connaway, Leonard Guerney, John Tull, William Bedworth, Obadiah Trahern, Jesse Johnson).

Connaway, John. Accomack. Lived in Delaware? Among ten men charged, March 1778 with high treason. Pleaded guilty. (See George Wright, William Pratt, Moses Deane, Benjamin Connaway, Leonard Guerney, John Tull, William Bedworth, Obadiah Trahern, Jesse Johnson).

Cox, James. Accomack. Found guilty of "having acted the part of an enemy," February 1777. Remained free upon entering a £500 bond. Left in 1779. (See John Satchel, Reuben Warrington).

Crockett, "Old." (Possibly Joseph Crockett). Accomack (Tangier Island). Informed upon by Thomas Doyle. His place along with Robert Parker's places of rendezvous; gave John McMullin every assistance and intelligence. [See Appendix B, part 2]. *Maryland Brown Books.*

Custis, John. *Accomack. Wealthy planter with 1000 acres of land. A leader in an anti-draft riot, May 23, 1781. A parishioner of John Lyon. Tried, September 27, 1781 by court martial. Found guilty of treason. Request for clemency successful; returned to Accomack. (See William Garrison, Samuel Bunting).

Custis, Edmund. *Accomack. Traded with two British subjects, Colbourn Barrel and James McAlpine, in 1782. (See Edward Ker).

Deane, Moses. Accomack. Among ten men charged, March 1778 with high treason. Pleaded guilty. (See George Wright, William Pratt, John Connaway, Benjamin Connaway, Leonard Guerney, John Tull, William Bedworth, Obadiah Trahern, Jesse Johnson).

▪Driggers (Drighouse), Benjamin. Northampton?

Fulwell, Dr. John Lewis. Northampton. Refused to take oath of allegiance in 1777; continued in practice throughout the war. Sent provisions to Collier, May 1779, during the British invasion of Norfolk. (See George Savage, Henry Grey, Daniel Hoal).

†Furman, Shadrack. Accomack. Free black. Farmer. Provided the British with provisions; taken prisoner by the revolutionaries, mistreated. Later joined the British army. He went aboard a privateer owned by two men named Graham and Hodges. *Loyalist Transcripts.*

Garrison William. *Accomack. Planter of 240 acres. A leader in an anti-draft riot, May 23, 1781. A parishioner of John Lyon. Stole a field gun from a state galley and put it on one of his own ships: no action taken against him. Tried for treason for his part in the anti-draft riot, September 27, 1781. Found guilty, but allowed to return to his home. (See John Custis, Samuel Bunting).

Guy (Gay, Gray), Henry. Northampton. Sent provisions to Collier, May 1779, during the British invasion of Norfolk. (See George Savage, Daniel Hoal, Dr. John Lewis Fulwell).

Guerney, Leonard. Accomack. Soundex number G650. Among ten men charged, March 1778 with high treason. Pleaded guilty. (See George Wright, William Pratt, Moses Deane, John Connaway, Benjamin Connaway, John Tull, William Bedworth, Obadiah Trahern, Jesse Johnson).

Hall (Hoal), Daniel. *Northampton. Sent provisions to Collier, May 1779, during the British invasion of Norfolk. (See George Savage, Henry Grey, Dr. John Lewis Fulwell).

†Hatton, Helen (Ellen). Second wife of Walter Hatton (see below); lodged claim with British Commissioners.

Hatton, Walter. Accomack. Collector of Customs, Virgina and North Carolina. Appointed J.P. in 1771. Letter to Nathaniel Coffin in Boston intercepted in which he criticized Whigs, 1776. Recanted. Fled to the *Preston*.

Hyslop, Walter. *Northampton. Charged with being inimical, February 1777. Found guilty, June 1777. Sentenced to three months in the county jail, fined £60.

†Ingram, James. Norfolk merchant, but mentioned in connection with Accomack. Referred to as a refugee who had enlisted with the British and continued in her service until the peace. He was indebted to the British firms of William Cunningham & Co. and Muirhead & Hay. *Virginia Genealogist* 17, 18; Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore.*

Johnson, Edmund. Northampton. Charged with being an enemy to the commonwealth, Feb. 1777. Escaped arrest; left the Eastern Shore before Fall 1779. (See Littleton Ward, Walter Hyslop, James Sandefort, Dr. John Risch).

Johnson, Jesse. Somerset/Worcester? Among ten men charged, March 1778 with high treason in Accomack. Maintained innocence; found guilty. (See George Wright, William Pratt, Moses Deane, John Connaway, Benjamin Connaway, Leonard Guerney, John Tull, William Bedworth, Obadiah Trahern). [See Appendix B, part 2].

Kellam, Argol. *Accomack. Arrested and ordered removed from the Eastern Shore as a possibly dangerous person, 1777. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, II.*

Kellam, Custis. *Accomack. Obtained a protection from the British with brother Esau for trading with Philadelphia.

Kellam, Esau (Ezer). Accomack. Associate of Daniel Rogers. Fled to the West Indies before being charged with treason, 1779. Obtained, with his brother Custis, a British protection for trading with the British at Philadelphia.

Ker (Kerr), Edward. *Accomack. Father-in-law of Edmund Scarburgh. County Court Justice. Under suspicion since 1776; not friendly to independence. Later, name dropped from the court roster, and as J.P. Ordered arrested and removed from the Eastern Shore as a possibly dangerous person, 1777. Took oath; discharged. Traded with two British subjects in 1782. (See Edmund Custis). *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, II.*

Kidd, John. ? Raided Maryland and Virginia Eastern Shore. Operational base on Hog Island. Commander of the barge *Kidnapper*. Fought in the December 1, 1782 with Joseph Wheland. [See Appendix B, part 2]

Lyon, Rev. John. Accomack. Minister of St. George's Parish. Caught trading with the British, summer 1781. Tried, August 1781 on charges of furnishing provisions and intelligence to the British and of attempting to dissuade county militiamen from resisting the British. Sentenced to five years banishment, but was allowed to return by February 1782. (See John Custis, William Garrison, Samuel Bunting).

Major, John. *Accomack. Arrested and ordered removed from the Eastern Shore as a possibly dangerous person, 1777. Took oath; discharged. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, II.*

Major, Severn (s/o John?). Accomack. Joined the British army at the outbreak of the war, but tried to return afterwards. *Journals of the State Council of Virginia, II.*

Mears (Miers), Shadrack. *Accomack. Arrested and ordered removed from the Eastern Shore as a possibly dangerous person, 1777. Took oath; discharged. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, II.*

Miller, Francis. Northampton. Customs house officer. Refused to take oath of allegiance.

Mister (Meister, Myster), Stephen. Accomack. Nephew of Marmaduke Mister [See Appendix B, part 2]; former accomplice of Joseph Wheland. Charged with treason; escaped Accomack jail, September 1777. Helped to escape by Reuben Warrington, a slave belonging to neighbor John Warrington. Jailed ten months later on a misdemeanor. Operated a barge out of a base on the Annemessex River, Maryland in the spring of 1779; favored the mouth of the Nanticoke River. Charged with treason, May 1780. Captured in Virginia, August 1780. He was back in Princess Anne by September 1783. Later sued by a victim.

Parker, Robert. *Accomack (Watt's Island). Member of the large Parker family. Had land dealings with Worcester County Maryland loyalists, including Thomas Benston. Found guilty of defending the authority of the king, November 1777 (tried under the Act for Punishment of Certain Offences). Governor pardoned him, July 1778, after he had served eight months in prison due to the very large volume of petitions for clemency. Later, informed upon by Thomas Doyle for receiving slaves plundered on the Rapahannock. No action taken against him. *Maryland Brown Books.*

▪Parker, William. *Accomack. Arrested and ordered removed from the Eastern Shore as a possibly dangerous person, 1777. Took oath; discharged. Identical to the private in Captain Caleb Jones Company, MLB? *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, II.*

Piggot, Walter (referred to as "William Piggot" in *Virginia Genealogist* 17). Northampton. Earlier family members referred to as "gentlemen." Captured in Chesapeake Bay. Ordered executed for coming within "the definition of a spy," 1781. He had been indebted to the British firm Muirhead & Hay. *Virginia Genealogist* 17; *MdArch 45, 47.*

Pitt, Robert. Accomack. Arrested and ordered removed from the Eastern Shore as a possibly dangerous person, 1777. Took oath; discharged. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, II. [See Appendix B, part 2].

Pratt, William. *Accomack. Among ten men charged, March 1778 with high treason. Found not guilty, discharged. (See George Wright, Moses Deane, JohnConnaway, Benjamin Connaway, Leonard Guerney, John Tull, William Bedworth, Obadiah Trahern, Jesse Johnson).

Prior, Thomas. Accomack (Holland and Tangier Islands). Helped Joseph Wheland, 1780.

†Risch, Dr. John Adam. Northampton. A native of Hesse-Cassel, Germany. Practiced medicine since 1761. Charged with being an enemy to America, Feb. 1777. Found guilty in a jury trial, March 1777. Sentenced to 3 months imprisonment. When released, required to post bond for one year. Left Eastern Shore in 1777 to join the British. (See Edmund Johnson, Littleton Ward, Walter Hyslop, James Sandefort).

Roberts, Arthur. *Accomack. Arrested and ordered removed from the Eastern Shore as a possibly dangerous person, 1777. Took oath; discharged. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, II.*

Roberts, Humphrey. *Northampton. Went to Britain for the duration of the war; returned to Virginia at its conclusion. Nottingham, *Land Causes, Accomack County;* Whitelaw, *Virginia's Eastern Shore.*

Rogers, Daniel. Accomack. Merchant (?) Associate of Esau Kellam. Brought to court on a treason charge, June 1778. Found not guilty because of insufficient testimony. Allowed to go free on a recognizance of £5000. At second hearing, July 1778, the commonwealth chose not to prosecute. Indicted by grand jury, November 1778 for having maintained the king's authority. Still at liberty January 1779, when he was requested to be a witness against Thomas Parker. Moved to Delaware before September 1782.

Sanford (Sandefort), James. *Northampton. Charged with being inimical, Feb. 1777. Found guilty, June 1777. Sentenced to three months in the county jail, fined £60. (See Edmund Johnson, Littleton Ward, Walter Hyslop, Dr. John Risch).

Satchel, John. *Northampton. Found guilty of "acting the part of an enemy," Feb. 1777. Free on £500 bond for good behavior as a loyal subject of the state.

Savage, George. *Northampton. Sent provisions, along with Henry Grey, Daniel Hoal, Dr. John Lewis Fulwell, to British commander Collier, May 1779, during the invasion of Norfolk.

▪Savage, William. Maryland/*Accomack?

Scarburgh (Scarborough), Edmund. (bro/o William Sr; son-in-law of Edward Ker). *Accomack. Discussed a scheme with Levin Townsend for kidnapping the Worcester County Committee, 1775 [See Appendix B, part 2].

Scarburgh, William Sr. (f/o William Jr.) *Accomack. Discussed, along with his brother Edmund and Levin Townsend of Worcester County, Maryland a plan for kidnapping the Worcester County committee, 1775. [See Appendix B, part 2]. A confederate of John Collett, he joined the Prince of Wales American Regiment as a private; fought in the southern campaign. Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign, III.*

Scarburgh, William Jr. Accomack. With his father, served as a private in John Collett's company in the Prince of Wales American Regiment. Died 24 April, 1781. Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign, III.*

Sherlock (Sharlock), John. *Accomack. Charged with verbal attacks against Americans: called them rebels and had declared that "he would be employed in hanging them," 1775. Members of the Independent Company gave him a kangaroo trial; he recanted under the liberty pole. No further conflicts with the patriot authorities.

Sterling, Isaac. Northampton/*Accomack? Induced to enter the service of the British by his cousin John Sterling. Subsequently recruited sixty men. In his deposition of February 10, 1778, he said that four other men were actively engaged in recruiting for the British: Caleb Jones (Md.), Isaac Atkinson (Md.), Dr. Rush (?), and Thomas Parker (?). Most of the recruits for these companies came from Sussex, Delaware, while the chief part of his own company came from the Devil's Hand, Dames Quarter and Nanticoke, "many of them worth thousands of pounds." Outlawed by the General Court of the Eastern Shore. Mason, *Region in Revolt.*

†Tait, James. Northampton. Scottish canal-builder and sailworks proprietor; shipped in 1774. Settled at Cabin Point, Va. Refused to take the oath of allegiance. Left the county in 1778 or 1779. One-time manager of a salt works?

Trahern, Obadiah. Accomack. Lived in Somerset County. Among ten men charged, March 1778 with high treason. Maintained innocence; found guilty. (See George Wright, William Pratt, Moses Deane, John Connaway, Benjamin Connaway, Leonard Guerney, John Tull, William Bedworth, Jesse Johnson).

Tull, John. Accomack. Lived in either Somerset of Worcester County. Among ten men charged, March 1778 with high treason. Maintained innocence; found guilty. (See George Wright, William Pratt, Moses Deane, John Connaway, Benjamin Connaway, Leonard Guerney, William Bedworth, Obadiah Trahern, Jesse Johnson).

Upshur, Arthur. Accomack. Merchant. Member of the Accomack Committee, 1774. The only one to break with his colleagues over a charge of violating the Association, October 1775, though eventually reconciled.

Walker, William Banfield. *Accomack. Arrested and ordered removed from the Eastern Shore as a possibly dangerous person, 1777. Took oath; discharged. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, II.*

Ward, Littleton. *Northampton. Large landowner. Charged with being an enemy to the commonwealth, Feb. 1777. Eluded arrest, but brought before justice, April 1777. Confined without bail. Sent home for lack of evidence. Arrested and ordered removed from the Eastern Shore as a possibly dangerous person, October 1777. Took oath; discharged. Captured at Yorktown, 1781, in British service. (See Edmund Johnson, Walter Hyslop, James Sandefort, Dr. John Risch). *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, II.*

Ward, William. *Northampton. Arrested and ordered removed from the Eastern Shore as a possibly dangerous person, 1777. Took oath; discharged. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, II.*

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†Wright, George. Accomack. Among ten men presented to the county court, March 1778 charged with "high treason against the state." Found not guilty, discharged. (See William Pratt, Moses Deane, John Connaway, Benjamin Connaway, Leonard Guerney, John Tull, William Bedworth, Obadiah Trahern, Jesse Johnson).

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