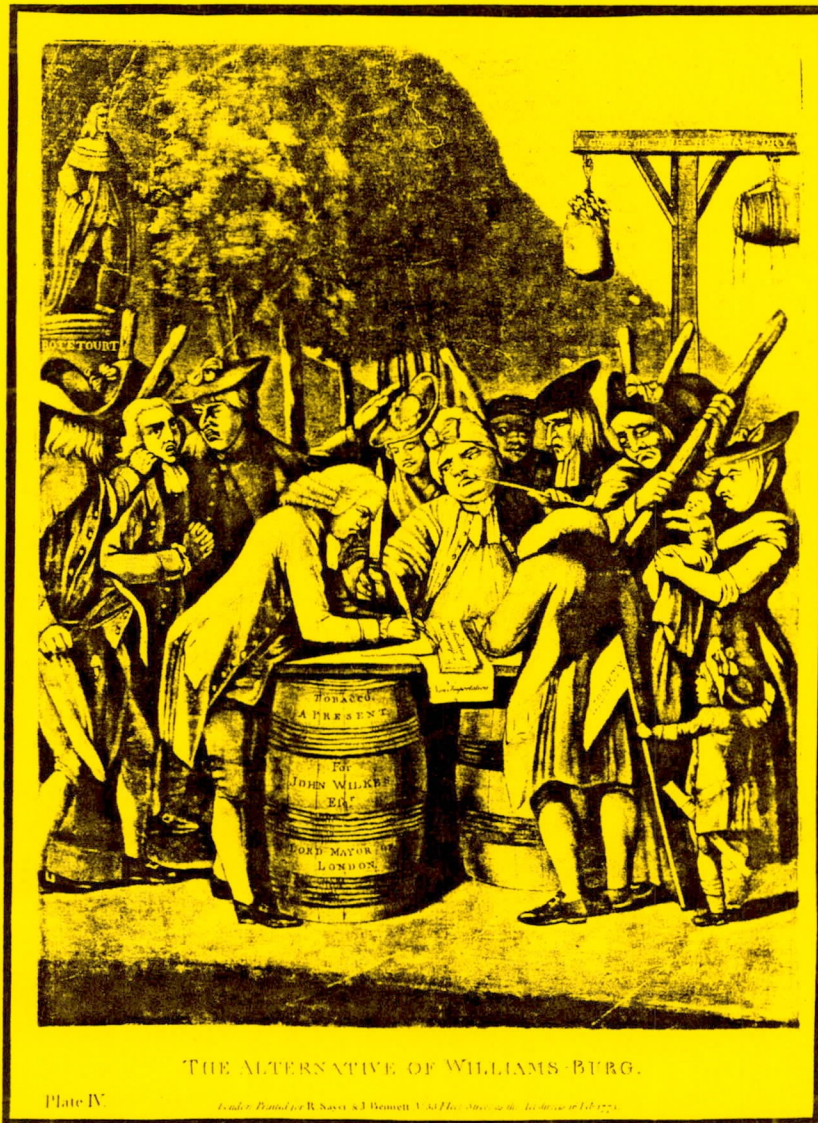


Becoming Americans

Our Struggle to Be Both Free and Equal

People and Revolution



A Choosing Revolution Resource

The Alternative to Williamsburg, attributed to Philip Dawe, black and white mezzotint, England, February 16, 1775. Virginia loyalists are being forced to sign either the Association or the Resolutions drawn up by the Williamsburg Convention of August 1774. The alternative is to be tarred and feathered. (Acc. No. 1960-131). Rebellion and Reconciliation: Satirical Prints of the Revolution at Williamsburg, Joan D. Dolmetsch, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, 1976.

SECTION I

The Lives of Twenty-One Virginians

*Before, During, & After
the American Revolution*

compiled by

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Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

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Introduction

The twenty-one individuals described in the following pages were selected for the range of their experiences around the time of the American Revolution. They also represent many different circumstances: youthful and aged, strong and sickly, free and bound, male and female, European and African, well-to-do, middling, and poor.

Some, like Thomas Jefferson and Peyton Randolph, were obvious choices. These were the leaders who determined the course of the Revolution and the shape of the new United States. Others, such as Ralph Wormeley, Jr., John Rawlinson, and Peter Pelham, embraced or adapted to changes in government. For the likes of Katherine Rathell and John Randolph, rebellion was intolerable: they had to leave.

As usual, less is known about enslaved Virginians than about free people of the time. How Will, Matt, and Aberdeen reacted is unknown, but some possibilities are suggested here. Aggy and Eve, the two slave women dealt with in these pages, made firm decisions about their loyalties, they took a chance on potential freedom rather than remaining with their owners. Gentry and professional women had some part -- tacit or explicit -- in the independence movement and nation building. It is safe to assume that Betty Randolph influenced Virginia politics behind the scenes and unofficially, while the printer Clementina Rind held a very important public office and helped shape public opinion.

AGGY ("Great Aggy"), born 1753, died after 1780; Williamsburg slave woman who fled to Dunmore. Great Aggy was born in 1753 and was baptized at Bruton Parish Church on July 1, 1753. Her son Henry was also baptized at Bruton Parish on August 14, 1768. She was a slave who belonged to Peyton Randolph and was listed as one of the 27 slaves in his Williamsburg household in 1776 where she was valued at £60.¹

In his will dated August 1774 Peyton left Great Aggy and her children to his wife Betty Randolph. In November 1775, when Lord Dunmore issued his Proclamation which offered freedom to slaves who were willing to leave their masters and fight for the British, Great Aggy and her son Henry, along with other Randolph slaves, left the recently widowed Elizabeth ("Betty") Randolph and joined Dunmore. Great Aggy and Henry returned to Williamsburg by the time Elizabeth Randolph wrote her will in June 1780 when she bequeathed Great Aggy and her son Henry to her niece Elizabeth Rickman.² Elizabeth Rickman's husband, William Rickman, was the chief physician for the Continental Hospital and the family lived near Williamsburg in 1780. After the end of the Revolution the Rickmans returned to their home in Weyanoke Parish, Charles City County.

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The Gunpowder Incident, p. 136
 Dunmore's Proclamation, p. 145
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 Slaves and Dunmore, p. 158

¹See Peyton Randolph's will, York County Wills and Inventories 22: 309-310; for his inventory, *ibid.*, pp. 337-341.

²See Elizabeth Randolph's will, York County Wills and Inventories 23:4.

ADAM ALLAN, birth date unknown, died after 1786; stocking maker and Loyalist. Allan immigrated from Britain to America in 1772. By 1775 Allan was living in Williamsburg and had established a stocking manufactory.¹

In January 1776, Allan advertised three stocking frames for sale and added, "I intend to leave the Colony soon."² Less than a month later, he changed his mind and announced his relocation to Fredericksburg, Virginia.³ That manufactory seems to have been a large-scale effort, since he advertised for eight journeymen at one point and four or five more later that year.⁴

Allan joined Lord Dunmore in 1775. After being tarred and feathered in Fredericksburg in 1776, Allan escaped to Philadelphia where he hid until the Royal Army arrived. He was in New Brunswick in 1786.⁵

See Becoming Americans "Choosing Revolution" Resource Book

Loyalists, pp. 155-156

Dunmore Leaves, pp. 151-153

¹*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Dixon and Hunter, February 11, 1775.

²*Ibid.*, January 20, 1776.

³*Ibid.*, February 17, 1776; also ed. Purdie, February 2, 1776 supplement.

⁴*Ibid.*, ed. Dixon and Hunter, March 9, 1776, and September 14, 1776.

⁵PRO AO/13/80/1.

EVE, birth and death dates unknown; slave woman in Randolph household who fled to Dunmore. Eve first appeared in the records when her son George was baptized at Bruton Parish Church on July 6, 1766. Eve, valued at £100, was one of 27 slaves who belonged to the Peyton Randolph household in 1775. There were only three men and Eve who were so highly valued, suggesting that she was of prime age and probably highly skilled.¹ In his will Randolph bequeathed "Eve and her children" to his wife Betty Randolph.² One month after the death of Randolph, Lord Dunmore, on November 7, 1775, issued his Proclamation which "promises freedom to any slaves who desert rebellious masters and who serve in the king's forces."³

On January 5, 1776, Randolph's probate inventory listed eight slaves from the estate, including Eve, as "gone to the enemy."⁴ Apparently by force or choice, Eve had returned to the widow Betty Randolph by October 1780 when Betty gave "Eve and her son George" to her niece in her will of that date.⁵

In July 1782 in a codicil to her will, Betty Randolph stated that "Eve's bad behavior laid me under the necessity of selling her."⁶

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The Gunpowder Incident, p. 136
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 The Gunpowder Incident-cont'd, p. 150
 Slaves and Dunmore, p. 158

¹ York County Wills and Inventories 22: 337-341.

² York County Wills and Inventories 22: 309-310.

³ See Dunmore's Proclamation, Becoming Americans "Choosing Revolution" Resource Book

⁴ York County Wills and Inventories 22: 337-341.

⁵ York County Wills and Inventories 23: 4.

⁶ Ibid.

WILLIAM HUNTER, JR., born 1753 or 1754, died after 1789; printer and Loyalist. The illegitimate son of William Hunter (editor of the *Virginia Gazette*, 1751-1761) and Elizabeth Reynolds, Hunter was apprenticed to Purdie and Dixon to learn printing ca. 1770-1774.¹ John Dixon was his guardian until Hunter turned 21 in late 1774 or early 1775. At that point, Dixon ended his partnership with Alexander Purdie to become Hunter's partner in a printing office and newspaper;² their first joint issue came out on January 7, 1775.³ They remained in business together for four years, when Hunter's Loyalist principles led him to stop publishing.⁴

In June 1781 William Hunter, Jr., joined Cornwallis' forces and left with them for Yorktown. Afterwards he was with the British Army in New York (1781-c.1783) and then Nova Scotia (c.1783-1784). By September 1784 Hunter was working as a journeyman printer in London. His wife had died, and Hunter left his two young sons, several slaves, and a good deal of property in Virginia in the care of their grandfather Rev. Joseph Davenport.⁵ What happened to the boys after 1789 is unknown.⁶

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Loyalists, pp. 155-156

¹York County Wills and Inventories 22: 154-156.

²*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie and Dixon, December 1, 1774.

³*Ibid.*, ed. Dixon and Hunter, January 7, 1775.

⁴*Ibid.*, ed. Dixon and Hunter, December 4, 1778. In his Loyalist memorial in 1787, Hunter stated that he quit the printing business in 1777 because he could not continue according to his principles; PRO 59: 536-544. In 1779 Hunter advertised general merchandise for sale; *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Dixon and Nicolson, October 16, 1779. Even though he confessed he owned no type, Hunter petitioned the General Assembly to be elected public printer in May 1779, but Clarkson and Davis were chosen instead; *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1779, pp. 5, 37.

⁵PRO 59: 536-544.

⁶In September 1784 Hunter described his family as consisting of "an aged Mother and two Children"; PRO 13: 31-32. The deed of trust between Hunter and his father-in-law Davenport is dated July 1782; York County Deeds 6: 121. Rev. Joseph Davenport's will placed the boys in the care of his wife and son William; York County Wills and Inventories 23: 166.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1743-1826; author and Signer of Declaration of Independence, second governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, third President of the United States, founder of the University of Virginia, and author of the Statute for Religious Freedom. Thomas Jefferson was born on April 13, 1743, at Shadwell in Albemarle County to Jane Randolph Jefferson and Peter Jefferson, surveyor, landowner, mapmaker, and vestryman. Thomas was the third of ten children.

From the late 1740s to 1752, he was privately tutored with his sister and cousins at the one-room school house at Tuckahoe Plantation. In 1752 he attended the Latin School of the Rev. William Douglas. Jefferson's father died in 1757 at the age of 49, and Thomas, being the oldest son, inherited 7,000 acres and 75 slaves from his father's estate. From 1758 to 1760 he studied under the Rev. James Maury.

For two years, 1760-62, Jefferson attended the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg enrolled in the school of philosophy under Dr. William Small. Jefferson later wrote:

"It was my great good fortune, and what probably fixed the destinies of my life that Dr. Wm. Small of Scotland was then professor of Mathematics, a man profound in most of the useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communication, correct and gentlemanly manners, & an enlarged & liberal mind . . . He returned to Europe in 1762, having previously filled up the measure of his goodness to me, by procuring for me, from his most intimate friend G. Wythe, a reception as a student of law, under his direction, and introduced me to the acquaintance and familiar table of Governor Fauquier, the ablest man who ever filled that office."¹

Jefferson studied law under George Wythe in Williamsburg from 1762 to 1765. During this period Jefferson enjoyed the company of friends, male and female, especially Rebecca Burwell, his "fair Belinda," with whom he danced at the Apollo Room at the Raleigh Tavern. Also, he was a frequent customer at the Printing Office. In May, June, and July 1766 he traveled to Annapolis, Philadelphia, and New York, and was inoculated against the smallpox by Dr. William Shippen of Philadelphia.

Jefferson was a planter as well as a public servant for his parish, county, colony, and later commonwealth during the years 1760 to 1780 when he was often in Williamsburg. In 1766 he was appointed justice of the peace for Albemarle County. In February 1767 he took his first case as a General Court lawyer. Practice in the General Court prevented Virginia lawyers to

¹Thomas Jefferson, Autobiography, The Library of America, p. 4.

practice law at the county court level.² At age 31 in 1774 he turned over his law practice to Edmund Randolph, never again to appear in court as a lawyer.

On May 8, 1769, Jefferson took his seat in the General Assembly as a newly-elected burgess from Albemarle County and was made a member of the committees of Privileges and Elections and Propositions and Grievances. When Governor Botetourt dissolved the House of Burgesses in May 1769, Jefferson met with 88 former burgesses at the Raleigh Tavern and the next day he signed the Non-Importation Agreement against Great Britain. Jefferson in his *Autobiography* wrote:

"In 1769, I became a member of the legislature by the choice of the county in which I live, & continued in that body until it was closed by the Revolution. I made one effort in that body for the permission of the emancipation of slaves, which was rejected; and indeed, during the regal government, nothing liberal could expect success. Our Minds were circumscribed within narrow limits by an habitual belief that it was our duty to be subordinate to the mother country in all matters of government, to direct all our labors in subservience to her interests, and even to observe a bigoted intolerance for all religions but hers."³

In 1769 Jefferson began building Monticello on a mountaintop that was part of Peter Jefferson's original landholding. On February 22, 1770, the *Virginia Gazette* reported that "We hear from Albemarle County that about a fortnight ago [February 1] the house [Shadwell] of Thomas Jefferson, Esq., in that county was burnt to the ground, together with all his furniture, books, papers and by which that Gentleman sustains a very great loss."⁴

Two years later, on January 1, 1772, Jefferson married Martha Wayles Skelton. Their marriage lasted for ten years until Martha's death. During that period they had six children, of whom only two daughters survived infancy. In 1773 upon the death of Martha's father, John Wayles, Jefferson came into the possession of 11,000 acres of land and 135 slaves. He was compelled to sell over half the land to meet the debts of Wayles.

In April 1770 Jefferson took the case of Samuel Howell (*gratis*), a mulatto servant suing for his freedom; *Howell vs Netherland*:

² Frank Dewey, *Thomas Jefferson Lawyer* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986).

³ Thomas Jefferson, *Autobiography*, p. 5.

⁴ *Virginia Gazette*, February 22, 1770.

"facts stated by the counsel for both parties, which were, that the plaintiff's grandmother was a mulatto, begotten of a white woman by a negro man, after the year 1705, and bound by the church wardens, under the law of that date, to serve to the age of 31. That after the year 1723, but during her servitude, she was delivered of the plaintiff's mother, who, during her servitude, to wit, in 1742, was delivered of the plaintiff, and he again was sold by the person to whom his grandmother was bound, to the defendant, who now claims his service be till 31 years of age."⁵

On October 15, 1770, Lord Botetourt died; and in July of 1771 Jefferson attended the meeting of the Assembly called by acting Governor William Nelson. Lord Dunmore arrived in Williamsburg the following September. In June 1771 Jefferson declined reappointment as a justice of the peace for Albemarle County. From March 4-15 Jefferson attended the General Assembly and met with Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Francis Lightfoot Lee at the Raleigh Tavern to discuss plans for a Committee of Correspondence.

Again in May, 1774, he attended a session of the General Assembly where he learned on March 13 of the passage of the Boston Port Act by Parliament that closed the port of Boston. Jefferson, George Mason, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Francis Lightfoot Lee met at the Capitol to draw up plans for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer to show support for the Bostonians, which took place on June 1, 1774. As a result, Dunmore dissolved the Assembly on May 26 triggering "the late representatives of the people" to reassemble in the Raleigh Tavern and enter into a General Association against the East India Company. Jefferson's signature appeared on the document.

In August 1774 Jefferson was elected as a delegate to the First Convention of Delegates in Williamsburg. He could not attend because of illness, but he wrote his proposed instructions for Virginia's delegates to the First Continental Congress. The document was not approved, but was published later under the title *A Summary Review of the Rights of British America*. In the document Jefferson argued that:

"The God who gave us life and liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them. This sire, is our last, our determined resolution; and that you will be pleased to interpose with that efficacy which your earnest endeavors may ensure to procure redress of these our great grievances, to quiet the minds of your subjects in British America, against any apprehensions of future encroachments, to establish fraternal love and harmony through the whole empire, and that these may continue to the latest ages of time, is the fervent prayer of all

⁵Dewey, op. cit.

British America!"⁶

Between March 20 and 27, 1775, Jefferson attended the Second Convention of Delegates at St. John's Church in Richmond where Patrick Henry delivered his "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" speech. After the Battle of Lexington and Concord and the Gunpowder Incident in Williamsburg from June 1-24, 1775, Jefferson attended what turned out to be that last session of the House of Burgesses. At that session he was chosen to replace Peyton Randolph in Philadelphia at the Continental Congress, so that Randolph could return to Williamsburg to preside over this last meeting of the Assembly.

On August 26, 1775, Jefferson arrived in Richmond two weeks late for the third Convention of Delegates because of his participation in the Continental Congress. On August 11, this Convention elected Jefferson a regular delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress and granted him a leave of absence from the rest of the Virginia Convention. From late August through December 1775 Jefferson attended the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

In May 1776 Jefferson again traveled to Philadelphia to attend the Second Continental Congress. During that period the Fifth Virginia Convention of Delegates met in Williamsburg to adopt Edmund Pendleton's Resolution for Independence, George Mason's Declaration of Rights, and Virginia's Constitution.

"IN CONGRESS, Friday June 7, 1776. The delegates from Virginia moved in obedience to instructions from their constituents that the Congress should declare that these United colonies are & of right ought to be free & independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them & the state of Great Britain is, & ought to be totally dissolved;..."⁷

On June 11, 1776, Jefferson was appointed to a committee to draft a declaration of independence, and he became the primary author of Congress's Declaration. On June 28 the draft was submitted to Congress. From July 2 to 4 Congress debated the Declaration, and the Declaration of Independence was agreed upon by the Continental Congress. In September Jefferson returned to Monticello.

From October 7 through December 21 Jefferson represented Albemarle County in Virginia's new House of Delegates which met in Williamsburg where he apparently stayed with George Wythe. Thomas Jefferson, along with George Wythe and Edmund Pendleton, were appointed to work on a general revision of the laws for the Commonwealth; their report was submitted in June 1779, but never acted on in its entirety.

⁶*A Summary Review of the Rights of British America.*

⁷From resolution presented by Richard Henry Lee.

From May 5 through June 28, 1777, he again represented Albemarle in the House of Delegates session, but returned to Monticello for the birth of his son, who only lived a few days. During the session he drafted three bills which did not pass for "the general diffusion of knowledge," reforming the College of William and Mary, and establishing a state library.

In May, and again between October 5 and December 9, 1778, Jefferson attended the sessions of the House of Delegates in Williamsburg. Once more in May 1779 he represented Albemarle County in the House of Delegates.

On June 1, 1779, Jefferson was elected the second governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Four days later Jefferson's bill for establishing religious freedom was introduced into the General Assembly, but the final version was not passed until January 16, 1786. Jefferson was born an Anglican and served as a vestryman for a time in his home parish. Later he was considered a Deist by some, but he called himself a Christian.

At the same session on June 4, 1779, the Assembly passed the bill for removing the seat of government from Williamsburg to Richmond. As governor he was also a member of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary which abolished the Grammar and Divinity Schools, but added the new schools of Law and Police; Anatomy, Medicine, and Chemistry; and Modern Languages. In the fall of 1779 he probably moved into the Governor's Palace with his wife and children. In April 1780 the new seat of government was established in Richmond.

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- The Stamp Act, p. 11.
- The Robinson Scandal, p. 53.
- The Case of Colonel Chiswell, p. 55.
- Association of 1770, p. 74.
- Boston Port Bill, p. 97
- Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, p. 99
- Second Virginia Convention, p. 131
- The Gunpowder Incident, p.136
- Dunmore's Proclamation, p. 145
- Oath of Allegiance, p. 156
- The Fifth Convention, p. 174
- Virginia Resolves, May 15, 1776, p. 176
- Virginia Declaration of Rights, p. 180
- The Virginia Constitution, p. 186
- Capital Moved to Richmond, p. 197

JOHNNY (John Harris), born by 1744, died after 1777; slave and runaway. Johnny was a slave in the Randolph household who ran errands for Peyton in 1760s. He bought sealing wax and paper at the *Virginia Gazette* office and received a payment of £0..3..9 from William Marshman, Governor Botetourt's butler, in April 1769.

In his will dated August 1774 and proved November 1775, Peyton Randolph left "my man Johnny" to his nephew Edmund Randolph. He was one of 117 slaves owned by Peyton Randolph, and in July 1776 he was appraised at £100.¹ In December 1777 Edmund Randolph offered a reward for the return of Johnny who had runaway. He noted that he would

"give a reward of five dollars, besides what the law allows, to any person who will apprehend Johnny, otherwise called John Harris, a mulatto man slave who formerly waited upon my uncle, the late Peyton Randolph, Esq.; and secure him, so that I may get him again. He took with him, when he went away, a green broadcloth great coat, and a new crimson waistcoat and breeches, a light coloured Bath coating great coat, a pair of old crimson cloth breeches, and some changes of clothes. He is about five feet seven or eight inches high, wears straight hair, cut in his neck, is much addicted to drinking, has grey eyes, can read and write tolerably well, and may probably endeavour to pass for a freeman. The above reward of five dollars will be given if he is taken in Virginia, but five pounds, besides what the law allows, will be paid to any person who apprehends him out of Virginia, and conveys him to me."²

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Address of the House of Burgesses to the King in Opposition to the Slave Trade (April 1, 1772). p. 82.

The Gunpowder Incident, p. 136.

Dunmore's Proclamation, p. 145.

¹York County Wills and Inventories 22: 309-310, 337-341.

²*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie, December 12, 1771.

MATT and ABERDEEN, birth and death dates unknown; slaves at the Printing Office in Williamsburg. References to these African Americans are scarce. We know that Matt was appraised at £80 in 1761 as part of the estate of William Hunter, Sr.¹ By 1766 both Matt and Aberdeen were among the property held by the partnership between the late Joseph Royle and William Hunter, Jr. (while the latter was still under age).²

Since Matt was valued at such a high figure, he was undoubtedly a healthy adult; and both he and Aberdeen may have been very skilled workers in the printing office. A letter from Alexander Purdie to George Webb, for example, indicates that black men were often employed as pressmen.³ While we have no specific information on the duties Matt and Aberdeen carried out, it is interesting to speculate on two slaves working in the world of information, politics, and letters. Were they literate? How did they receive the political news of the day? How did they feel about phrases like the colonies being the "slaves" of Great Britain? What was their reaction to Dunmore's Proclamation? Did they join him or run away from their master or choose to stay in Williamsburg?

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Dunmore's Proclamation, p. 145

¹York County Wills and Inventories 21: 79-82.

²Ibid., pp. 271-276.

³Alexander Purdie to George Webb, October 10, 1778, in Earl Gregg Swem, *A Bibliography of Virginia*, Appendix I: *Documents Relating to Alexander Purdie, Public Printer*, p. 1064.

ROBERT CARTER NICHOLAS, born by 1729, died by 1780; lawyer, Treasurer of the colony, and jurist. Nicholas was the son of George Nicholas, an immigrant physician, and Elizabeth Carter Burwell Nicholas, the granddaughter of Robert "King" Carter. Orphaned at six years of age, Nicholas was brought up by his uncle John Carter at Shirley Plantation. He was educated at the College of William and Mary. In 1750 he was licensed as an attorney and began to practice law in Williamsburg. By 1761 he had married Anne Cary and they had at least four children.

In 1750 he was appointed to Williamsburg's Common Council, beginning his life as a public servant. Four years later he became a member of the vestry of Bruton Parish Church. In 1755 he was elected to the House of Burgesses by the freeholders of York County. From 1756 to 1762 Nicholas served as Overseer of the Treasury Notes for the colony. In 1757 he was made mayor of Williamsburg, and in 1761 he was appointed a member of the Board of Visitors for the College of William and Mary. With his move from the Robert Carter House on Palace Green (within York County) to another house in Williamsburg in James City County, he was elected to the House of Burgesses from James City County in 1765. In 1767 he was appointed Justice of the Peace for James City County.

John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses and Treasurer of the Colony for almost thirty years, died on May 11, 1766. After his death it became clear that Robinson's treasury accounts were in arrears £100,000. It was obvious that Robinson had not retired the Virginia paper currency that had been issued during the French and Indian War as was required, but had "advanced large sums of money to assist and relieve his friends." Many freeholders throughout Virginia protested that the offices of Speaker and Treasurer should be separated for the future integrity of the Burgesses. In November 1766 Robert Carter Nicholas, a leader of the "responsible persuasion announced for treasurer." He was named treasurer in November 1766 and proceeded to call in debts from all of those Virginians who were indebted to the Robinson estate. Nicholas served as treasurer from 1766 until December 1776. During this period he continued to practice law while performing the duties of a public servant of the parish, city, county, college, and colony.

Nicholas had been made chairman of the Committee on Religion for the House of Burgesses. In the spring of 1773 he successfully opposed the appointment of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Henley as rector of Bruton Parish Church, which brought him into conflict with the Randolph family who supported Henley. Treasurer Nicholas also served as the administrator of the Bray School for Negroes.

Robert Carter Nicholas, persuaded by a few liberal members of the House of Burgesses who thought Virginians should protest the Boston Port Act, introduced the resolution calling for "a day of general fasting and prayer" in the House of Burgesses where it passed without opposition. The passage of the resolution forced Lord Dunmore to dissolve the House. Members of the House marched into the church to observe the day the Boston Port Act was to be put into effect on June 1, 1774.

As Virginia moved toward revolution, Robert Carter Nicholas represented James City County at the Virginia Convention on March 20, 1775, and on August 1, 1775, he was elected President of the Virginia Convention. In the debate over independence in the House of Burgesses, Nicholas opposed the resolution until Edmund Pendleton modified it. On May 15, 1776, the House resolved unanimously to "declare the United Colonies free and independent states" thereby severing all relations with Great Britain.¹

On December 20, 1776, Robert Carter Nicholas resigned as treasurer. He continued to serve as a Justice of the Peace of James City County. Nicholas took the oath as a judge of the High Court of Chancery on April 16, 1778. He died two years later in November 1780.

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The Stamp Act, p. 11.
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¹Brent Tarter, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia. The Road to Independence*, Vol. VII, Part One, pp. 140-148.

PETER PELHAM, born 1721, died ca. 1805; musician, clerk, and jailer. Pelham was a man of many talents. Born in England, he and his father moved to Boston in 1726. There he studied music and became organist at Trinity Church. (Pelham was the stepbrother of the artist John Singleton Copley through his father's marriage to Copley's widowed mother.)

Peter Pelham lived in several cities and towns before settling in Williamsburg. From correspondence and the family's Bible we know they lived in Boston in 1747-48; in Hampton, Virginia, 1750-1752; in Suffolk, 1754; and in Williamsburg by the mid-1750s.¹

In 1755 he not only set up the new organ ordered from England for Bruton Parish Church, but was "unanimously appointed and chosen organist."² As a member of the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons, Pelham played the organ at the funeral of fellow Mason and *Virginia Gazette* publisher William Rind.³ He taught young ladies to play the harpsichord and spinet, and served as music director when *The Beggar's Opera* was first performed in the city.⁴

Pelham and his wife Ann had fourteen children, some of whom died in infancy. Like many artists then and now, Pelham's music gifts did not always generate enough income to maintain his large family. He supplemented his income by serving as clerk to committees of the House of Burgesses as well as to governors Fauquier and Botetourt⁵ and as Public Gaoler (1771-1779)⁶. Until he left Williamsburg in 1802, however, "the modern Orpheus—the inimitable Pelham" continued as church organist and gave weekly concerts to the delight of many inhabitants.⁷ Pelham, although he had been associated with royal governors and had held

¹Most of the Pelham family data, especially birth dates, comes from *Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739-1776* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1914).

²John C. McCabe, "Sketches of Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, Virginia," *American Ecclesiastical History*, January 1856, p. 615.

³*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie and Dixon, August 26, 1773.

⁴*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie and Dixon, May 26, 1768.

⁵*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie and Dixon, April 19, 1770; *ibid.*, ed. Rind, April 19, 1770;

⁶*Journal of the House of Burgesses*, vol. 12, p. 130.

⁷"Journal of Alexander Macaulay," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., vol. 11 (1902-1903): 186. This traveler's account dates from 1783.

colonial office, made a smooth transition to private citizen and patriot.

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- The Stamp Act, p. 11.
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- Second Virginia Convention, p. 131
- The Gunpowder Incident, p. 136
- Dunmore's Proclamation, p. 145
- Oath of Allegiance, p. 156
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EDMUND PENDLETON, 1721-1803, conservative patriot and Virginia jurist. Left an orphan in infancy, Pendleton was apprenticed to the clerk of court in his native Caroline County at age 14. Within six years he was admitted to practice law in the county court and had previously filled the clerkships of his parish vestry and of the Caroline court martial. By age 24, Pendleton qualified to practice before the General Court.

From 1752, when he was first elected to the House of Burgesses for Caroline County, he played a very active role in the House. Pendleton maintained a friendship with Speaker John Robinson, a relationship that greatly helped the young lawyer's legislative career. (The clerk to whom Pendleton had been apprenticed was related to Robinson.) When Robinson died in 1766, Pendleton was named one of the executors of his estate, a last service to his friend that kept the young burgess occupied for the next twenty years due to Robinson's indiscreet loans from the colony's treasury.

As a conservative, Pendleton opposed Patrick Henry and other "young hot, and giddy members" in the House. (As it happened, Pendleton did not attend the session that approved Henry's Stamp Act resolves.) When the conflict with England deepened, Pendleton emerged as a patriot leader, serving on the Committee of Correspondence, as delegate to the first Continental Congress, and as president of the Virginia Convention in 1775 (while Peyton Randolph presided in Congress). After Lord Dunmore fled in June 1775, the August Convention named Pendleton and ten others as the Committee of Safety that governed Virginia until the reestablishment of regular government. He was the president of the Committee of Safety as well as of the Virginia Convention. Always moderate, Pendleton brought both prestige and learning to those bodies and helped to create a climate in which many important decisions were reached unanimously.

Pendleton became the Speaker of the House of Delegates for one year, but a fall from a horse ended his career as a legislator and left him crippled for the rest of his life. Thereafter, he served on the Commonwealth's high courts. With George Wythe and Robert Carter Nicholas, Pendleton was appointed judge of the new Chancery Court in 1777 and as president of the supreme court of appeals. Pendleton presided over the 1788 Virginia Convention that ratified the Constitution. In 1803, the distinguished jurist and legislator died at the age of 82.

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- The Robinson Scandal, p. 53.
- Second Virginia Convention, p. 131
- Oath of Allegiance, p. 156
- The Fifth Convention, p. 174
- Virginia Resolves, May 15, 1776, p. 176
- Virginia Declaration of Rights, p. 180
- The Virginia Constitution, p. 186
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ALEXANDER PURDIE, born by 1743, died 1779; editor, public printer, and postmaster. Probably a Scottish immigrant, Purdie was working in Joseph Royle's Printing Office by 1764 and possibly earlier.

In June 1766 Purdie went into partnership with John Dixon. Together they had "purchased all the materials, stock in trade, &c. belonging to . . . Hunter and . . . Royle."¹ In 1767 their rival, William Rind, was appointed public printer.² Purdie finally achieved that office after both William and Clementina Rind died.³ In October 1775 he was also appointed postmaster.⁴

Dixon ended his alliance with Purdie in 1775 (because William Hunter, Jr. had come of age at that time and came into his half of the business). Purdie continued on his own. Purdie's politics were conservative, especially so while in partnership with Dixon; later when publishing solo, Purdie was a somewhat guarded voice favoring the patriots' cause.

Purdie's wife Mary died in March 1772, leaving him with four young sons.⁵ Before the year was out, Alexander Purdie had married Peachy Davenport, who was well connected locally and owned property of her own.⁶ Together they maintained a respectable upper-middling household.⁷

¹*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie and Dixon, June 20, 1766.

²*Ibid.*, ed. Purdie and Dixon, November 27, 1766.

³*Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1773-1776*, p. 196; *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie, June 9, 1775.

⁴*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie, October 13, 1775.

⁵W. A. R. Goodwin, *Historical Sketch of Bruton Church* (Petersburg, Va.: Franklin Press Co., 1903), p. 96.

⁶*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, December 31, 1772; York County Deeds 7: 352-353; Deeds 8: 306-308. The earlier deed of May 1773 shows that the property had been purchased by Peachy Davenport.

⁷In 1776 Purdie paid for 15 tithables and 2 riding chairs; York County Orders and Bonds 4(1774-1784): 127. The advertisement for the sale of his estate mentioned several luxury items, including 130 ounces of silver, "a neat *Italian* riding chair and harness, and nine slaves, amongst them a carpenter, gardener, and cook"; *Virginia Gazette*, May 8, 1779. At his death his estate was appraised at £11,705. 14.. 0; York County Wills and Inventories 22: 437-442.

Alexander Purdie died April 16, 1779, after "a tedious and painful illness."⁸ He left bequests to his wife Peachy; a nephew; three sons James, Hugh, and Alexander (William, his youngest, had died since 1772); and friends and executors John Minson Galt and Robert Anderson.⁹

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The Stamp Act, p. 11.
The Robinson Scandal, p. 53.
The Case of Colonel Chiswell, p. 55.
Association of 1770, p. 74.
Boston Port Bill, p. 97
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Oath of Allegiance, p. 156
The Fifth Convention, p. 174
Virginia Resolves, May 15, 1776, p. 176
Virginia Declaration of Rights, p. 180
The Virginia Constitution, p. 186

⁸*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Dixon and Hunter, April 16, 1779.

⁹York County Wills and Inventories 22: 419-421.

EDMUND RANDOLPH, 1753-1813, first attorney general of Virginia and first U. S. attorney general. Edmund Randolph was the son of Ariana Jennings Randolph, daughter of the Attorney General of Maryland, and John Randolph, who was the son of Sir John Randolph and younger brother of Peyton. In 1776 he married Elizabeth Nicholas, daughter of Robert Carter Nicholas and Ann Cary Nicholas. It was an unlikely marriage as the Nicholas and Randolph families had long had their political and religious differences. They had at least six children.

Randolph attended the Grammar School and the School of Philosophy at the College of William and Mary where he was elected a "student ship" for excellent scholarship. He studied law and in 1774 his cousin, Thomas Jefferson, retired from the practice of law and turned his clients over to Randolph. Edmund at age 21 was elected to the House of Burgesses in May 1774 while Virginia was still of colony of Great Britain.

In 1775 Edmund Randolph's father, John, declared himself a loyalist and returned to England with the other members of Edmund's family. The only evidence of the tension that existed between Edmund and his father as the colonies moved to war with Great Britain is a letter from Benjamin Harrison to General George Washington written July 21, 1775. In it Harrison reported that Edmund was in Philadelphia seeking support for his effort to become an aide to Washington. Harrison noted that Edmund made his decision to join the army at Boston without consulting anyone and that he did so because he feared "his father's conduct may lessen him in the esteem of his country men." By joining the rebel army Edmund felt his loyalty to the colonist's cause would not be questioned.

His father's reaction to Edmund's drastic act is summed up in a line from a letter he wrote his son in August 1775: "For God's Sake, return to your Family & indeed to yourself."

At about the same time Edmund was appointed Muster Master General of the Continental Army of the Southern District by the Continental Congress, and then became aide-de-camp to General Washington, and Judge of Admiralty. In 1776 he was elected to represent Williamsburg in the Fifth Virginia Convention where he was appointed to the committee charged with drafting the Virginia Declaration of Rights and Virginia's Constitution.

The Convention elected Randolph Attorney General of the Commonwealth in 1776, a position which he held until 1786. In addition to being Attorney General, he served as the Clerk of the House of Delegates, 1778-1779, and was a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1779 and again from 1781 to 1786. He was also mayor of Williamsburg, a member of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, and Justice of the Peace for James City County at times during this period. From 1786 to 1788 he was elected Governor of Virginia during which time he also served as a Delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and was a Delegate to the Virginia Ratification Convention in 1788.

From 1789 to 1794 Edmund Randolph served as the first Attorney General of the United States. During President Washington's second term, Edmund Randolph served as the Secretary of State.

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- The Gunpowder Incident, p. 136
- Dunmore's Proclamation, p. 145
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ELIZABETH ("BETTY") HARRISON RANDOLPH, ca. 1723-1783; Williamsburg housewife and political hostess. Elizabeth Randolph was the daughter of Colonel Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley Plantation (justice and a member of the House of Burgesses) and his wife Anne Carter Harrison, granddaughter of Robert "King" Carter. "Betty" had six brothers and three sisters. Her father and sister Hannah died in 1745 in an accident recorded in the *Maryland Gazette*, August 16, 1745:

"Last Friday Evening [July 23, 1745] a most terrible Accident happened in Charles City County; when a violent Thunder gust arose, and the Lightning struck the House of Col. Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley, which kill'd him and his two youngest daughters.¹ He lived some Minutes; but tho' a Vein was opened by Dr. Monger (who happened to be on the Spot, and was knock'd down by Lightning, but received little Damage), it proved in vain, and he expired without speaking a word."²

In March 1745/6 Elizabeth married Peyton Randolph of Williamsburg, who was then the Attorney General of Virginia. They had no children. His mother, Lady Susannah Randolph, lived with them in their Nicholson Street house for about ten years. John Blair in 1751 wrote in his diary that "Mrs Bride, Mrs. Grimes, Mrs. Burwell, Mrs. Atto. &c., visited Mrs. Blair who could not go to church" and that "The Govr, his lady and Mrs. Dinwiddie, Mr. Attorney and his lady, the Councilr and his lady dined and supped with us this day."

In 1766 her husband, Peyton Randolph, was elected Speaker of the House of Burgesses, increasing her responsibilities as a household manager and hostess. As the Revolution approached, Peyton Randolph's participation in the Virginia Conventions in Richmond and the Continental Congresses in Philadelphia put greater demands on both of their lives. In August 1775 she traveled with her husband to Philadelphia for the meeting of the Second Continental Congress where Peyton was again elected its president.

Peyton Randolph died in Philadelphia on October 22, 1775, just as the revolutionary crisis was escalating in all of the colonies. His will left

"my beloved wife my dwelling house, lots & the outhouses thereto belonging in the city of Williamsburg, with the furniture of the same, & also my chariot & horses & all her wearing apparel rings & jewels, all which estates real & personal I give to her heirs, excrs., & adrs. I give to my sd wife also Little Aggy & her

¹ It is interesting that Lucy, one of the daughters who supposedly died, lived a long life, mostly in England. She married twice, had an illegitimate child by another man, went into business as a milliner, and stayed in England at the time of the Revolution.

²*The Maryland Gazette*, August 16, 1745.

children Lucy & her children to her & her heirs forever."³

He made her his executrix as well. Shortly after Peyton's death Elizabeth Randolph found that eight of Randolph's household slaves had fled to Dunmore under the terms of his Proclamation. As a widow of the Speaker of the House of Burgesses and a resident of Williamsburg, she undoubtedly knew of the passage of the Virginia Resolves of May 15, 1776, and the adoption of the Virginia Declaration of Rights and the Virginia Constitution. She did not escape the consequences of the war itself as St. George Tucker wrote his wife that

"The small pox, which the hellish polling of these infamous wretches [the British troops] has spread in every place thro' which they have passed has obtained a Crisis through the place so that there is scarcely a person to be found well enough to nurse those who are most afflicted by it. Your old friend Aunt Betty, is in that situation. A child of Sir Peyton Skipwiths who is with her was deserted by it's nurse and the good old Lady was left without a human being to assist her in any respect for some Days."⁴

In 1781 she loaned her home to French commander Comte De Rochambeau to use as his headquarters in the planning of the upcoming Battle at Yorktown.

Elizabeth Randolph died on February 17, 1783. By her will her property descended to Edmund Randolph and to members of her own family.

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The Stamp Act, p. 11.
 The Robinson Scandal, p. 53.
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 Virginia Resolves, May 15, 1776, p. 176
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³York County Wills and Inventories 22: 309-310.

⁴St. George Tucker's Correspondence, July 1781.

PEYTON RANDOLPH, 1721-1775; lawyer, speaker of the House of Burgesses, and president of the Continental Congress. Peyton Randolph was the son of Sir John Randolph and Susannah Beverly Randolph of Williamsburg. Like his father Sir John, Peyton was a student at the College of William and Mary and studied law at Gray's Inn in London. He was admitted to the bar in 1743. Peyton married Elizabeth (Betty) Randolph of Berkeley Plantation in Charles City County. No children were born to Peyton and Betty.

At age 23 Peyton was appointed Attorney General of Virginia. His father, Sir John, had been Attorney General briefly, and then held the positions of Speaker of the House and Treasurer simultaneously. In 1748 he began his long career in the House of Burgesses when he was elected to the House representing the City of Williamsburg. The next year he was appointed a vestryman of Bruton Parish. In 1753 he was appointed agent in London for the House of Burgesses to plead the burgesses' case in the Pistole Fee dispute with Governor Dinwiddie. In 1756 he assumed command of a force of "Associators" to lend military assistance to Colonel Washington in the French and Indian War. The College of William and Mary appointed Randolph rector of the Board of Visitors in 1757 when he was also chosen to be the chairman of the committee of privileges and elections.

In 1766, after the death of John Robinson and the full revelation of the treasury scandal, the double office of Speaker and Treasurer that Randolph had expected to receive, was divided to avoid the concentration of too much power in the hands of a single individual. Peyton Randolph was elected Speaker of the House of Burgesses while his rival, Robert Carter Nicholas, was made Treasurer. Randolph held the most important position of Speaker until his death in 1775. During those nine years in the House critical issues were debated and acted upon that later culminated in the Revolution.

The years leading up to the Revolution saw Peyton Randolph as an active patriot. As the colonies moved toward a break with England, Randolph was made Chairman of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence in 1773 and Chairman of the First Virginia Convention the next year. In August 1774 he was chosen as delegate to the Continental Congress and was then unanimously elected on the first ballot to be its president.

In April 1775 Randolph's name was on a black list of leading rebels making him subject to arrest and execution. He also served as the president of the Second Continental Congress in May 1775. When he returned to Williamsburg from Philadelphia troops rode out to safely escort him into town. A statement read the following day ended with "MAY HEAVEN GRANT YOU LONG TO LIVE THE FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY, AND THE FRIEND TO FREEDOM AND HUMANITY."

During the final months of Randolph's life his time was spent between Williamsburg, Richmond, and Philadelphia attending to the business of both the Convention of Delegates and the Continental Congress. His untimely death in Philadelphia on October 22, 1775, was not

only a blow to his family and friends, but to the colony on the verge of political freedom.¹

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The Stamp Act, p. 11.

The Robinson Scandal, p. 53.

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Association of 1770, p. 74.

Boston Port Bill, p. 97

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¹There was a state funeral and burial for Peyton Randolph in Philadelphia on October 23, 1775. His nephew, Edmund Randolph, brought the body of Peyton back to Williamsburg, where it was interred beneath the Chapel in the Wren Building at the College of William and Mary. Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*, November 29, 1776, records that as the coffin was lowered into the crypt "spectators payd their last tribute of tears to the memory of their departed and much honored friend . . . to whom he was a father, an able counsellor and one of their firmest patriots."

KATHERINE RATHELL, by 1748-1775, milliner and merchant. This English trades woman plied her trade in London, Annapolis, Fredericksburg, Williamsburg, and Petersburg. Her preference for towns might have derived from her London origins, but given her occupation of milliner, towns were the only practical business locations for her.

In Williamsburg by 1765, Rathell brought a letter of recommendation to Councillor Robert Carter from an English merchant. Her first *Virginia Gazette* advertisement said she was "Lately arrived from London, [and] at present in Fredericksburg."¹ During the late 1760s she shuttled back and forth between shops in Annapolis and Williamsburg. She also took at least one trip back to England, maintaining professional and personal ties there.

In 1771 Rathell rented the Ayscough House in Capitol Square, a location for which she felt she had to apologize. "As it was impossible to get a House on the Main Street, . . . [she hoped] the little Distance will make no Difference to her Customers."² Early in the next year she tried to turn this site off the beaten path into an asset: her shop was open evenings when the General Assembly was in session. Burgesses did not give her enough business, apparently, because as soon as possible she moved to Duke of Gloucester Street across from the Raleigh Tavern. At the time, according to her ads, she was living in Petersburg and came to Williamsburg only during Court Days. The rest of the year, her resident manager, Margaret Brodie, ran the millinery shop.³ Non-importation associations during this period certainly caused difficulties for all milliners since they, by definition, dealt in manufactured goods shipped from England.

Rathell's life ended tragically. Returning to England in late 1775, Katherine Rathell was shipwrecked and drowned within sight of Liverpool, her destination.⁴

¹*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie, April 18, 1766.

²*Ibid.*, October 10, 1771.

³*Ibid.*, October 22, 1772. In 1776 Margaret Brodie married Peter Mathews, an English merchant living in Hampton, Virginia. According to Mathews's Loyalist petition, his wife inherited a millinery business and had £2,000 Sterling at the time of their marriage.

Peter Mathews was appointed assistant quartermaster general in the British Army in 1779; later he became lieutenant in the Corps of Guides and Pioneers. Early in the war, Mathews escaped to New York from Virginia.

At war's end he, his wife, and their two daughters moved to Jamaica. Mathews died during a hurricane on that island, but his family survived and subsequently went to England. PRO, AO12/56/358, AO12/109/208, cited in *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, p. 592.

⁴*Ibid.*, February 17, 1776.

See Becoming Americans "Choosing Revolution" Resource Book

Association of 1769, p. 70

Association of 1770, p. 74

Association of 1774, p. 101

Loyalists, p. 155

JOHN RAWLINSON (also spelled Rawlison, Rollinson, Rolleson, etc.), born by 1725, died 1780; free African American shoemaker. The son of Elizabeth Rawlinson and unknown father,¹ John Rawlinson was a successful Williamsburg tradesman. Called a "mulatto" in one document, Rawlinson's status as a free man did not derive from his being the son of a white woman (his mother was tithable as only women of African descent were), so his family's freedom apparently originated with an earlier generation.²

Rawlinson accumulated a considerable estate over the course of his lifetime. He may also have been assisted by a nice-sized inheritance from his mother — he was her only legatee, but the extent of her property is not spelled out.³ Rawlinson conducted the usual court business of local tradesmen, suing and being sued for debts. He also qualified as security for the debts of others and, on one occasion, for special bail.⁴

John Rawlinson had two families, one legitimate and one "natural." By his wife Elizabeth (her maiden name is unknown), he had a son named Hulett Rawlinson (1759-after 1804) and a daughter Elizabeth (by 1765-1785) who married William Cole, Jr. An older daughter, Mary Robinson Rawlinson, is mentioned only in the baptismal record of 1746.⁵

In 1768 the Bruton Parish Register informs us that Rawlinson was the father of Sarah by "Elizabeth Garrett his housekeeper."⁶ From Rawlinson's will we learn that he and Garrett also had two other children, Samuel and Judith.⁷

John Rawlinson's estate appraisal lists "1 old Negro Fellow [valued at] £10 . . . [and] 8 houses and Lotts [worth] £6000." The appraisal totals £11,063..10.. 0,⁸ an impressive figure, even given wartime inflation.

¹York County Judgments and Orders 1: 141 (grand jury presentment for not listing his wife and mother); York County Wills and Inventories 20: 197 (Elizabeth Rawlinson's will).

²York County Judgments and Orders 1: 141.

³York County Wills and Inventories 20: 197. Elizabeth Rawlinson's will was written on October 4, 1750, and probated on December 17, 1750.

⁴York County Judgments and Orders 1: 491; *ibid.*, 4: 415.

⁵Bruton Parish Register (birth), July 10, 1746.

⁶*Ibid.*, October 23, 1768.

⁷York County Wills and Inventories 22: 501.

⁸*Ibid.*, 23: 49. This document includes the honorific "Mr." with Rawlinson's name, unusual even for a free African American.

John Rawlinson and his son Hulett both took the oath of allegiance in August 1771.⁹

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- The Gunpowder Incident, p. 136
- The Gunpowder Incident-cont'd, p. 150
- Oath of Allegiance, p. 156
- Virginia Declaration of Rights, p. 180
- The Virginia Constitution, p. 185
- Capital Moved to Richmond, p. 198

⁹Clerk's list of householders who took the oath of allegiance, York County Loose Papers, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

CLEMENTINA RIND, 1740-1774, newspaper editor and public printer. Clementina Rind edited the *Virginia Gazette* from 1773 to 1774. She also ran a public printing business and acted as publisher for the House of Burgesses, which meant that she was the first woman to operate such an enterprise in the colony. A widow, Clementina had five children. Her home and printing business were both located in the Ludwell-Paradise House.

Clementina came to Williamsburg from Annapolis, Maryland, with her husband, William. The Rinds had been invited by some of the younger and more liberal burgesses to establish a second newspaper in Williamsburg.¹ When William died in August 1773,² Clementina assumed the editorship.³ The result was a paper that closely followed her personal tastes. She printed news with a decidedly feminine slant. For example, when the governor's wife arrived in March 1774, Clementina published a personal poem emphasizing peace and contentment around Lord and Lady Dunmore's hearth instead of the usual formal address.

Clementina Rind died of tuberculosis on September 25, 1774.⁴ The orphaned Rind children experienced some benevolent treatment as well as some negligence. Two of the boys, William and John, were educated at the expense of the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons for several years.⁵ Eventually, William edited newspapers in both Richmond and Georgetown.⁶ Another son James became a lawyer in Richmond, Virginia.⁷ (Charles disappeared from the record; he too may have died of tuberculosis.)

The only girl, Maria, was bound out to an unknown family for three years after her mother's death. In 1777, Sarah Norton (wife of John Hatley Norton and daughter of Robert Carter Nicholas) prevailed on Frances Randolph, who married St. George Tucker the next year, to accept Maria in her household. Mrs. Norton's letter reads in part, "the Poor Girl has ever since Her Mothers death Labour'd under many disadvantages, as well as from the total neglect of those who had charge of Her." She hoped that Frances' "kindness in rescuing Her from Her former unhappy circumstances will excite a desire of please You." Mrs. Norton went on to say

¹The first issue of Rind's paper was published on Friday, May 16, 1766.

²*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie and Dixon, August 19, 1773; *ibid.*, ed. Rind, August 26, 1773.

³*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, September 2, 1773.

⁴*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Pinckney, September 29, 1774.

⁵Treasurer's Accounts, Williamsburg Masonic Lodge, printed in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., vol. 1, pp. 13-14.

⁶Clarence Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, vol. 2, p. 1473.

⁷*William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., vol. 8, p. 153.

"She is not so well cloathed as coud be wish'd, the Masons voted Her a sum of Money, but it Has never been Collected."⁸ Maria lived with the Tuckers at Matoax and in Williamsburg, caring for their children and probably also assisting in the housework. Maria married John Coalter, the family's tutor, in 1791 and died in childbirth the next year.⁹

See Becoming Americans "Choosing Revolution" Resource Book

Association of 1769, p. 70

Association of 1770, p. 74

Association of 1774, p. 101

⁸Sarah Norton to Frances Randolph, June 27, 1777, Tucker-Coleman Papers, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁹Ibid., passim.; Mary H. Coleman, *St. George Tucker, Citizen of No Mean City* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1938), p. 105.

JAMES BARRETT SOUTHALL, 1726-ca. 1800, tavern keeper and member of Williamsburg Committee of Safety. Born in Charles City County, Virginia, Southall had moved to Williamsburg and was keeping tavern by at least 1757. He rented the Wetherburn property in the 1760s and purchased and began operating the Raleigh in 1771.¹

Southall's prosperity grew with every decade; for example, his tithables increased from two in 1760 to between 11 and 12 in the early 1780s.² Newspaper advertisements between 1769 and 1780 indicate one of Southall's hobbies, raising (and probably also racing) horses.³ Southall and his wife Frances had four sons and four daughters. The affluence and social mobility of this middling family are apparent from the daughters' marriages into the Randolph and Daingerfield families.

With the onset of war, Southall—at the somewhat advanced age of 50—became politically active, serving two years on the Williamsburg Committee of Safety and as militia captain, major, and colonel.⁴

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- Association of 1769, p. 70
- Association of 1770, p. 74
- Committees of Correspondence, p. 94
- Association of 1774, p. 101
- James City County Association, p. 127
- Oath of Allegiance, p. 156
- Williamsburg occupied, p. 213
- Washington in Williamsburg, p. 214

¹Patricia A. Gibbs, "Taverns in Tidewater Virginia," M. A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1968, p. 196; *Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, March 7, 1771.

²York County Judgments and Orders 3, p. 179; York County Orders and Bonds 4 (1774-1784), 101; Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists, 1783, 1784.

³*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, April 20, 1769, and *ibid.*, ed. Dixon and Nicolson, April 1, 1780.

⁴*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie and Dixon, December 22, 1774; *ibid.*, ed. Pinkney, November 9, 1775; *ibid.*, May 14, 1775;

WILL, born by 1767, death date unknown; slave owned by James Barrett Southall. No other personal data about Will is available other than his name among the slaves over 16 years of age in personal property tax lists for 1783, 1784, and 1786.

As a resident of Williamsburg and (probable) worker at the Raleigh Tavern, Will was in a position to gather a great deal of "privileged information." While going about his work in the tavern, he must have overheard and learned much about politics and war from the discussions among customers.¹

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Dunmore's Proclamation, p. 145

Slaves and Dunmore, p. 158

Williamsburg occupied, p. 213

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¹Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists, 1783, 1784, 1786.

RALPH WORMELEY, JR., 1744-1806, Councillor, political prisoner (1776-1778), and later state delegate. Born at Rosegill in Middlesex County and educated at Eton and Cambridge. Ralph Wormeley, Jr. was appointed to the Governor's Council in 1771 when he was only 27 years old.¹ He served in that capacity until 1775. When Lord Dunmore left Williamsburg and hostilities began, Wormeley was living quietly at Rosegill. The governor requested Wormeley's attendance on shipboard, but he refused. Wormeley's letter to his friend John Randolph Grymes, then in active service under Dunmore, revealed his political leanings—mildly loyalist yet wary.

But not wary enough! The letter was intercepted, and the writer arrested. Wormeley petitioned the Virginia Convention on May 13, 1776, expressing his regret that he had drawn the country's disfavor. He went on to say that he disclaimed Parliament's right to tax America, although he did not agree with the majority of Virginians about how to address that inequity. Two days later the Convention resolved to confine Wormeley to specified properties in Berkeley and Frederick counties on £20,000 bond. He was released in 1778, partly due to Mann Page's eloquence on his behalf. (Page was his brother-in-law.)²

Within a decade, Wormeley's politics had changed and his reputation had recovered. He represented Middlesex County at the Convention of 1788 and was elected to the House of Delegates in 1788, 1789, and 1790.³

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The Gunpowder Incident, p. 136
 Dunmore's Proclamation, p. 145
 Oath of Allegiance, p. 156
 Virginia Resolves, May 15, 1776, p. 176
 Virginia Declaration of Rights, p. 180
 Capital Moved to Richmond, p. 198

¹His appointment took place on June 11, 1771. *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, ed. Benjamin J. Hillman (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1966), Vol. VI, p. 412.

²*Calendar of Virginia State Papers* I:300-301; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 18(1910): 373-377.

³*Register of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776-1918* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1916-1917), p. 448.

GEORGE WYTHE, 1726-1806, patriot, teacher, lawyer, jurist, and signer of the Declaration. Wythe entered public life as a burgess for the City of Williamsburg in 1754. Before his death half a century later, he had filled with honor and disinterested devotion some of the most important offices in the colony and Commonwealth of Virginia.

From 1769 to 1775, Wythe served as a clerk of the House of Burgesses. Afterward he was a member of the Continental Congress. In 1777 the House of Delegates chose George Wythe as speaker, and later that same year he was appointed a Chancery Court judge. With Jefferson's reorganization of the College of William and Mary in 1779, Wythe became the first professor of law. Wythe moved to Richmond in 1791.

In 1806 George Wythe was poisoned by his debt-ridden and desperate great nephew. The poison did not kill him immediately; he lingered in agony for several days—long enough to alter his will so that his murderer could not profit by the crime. Jefferson, who had studied with Wythe and been his close friend and colleague thereafter, summed up the older man's nature and career as follows:

"No man ever left behind him a character more venerated than G. Wythe. His virtue was of the purest tint; his integrity, inflexible, and his justice exact; of warm patriotism, and, devoted as he was to liberty, and the natural and equal rights of men, he might truly be called the Cato of his country, without the avarice of the Roman; for a more disinterested person never lived."¹

See Becoming Americans "Choosing Revolution" Resource Book

The Stamp Act, p. 11.
 The Robinson Scandal, p. 53.
 The Case of Colonel Chiswell, p. 55.
 Association of 1770, p. 74.
 Boston Port Bill, p. 97
 Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, p. 99
 Second Virginia Convention, p. 131
 The Gunpowder Incident, p. 136

¹Thomas Jefferson to John Saunderson, 1820, in H. A. Washington, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1853-54.

SECTION II

Additional Loyalist Biographies

Before, During, & After

the American Revolution

compiled by

The Choosing Revolution Team

April 1996

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

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Williamsburg Loyalists

The following individuals stated they were Williamsburg residents in their various loyalists claims submitted to the British government during and after the American Revolution.

William Francis Bickerton, Merchant. Frank and Bickerton & Co., London Merchants; carried on extensive trade to Virginia and Maryland until 1773 when remittances ceased. **William Francis Bickerton** went to Virginia to look after company's affairs, staying until 1777 when he refused rebel oath, was confined and then sent up country, suffering many hardships. Unable to subsist any longer, he quit the country in 1779. Memorial, London, undated. Claim: Debts owed to company. Evidences: Deposition 17 May 1783 London by Jonathan Boucher that has known memorialists for 15 years. (A013/29/671).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 165-166.

Theodoric Bland, Gentleman. Of Williamsburg, Virginia. Son of a London merchant, Bland married an American heiress and acquired a large estate. He was one of the Loyalists sent from Yorktown to New York in the *Bonetta* after the defeat of Cornwallis in 1781. (A013/90/122).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer, [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 72

T.T. Carter, Publican. A publican in Williamsburg, Virginia. Carter served for eight months in the American Army, and was with them at the Battle of Trenton in December 1776. He joined the British in April 1781, serving as a guide. He sailed for England in July 1782, and drove a hackney carriage in London. Carter applied for temporary assistance in London in 1783; he received £20 sterling *per annum*. (A012/99/74).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer, [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 143.

Bernard Cary [Carey], Linen Draper, Williamsburg, Virginia. Resident 12 years in America, repeatedly imprisoned for loyalty and finally obliged to quit. On his arrival in England, creditors demanded payment; he was arrested and imprisoned and has only recently been released. Has wife and two children. Memorial, undated, London. Claim: 6000 acres on Susquehannock River, Pennsylvania. Evidences: Deposition 22 February 1781 London by William Francis Bickerton that he is the only person in London acquainted with claimant's sufferings. Disposition by same 15 April 1783 London that claimant was in linen drapery trade; deponent estimates values of his lands. (A013/28/106-111).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 85.

Bernard Cary [Carey] immigrated to Philadelphia in 1764, and in 1766 settled as a linen draper in Williamsburg, Virginia. Carey was tried as a Tory in February 1775, and although found guilty was pardoned and set free. In July 1775 he was permitted to sell his property and leave

for Philadelphia, but could only accept paper money, and suffered a "great loss." He left Philadelphia after two weeks, and eventually arrived in England. His credibility was questioned by John Randolph and others, who were skeptical of the amount which he claimed to have received for his paper money in Philadelphia, and his contention that a title to some of his land had been stolen. Carey estimated his loss at £6,588 sterling, but his claim was disallowed for want of proof. (A012/54/1, A012/109/108).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer, [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 138.

Richard Corbin, Jr. secretary to the Receiver General. Helped his father, Richard Corbin, Deputy Receiver General of Revenue in Virginia, prevent money from falling into rebel hands. Not one of his name has ever joined in the rebellion. Sent to England to be educated, but remittances have stopped. Memorials 21 November 1777, 10 November 1779, 31 October 1782, London. Evidences: Letter from claimant to Lord Dunmore 20 September 1781 London that he will not return to Virginia. Letter from claimant to Commissioners 19 February 1783 London that he has been unable to attend, and is still prevented, by illness; that highly injurious reports circulating about him are calculated to deprive him of his pension. (A013/28/154-167). American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 102.

John Randolph Grymes, Gentleman, Gwin's Island, Virginia. Son of Philip Grymes, Receiver-General and Privy Councillor of Virginia; sent early in life to England to be educated at Eton. At start of war, had an ample patrimonial estate second to none and lived as private gentleman without following any trade or profession; bought valuable estate of 1160 acres on Gwin's Island which became scene of military action. At its evacuation, estate was considered free booty. Claimant served three years in America and was appointed Major in Queen's American Rangers. Embarked in expedition under Lord Dunmore to return to Virginia in 1780, at which time allowance he received to support himself, wife, and child was discontinued. Memorials 15 May 1778, 1 August 1780, 1782 London. Claim: Estate on Gwin's Island; expenses for troop of Dragoon raised there; 25 slaves captured there and sold as plunder; 12 slaves who died in Army; 30 slaves confiscated; 6 convicts taken into Army, etc. Evidences: Copy will of Philip Grymes of Brandon, Virginia mentioning sons John Randolph, Charles, Benjamin, and Philip; daughters Lucy, Susanna, and Mary; brothers Peyton, Randolph, and Benjamin; dated 18 December 1756 with codicil of 5 August 1761. Letter 26 October 1777 Philadelphia from Robert Mackenzie to claimant: "The pointed manner in which you have repeated your request to resign as Major of the Queen's American Rangers does not leave any opening to desire your continuance in that Corps." Deposition 15 August 1782 by John Randolph, Attorney-General of Virginia that he knows claimant and family. (A013/29/736-755).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 205.

Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, Professor of languages, College of William and Mary. Clerk of William and Mary College; was Professor of Languages at the College at a salary of £200 a year. June 1775, refused to aid rebels and was cruelly treated, as result of which he now suffers bad health. Now resides in the City of Hereford. Memorial 13 December 1783. Claim:

Papers; books; furniture. (A013/30/468-472).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 208.

Rev. Samuel Henley, Professor of Moral Philosophy, College of William and Mary. Nominated to the College in 1769; in addition to fees from pupils and a stipend for officiating in chapel, received salary of £125 sterling per year. Dismissed in 1775, lost his apartments within the College as well as a valuable collection of books, prints and private papers. Memorials 13 December 1782 Harrow, Middlesex, and 22 March 1784 Rendlesham near Melton, Suffolk. Claim: Loss of earnings. Evidences: Letter from claimant 12 December 1776 Harrow saying his father-in-law, Mr. Watson, has informed him his claim will be heard. (A013/30/612-615, 31/67-80).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 228.

James Hubard, Attorney. Deceased son by Mathew Hubard. Deceased practiced as lawyer and was Judge Advocate of Admiralty Court, with a large fortune. Was imprisoned at beginning of war until able to join Cornwallis' Army, with which he remained until surrender of York Town. There he contracted a disorder and was sent privately on board H.M.S. *Bonetta* to New York, where he died May 1782 leaving wife and eight small children. Claimant Mathew was then aged 15, eldest child but one; he was committed to care of James Minzies, who brought him to England to find him a place in Army, as he wished. Memorial by James Minzies 4 July 1783 London. Claim: Grant to buy commission for Mathew Hubard. (A013/31/1-3).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 243.

William Hunter, Printer, Williamsburg, Virginia. Printer, bookseller, and stationer; was settled there with a good business before war but had to leave when he joined Army June 1781. Bore arms in a Volunteer Company at siege of York Town; at end of war, went from New York to Shelburne and from there to London. Memorials 2 September 1784, 7 November 1785 London. Claim: 40-ton sloop; printing materials; negro lost in service; three houses in Williamsburg; small farm near Williamsburg; 15 negroes, etc.; debts owed to Dixon & Hunter [list of names]. Evidences: Copy will of William Hunter of Printing Office, Williamsburg, dated 11 April 1761, naming son William, brother John Hunter, and sisters Rosanna and Mabel Hunter and Elizabeth, wife of John Holt. Certificate London 3 September 1784 by William Franklin, late Governor of New Jersey, that he well knew claimant. (A013/30/551-569, 31/4-13).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 249.

William Maitland, Merchant, Williamsburg, Virginia. Native of Britain who went to Virginia in 1771. Escaped to Dunmore's fleet and returned to Britain; since then dependent on relations. Memorials 24 February 1779 and 24 Decemeber 1777. Claim: Property [unspecified]. (A013/31/344-346).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 324.

William Peter Mathews, Merchant, Hampton, Virginia, deceased, by widow Margaret Mathews. He was born in England, as was claimant; when they married she owned a storehouse. He was appointed Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General and when Cornwallis arrived at Petersburg, commissioned Lieutenant in Corps of Pioneers; because of that, thought himself secure when York Town was surrendered. But rebel officers burst into his room and would have murdered him, but for a friend who helped him escape to H.M.S. *Bonetta*. On reduction of Corps in 1783, went with family to Jamaica, but perished in one of his own vessels in a hurricane 30 July 1784, leaving her with two children. Memorials: by William Mathews 19 November 1781, New York; by claimant 22 April 1786 London, and another undated [probably 1790] saying that one of her children, now nearly 10, was born deaf and dumb because of the terror claimant underwent when taken prisoner. Claim: House; warehouse; negroes, brig *Fanny* of 160 tons, brig *Dolphin* of 200 tons, schooner *Kitty*, of 95 tons. Evidences: Printed certificate dated 31 August 1782 that William Mathews of Pioneers, prisoner of French, is to be exchanged with Lt. Marin of French Artillery. Pass 11 April 1782 Virginia for Margaret Mathews, her two children and white servant, to remove to New York. Letter 30 January 1786 Glasgow from William Andrews to claimant that when he was Rector of Portsmouth he knew her husband and saw him at York Town drawing maps for Army use (writer lived in same room). Deposition 24 June 1786 Kingston by Andrew Duffus that claimant is totally destitute, maintained by Vestry. Deposition 16 February 1790 Carlisle by Lt. Charles Hare, R.N., that he was prisoner in Hampton, Virginia 1779-1780 and lodged at William Mathews' house. On release, he found the *Unity*, formerly called the *Dolphin*, had been captured by H.M.S. *Guadeloupe* and condemned. (A013/31/358-401). American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 337.

Alexander Middleton, Physician, Virginia. Practitioner in physick and medicine; refused to take up arms for rebels and was confined with other loyalists. Came to Philadelphia at end of 1776 intending to join Army at New York, but remained in Philadelphia to attend loyalist prisoners in dungeon. Rebels came to surround house; escaped by a window and fled at dead of night to Mr. Kearsley's country house three miles from city and remained hidden there more than six months. Released October 1777 when Army arrived, was appointed Captain in Maryland Loyalists, enrolled 52 men, and acted as guide until disabled by fall from horse while pursuing rebels. Was then obliged to come to England for his health: has a bad rupture, and right arm and hand are much injured. Ship was wrecked on coast of Cornwall in 1778, but he landed with wife and children November 1778. Returned to America in 1782 and was appointed surgeon to hospital at Jamaica. Memorials 16 January 1779 and 25 March 1784 London. Claim: Medicines and medical books; debts owned; loss of salary; losses at shipwreck in Cornwall; loss of vessel between Jamaica and Cuba. Evidences: Deposition January 1779 London by Mary Kearsley that claimant took shelter in husband's house. Deposition 17 August 1779 London by Enoch Story that claimant enrolled 52 men as soldiers. Deposition 11 November 1780 Glasgow by John Hunter, merchant, that he spent 11 weeks in prison in Philadelphia and was introduced to claimant, then in hiding. Letter 28 November 1788 from claimant to Commissioners that he has just arrived from Continent and wishes to be heard; another 28 September 1789 Calais that unfortunate state of his affairs in England is cause of his

absence: he has met with an accident, his carriage overturning, and cannot come to London. Deposition 29 January 1790 Dumfries by Andrew McCan, late Lieutenant of Queen's Rangers, that when he was chained as traitor in Williamsburg Gaol in 1776, claimant came there to treat him and others. (A013/31/530-591).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 343-344.

Robert Miller, Merchant and Treasurer of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia. Treasurer of College of William and Mary; Controller of Customs at Williamsburg, where he resided 25 years; spring of 1775, obliged to leave Virginia, came to England. Memorials 17 July 1782 London, 20 January 1784 Bath. Claim: Loss of emoluments and personal property; debts owed [names]. (A013/31/613-621).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 347.

James Minzies [Menzies], Lord Dunmore's private secretary. Of Virginia. A native of Scotland, Minzies immigrated to America in 1763, and was employed by a Mr. Blair, the deputy auditor of accounts of the province, until 1772. He was then appointed private secretary to Lord Dunmore, and remained with him until the governor left Virginia. Minzies was also clerk to the Committee for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures. He earned £250 sterling *per annum* from fees from the governor's office, £120 sterling *per annum* as clerk to the above named committee. Minzies had purchased rights to 1,000 acres on the falls of the Ohio River, and another 1,000 acres in Kentucky. He received £100 sterling *per annum* from the Treasury after his return to Britain, and claimed a loss of £450 sterling. He was awarded £125 sterling. (A012/54/136, A012/109/208).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer, [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 613.

John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore. Of Virginia. Dunmore was commissioned Governor of New York in 1770, and became Governor of Virginia a year later. He returned to England in July 1776. In 1781 he went to Charleston, intending to return to Virginia, but eventually he moved to New York. He then travelled again to England, and placed before Lord Shelburne a proposal for the Loyalists to form a military corps without further assistance from Britain, except for arms and ammunition. Dunmore had 57,644 acres in several tracts, the largest being 51,000 acres on Otter Creek, Lake Champlain. The quantity of liquor he had was noted when his property was sold. His claim included: "In the palace at Williamsburg. The furniture of twenty-five rooms completely furnished with all the beds, bedding, looking glasses, bureaus, book cases, valuable tapestry, damask curtains, carpets, etc. A number of valuable pictures by Sir Peter Lily [Lely] and a number of costly prints. A large quantity of very valuable china, glass, and household utensils of every kind. A valuable library consisting of upwards of 1,3000 volumes, three organs, a harpsichord, a pianoforte, and other musical instruments...." Also, "forty-two pipes and hogsheads of wine, the greatest part madeira, twelve gross of claret, burgundy, champagne, port, hock, sherry, frontinac, creme de noyau, etc., and four hogsheads of old rum." Also, "two coaches, one quite new, a chariot, and a phaeton and two one horse

chaises." Dunmore claimed a loss of £35,723 sterling, and was awarded £2,423. He later received £1,000 sterling *per annum* as Governor of the Bahamas. (A012/54/118, A012/109/124).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer, [British Library,] Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, pp. 240-241.

Appointed Governor of Virginia in 1770. In 1774 a most alarming Indian war broke out on frontiers of Virginia; he advanced at head of Militia force for more than 700 miles into Indian country and put an end to it. He and family were subject of repeated attacks by rebels; June 1775, he and family were obliged to retire on board H.M.S. *Fowey*. The following month, sent wife and children to England and continued his government until August 1776. When a gaol distemper broke out in fleet, sweeping away many hundreds, had to quit Virginia for New York, where he served as volunteer. Came to England December 1776 and was ordered back to Virginia October 1781, but surrender of Cornwallis at York Town made return impossible; had to return to England after absence of nine months. During his period of administration in America, observing rapidly increasing value of lands, had tried to provide for his numerous family by making large purchases. Memorials 25 February 1784 and 6 March 1784 London. Claim: 579 acres known as Porto Bello and Old Farm, York Co.; 2600 acres called Mount Charlotte, Berkely Co.; 3465 acres in several farms in Hampshire Co.; lot and house in Williamsburg; 51000 acres in Otter Creek, Lake Champlain, New York; palace at Williamsburg; two 1/20 shares of 37½ million acres on River Wabash; other buildings and mills; slaves; 12 indentured servants and tradesmen; expenses in quelling an Indian war. (A013/28/305-317, 29/543-547).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 135-136.

William Parker, Williamsburg, Virginia. When Army came there in 1781, enlisted and removed family to New York and then to England. When discharged from Regiment, entered on H.M.S. *Bedford*, but now has no employment. Memorial 18 June 1783 London. (A013/32/237-240).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 380.

Parker moved his family to New York, and enlisted in the Royal Army in 1781. He served afterwards aboard the British ship *Bedford*. (A013/32/237).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer, (British Library), Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 671.

George Pitt, Physician and Keeper of the Public Magazine, Williamsburg, Virginia, deceased, by son Richard Floyd Pitt. Father was born in St. Swithin's parish, Worcester, England, 11 June 1724, trained under his father as a surgeon, and went in that capacity to Williamsburg where he arrived 8 February 1744. On 16 December 1753 he married Sarah Garland, native of America and widow of John Garland, and by her acquired a fortune in land and houses. Claimant was born 15 November 1754, the first of seven children, all still living. His father was in 1755 appointed Master of Magazine and Muster Master General at Williamsburg; in 1768

was sent to England to have been rewarded by Letters Patent for disclosing secret of making saltpeter in Virginia. He returned to Williamsburg and for refusing to surrender Stores and Magazine to rebels, was declared a traitor by them; fled to England with his children and took up residence at Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire. The thought of the loss of his property preyed on his mind and he survived only four months after landing; when he died in 1776 his children were left destitute. Claimant has wife and son to support; wife, because of her sufferings, has been driven into insanity. Claimant himself has been imprisoned for debt. Memorials: [including printed version] 29 January 1779 and 31 December 1788. Claim: for relief. Evidences: Deposition 28 November 1787 by Ariana Randolph, widow of John Randolph, late Attorney-General of Virginia, that claimant's family resided at Williamsburg. Letter 18 February 1788 Fleet Prison from claimant to Commissioners that he has been confined 18 months; present situation is nearly equal to a convict under sentence of death: his future depends entirely on decision of Commissioners. (A013/32/259-285).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 392.

Richard Floyd Pitt. A native of Virginia, Pitt lived at Williamsburg; in 1775 he assisted his father, the keeper of a military magazine. He travelled with his father to England, where the elder Pitt died in 1776. The son was in the upholstery trade, and in 1783 was bankrupt. In 1788 he was incarcerated in Fleet Prison for debt. (A012/102/117).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer, (British Library), Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 695.

Ariana Randolph, widow of John Randolph (q.v.), the Attorney General of Virginia. Ariana Randolph made a claim for their house at Williamsburg, which was publicly sold. Along with the son mentioned in Sabine, she also had two daughters -- Susanna Beverley, who married Major Grymes (q.v.), and Ariana, who married James Wormeley of Virginia. Ariana Randolph sailed for England in 1775. She estimated her loss at £4,000 sterling, and was awarded £540 sterling. (A012/54/397, A012/109/256).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer, [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 714.

Rev. Thomas Robinson, College of Williamsburg, Virginia, deceased, by widow Editha Robinson. She is now advanced in years and has been reduced to indigence, having used up her small allowance from Clergymen's Fund. Memorial 22 June 1778. Claim: House; land; negro. (A013/32/436-437).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 419.

Dr. Thomas Tarpley, Physician, Richmond Co., Virginia. His large estate on Rappahannock River was laid waste and all his negroes driven away; is native of America who refused to take rebel side. Memorial 20 January 1783 Jersey saying he has three young children to support and educate. Claim: Estate [unspecified]. Evidences: Letter 4 and 19 August 1777 London from claimant to Commissioners that his wife, a niece of Lady Gower, is on the point of lying in and already has an infant of three. If he does not receive immediate help it will come too late: he

has already experienced the horrors of gaol, and his wife and infants will be turned into the streets to beg. Letter same to same 18 October 1782 that he cannot return to America and has no prospect but gaol; asks that reply be sent to Southampton. Letter dated 12 June 1786 London from attorney Thomas Hall to Commission saying it is impossible for claimant to attend, but he has informed client he must come or memorial will be rejected. (A013/32/532-546, 573-579). American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 475.

William Tarpley, Williamsburg, Virginia. Native of Virginia, who joined 84th Regt. of Foot at Charleston in 1780, serving until its reduction in Halifax October 1783. Memorial 23 February 1784 London. Claim: Moiety of a plantation, houses and lots in Williamsburg; slaves. Evidences: Deposition 28 February 1784 London by James Minzies that he knew claimant in Virginia who, with brother, inherited plantation from grandmother who died in 1773. (A013/32/547-551).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 475.

Joseph Thompson, Merchant. Thompson traded in bricks. He contended that he provided bricks worth £1,300 to the British Army, for which he had not received payment. Thompson collected a pension of £150 sterling *per annum*. After his death his widow, Rebecca, received £60 sterling *per annum*. Rebecca Thompson claimed £1,505 sterling for her husband's losses, and was awarded £625 sterling. She was apparently living in Britain at the time. (A012/105/110, A012/109/288).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer, [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 859.

The following Loyalists stated they were imprisoned in Williamsburg.

William Aitcheson. A Scotsman and merchant of Norfolk, Virginia. Claimed to have represented Norfolk in the Virginia House of Burgesses; also served as an Alderman and Justice of the Peace. Took refuge in 1775 with Lord Dunmore's fleet. Because of the hardships of shipboard life, Aitcheson returned to the eastern shore, where he hoped his numerous connections would ensure his safety. However, he was arrested by the Whigs and taken to Williamsburg for trial. He was sentenced to imprisonment, but on account of age and infirmity was paroled. Aitcheson died in the autumn of 1776, leaving a widow and five children, one of whom died while fighting with the British. His property in Norfolk was destroyed in the burning of that town in 1777, but his descendants were not indemnified because of their loyalty to the Crown. A claim for compensation for his widow (Rebecca) and children was made by her brother, Jacob Ellegood. The amount claimed was £5,228 sterling, later increased to £5,548 sterling; an award of £2,950 sterling was made. His younger son, William, had been sent to England for his education in 1774, and received an allowance of £50 sterling *per annum* from the British government when the war prevented his family from sending him money. Hearing of the distressed state of his mother and elder brother, William Aitcheson, Jr. returned to America in 1782. (A012/54/273, A012/109/74, A013/27/207).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer, [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 10.

Rev. John Agnew, Rector of Suffolk, Nansemond Co., Virginia; Rev. Thomas Feilde, Rector of Kingston, Gloucester Co., Virginia; **Rev. John Hamilton Rowland**, Rector of St. Bride's, Norfolk Co., Virginia; **Rev. William Duncan**, Rector of Newport, Isle of Wight Co., Virginia. Their pay as chaplains in Provincial Regiments is inadequate; they are precluded from most civil pursuits. Many clergymen in America, missionaries whose salaries are paid by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, are in better circumstances than claimants. Claimants went with Army from New York to Charlestown in 1780 hoping to be reinstated in their parishes. Memorials 25 September 1779 New York City, 15 January 1781 Charlestown. Evidences: Note by Bishop of London, Fulham, 8 April 1780. (A013/27/38-45).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 4.

Rev. John Agnew, Rector of Suffolk, Virginia. Went to Virginia, 1751 and became Rector on Nansemond River. At beginning of war, taken into custody and confined in gaol during winter of 1775/6. Returning from Charlestown to Virginia on H.M.S. *Rolumlus*, he and 80 other loyalists were taken by French and shipped in brig *The Brothers* to Norfolk from where he was taken to Rhode Island. Promised safe conduct to New York but Gen. Washington, whom he had known since 1757, ordered him placed under strong guard. He and others claimed by French as dangerous prisoners and sent to Europe via St. Domingo. Detained in castles of Dinard, St. Malo, and Caen; returned to England after 21 month's captivity with French. Wife also held prisoner by rebels and only son captured by French. At the evacuation of New York wife and family returned to England. Memorial November 1787 Chelsea. Claim: Loss of office and glebs of 200 acres; four plantations bought from Daniel Osheal, William Kidd, James

Agnew, and Thomas Knott; four acres, house and public ferry bought from Benjamin Bascombe; lots in Winton, North Carolina; lots in Crawford St. and Ferry St., Portsmouth, Virginia; negroes, etc. Evidences: Indenture 12 October 1767 Thomas (X) Knott conveys to claimant property in Suffolk inherited by will of father Anthony Knott. Certificate, undated, that records of Norfolk Co. show conveyance by Christopher Perkins to claimant of lot in Crawford Street, Portsmouth 28 February/1 March 1763; conveyance 19 August 1772 by Francis Miller to claimant of land on Ferry St., Portsmouth; conveyance 19 June 1772 by William Atchison and wife and James Parker and wife to claimant of lot on Crawford St., Portsmouth. Certificate 25 January 1788 Virginia that claimant bought 100 acres from James Agnew, and four acres from Benjamin Bascombe. Indenture 25 January 1737 Matthew Gumbs of Chowan Pct, North Carolina, conveys to David Osheal 30 acres in Nansemond Co. known as Fiddlers Neck devised to grantor by will of father Anthony Gumbs and held during her life by mother Elizabeth Gumbs. Sketch drawing, view of Portsmouth from east side of river with part of Portsmouth Town and Powder Point showing claimant's property. Deposition 20 July 1787 by William Whitfield, former Gaoler of Nansemond Co., that claimant was tried and condemned as an enemy. Certificate 12 July 1783 London by Thom Jack that he lived several years in claimant's parish and claimant was cruelly treated. Certificate by James Monro that he lived in same county as claimant and bought corn and tobacco from him. Certificate 25 January 1783 Paddington London, by Alexander Matheson that he, wife, and children lived with claimant's wife who had a bare subsistence. Certificate 15 Aug. 1783 by Benjamin Bannerman that he knew claimant and estate in Virginia which was superior to any other in that part. Letter to claimant from Andrew Martin 3 November 1783 Norfolk, Virginia, that he is frequently away from home but will send details of his lots in Portsmouth. Deposition 10 March 1784 London by John Goodrich that he has known claimant in Virginia since 1754 and saw him in Williamsburg while deponent was confined there. Deposition by James Agnew, late of Virginia, now of Stranraer, that he lived in claimant's property from September 1762 to October 1775. Deposition 2 August 1787 by Solomon Shepherd, late of Nansemond Co., Virginia, now of Beaufort Co., North Carolina, that he was nearest neighbor to claimant and vestryman of his parish. Letter from Col. William Groves to claimant 23 October 1787 Washington forwarding above deposition. Deposition 4 January 1788 Virginia, by James Godwin re claimant's property. Letter to claimant from Robert Miller 13 January 1783 London, that he has heard claimant had property superior to any other clergyman's in Virginia. Deposition 18 March 1785 Cassell Hesse, by Penelope De Ende that she was born in claimant's parish and baptized by him; lost parents as a child and lived with claimant's wife, her maternal aunt. Deponent married a little before the war. Claimant was only clergyman who openly supported the royal cause in Virginia. Three-quarters of his negroes were seized by rebels, taken into back country and never returned; those left behind to serve wife were the least profitable. When wife could no longer live on her estate because of cruelty and depredations, she went to British lines at Portsmouth bringing eleven young negroes; from there to join husband at New York. Letter from claimant to Treasury, 15 August 1782 Caen, Normandy, that he was taken prisoner by French a few days after going as chaplain to Queen's Rangers in Virginia; spent three months on board prison ship, then four months at Rhode Island before being shipped to Europe. Has now run out of money and is on parole in Caen. While you gentlemen are snug in Britain you little know that it appears that too many little think of the distresses of mind, body, and estate which faithful

subjects suffer abroad in your cause...but it is a truth which the honest historian will paint in mournful colours when we are no more, that if Britain falls, she falls by wounds given to her vitals by the unnatural hands of her own sons... Wife is infirm with age and needs two servants. (A013/27/7-10, 35-37, 46-92, 95-170).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 4-6.

John Begg, Norfolk, Virginia. Prosperous merchant there until October 1775 when he took up arms and was at Battle of Great Bridge. At the defeat, embarked on schooner with Captain Jacob Elligood to take property to Eastern Shore; seized and taken to Williamsburg for trial. Confined some months, then allowed on parole, escaped to H.M.S. *Raisnable* in Chesapeake Bay; taken to New York where he remained until November last supporting wife and children. Now in debt. Memorial 1 January 1784 London, (A013/27/309-311).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 32.

Adam Bell, Fort Pitt, Virginia, deceased, by widow Margaret Bell. Family was settled at Fort Pitt at start of war. After joining Army, deceased was taken prisoner, confined two years in irons at Williamsburg, escaped to H.M.S. *Emerald* in Chesapeake Bay, went to New York, and joined volunteer company. With Cornwallis in Virginia in 1781, again taken prisoner; during the fall, to be exchanged under flag of truce, embarked on vessel lost with all on board when wrecked on Cape Delaware. All his papers lost with him. Left widow and four children. Memorials by Margaret Bell, one undated, another 10 May 1787 London, that she has been receiving £25 a year which is inadequate; now wishes to go with family to Bahamas. Claim: 800 acres near Fort Pitt; two indentured servants' services for two years; house and storehouse at Portsmouth, Virginia; goods destroyed by shell at siege of York Town; cattle; etc. Evidences: Deposition 15 August 1785 London by Bartlett Goodrich that he was in prison with deceased at Williamsburg. Deposition 30 November 1785 London by James Ingram that deceased had considerable property derived from an old messmate with whom he served in Royal Navy. Deposition 28 November 1785 London by Margaret Bell, now of Westminster, that after defeat of Cornwallis in Virginia she lived on Tortola and Granada Islands; came last April to England to seek support. (A013/27/312-330).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 32-33.

Margaret Bell was English, and Adam a native of Scotland. At the beginning of the war they had 800 acres at Fort Pitt, about 100 acres of which had been cleared. Adam Bell was captured by the Whigs while carrying information to Lord Dunmore, and confined at Williamsburg for two years. He then escaped and served as a volunteer under Lord Cornwallis, but was drowned while being taken to New York as part of a prisoner exchange in 1781. Margaret claimed £1,525 sterling, was awarded £500 sterling, and received a pension of £25 *per annum* from the British Treasury. She was residing in London in 1785. (A012/56/338, A012/109/82, A013/27/312).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 59.

George Blair, Smithfield, Isle of Wight Co., Virginia. Native of Britain, went to Virginia in 1762; returned to Britain in 1768 to found business partnership with James Hunter, and they went to Virginia to carry on their trade. In 1774 Hunter removed to Antigua and claimant managed business in Virginia. After Dunmore vacated palace at Williamsburg, took himself and part of property to Norfolk, attached himself to 14th Regiment, and was commissioned 15 November 1775 as Captain in Queen's Loyal Virginians. On foraging expedition to North Carolina April 1776 taken prisoner and sent to Virginia; on orders from Gen. Lee, put in irons and treated with great cruelty. After nine months in interior, sent to Philadelphia under guard; escaped at Alexandria, made way 300 miles to H.M.S. *Roebuck*, and was taken to New York. In 1779 volunteered for expedition to Virginia and was present at burning of Suffolk Town. After gathering intelligence in interior and commanding a company of Guides and Pioneers, captured by French 19 February 1781 while on passage from Charlestown to Virginia. Was treated with great severity, kept prisoner five months on American coast, confined at St. Domingo June 1781 to January 1782, then sent to France and confined in different places until the peace. All this time was without money and unable to correspond with friends in Britain. His papers were put on board a vessel to be sent to partner in Antigua but she went down in Bermuda; books were recovered, obliterated by immersion. Memorial, undated. Claim: Debts due to Hunter & Blair in Isle of Wright Co.; stores in Southampton Co. and Norfolk, Virginia; schooner *Commerce*; two building lots in Smithfield; two mulatto girls. Evidences: Deposition 11 March 1786 London by Lt. Col. Jacob Elligood late of Princess Ann Co., Virginia, that large schooner belonging to claimant and partner was forced on shore in Virginia September 1775. Deponent saw vessel on beach and believes it would have been recovered if rebellion had not started. Deposition 15 April 1786 London by Solomon Wilson, now about to leave Britain, that he was an assistant in claimant's business for two years before war, when in 1775 in schooner *Commerce* which on its return to Virginia was forced on shore in a gale. He also knew claimant's two mulatto girls Nancy and Peggy. Deposition 25 May 1786 Yarmouth Roads by Captain Josias Rogers that he was fellow prisoners of war with claimant in Williamsburg, was marched to Charlottesville and from there to Alexandria, whence he escaped with claimant to H.M.S. *Roebuck*. (A013/27/338-377).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 39-40.

John Collett, [Collet] Philadelphia. Always loyal; in 1773 when Dr. Kersley was tarred and feathered at Philadelphia because he expressed abhorrence openly, mob planned to tar and feather him. Learned of their plans and left for Maryland; went from there to Accomack, Virginia where he opened a thriving store. In 1775, refused rebel offers to give him command of a Regiment; instead devised with Captain Scarborough a plan to take loyalists to Norfolk, having disposed of all his store goods on credit. They engaged a vessel to travel the 37 miles to Norfolk and set out on a dark night to avoid discovery; nevertheless their plans were found out, and 200 armed horsemen pursued them. Mrs. Scarborough was threatened by rebels that house would be burned if husband did not return so he gave up his escape plan, but claimant was able to reach Norfolk with 15 companions; lost his papers on the way. Wounded at Battle of Great Bridge December 1775; soon after, while at head of party gathering provisions overtaken by snowstorm; vessel driven ashore at Hampton during night and lost. The next day he was

discovered by rebels, chained between two negroes, and taken to Williamsburg, there confined 13 weeks before being condemned to lead mines for life. Made escape at Richmond; after suffering much hardship in woods for want of food and clothing, reached British fleet off Norfolk. Raised 200 men and went to New York where he raised a complete company which he commanded until January 1782; then resigned, to raise two troops of Cavalry with 30 horses. On passage to defend town of St. Augustine, ship damaged in gale off bar at Charlestown; on return to Charlestown, captured by an American privateer, taken to Savannah and stripped, and then detained prisoner with Gen. Green's Army until Charlestown had been evacuated December 1782. Memorial 7 October 1789. Claim: Cattle raised for Army and Navy in Virginia in 1776; expenses to raise and equip a company and provide horses. Evidences: Copy of commission to claimant 13 February 1776 to raise a company in Queen's Own Loyal Virginia Regiment. Roll of his company inspected at Brooklyn 13 February 1777 (List printed in N.G.S.O.). Examination March 1790. Claimant says he raised 55 men for an Independent Company in New York whom he clothed from head to foot; resigned that Company and in 1782 on St. John's Island raised two troops of horse. Col. Alexander Innes, late inspector-General of Provincial in America testifies that Collett's companies were better clothed than Provincial in general. Mathew Smith, late sergeant in Collett's company, says some recruits came from Virginia but were enlisted after claimant came to New York. (A013/2/392-435).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 98.

A native of Ireland, Collet immigrated to America in 1764, and settled as a trader in Philadelphia. He served under Lord Dunmore in 1775, and remained with the British Army for the rest of the war. He was a captain in the Prince of Wales Regiment until 1782, when he resigned. Collet married a Miss Dupont in 1782, and went to Charleston to try to recover her seized property. (She was the daughter of Gideon Dupont, a Charleston Loyalist who was residing in England in 1784.) Collet received £30 sterling *per annum*. He claimed £750 sterling. (A012/101/125, A012/101/226, A012/102/81).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 167.

Jacob Ellegood, Princess Ann Co., Virginia. (Only son of Jacob Ellegood who was County Lieutenant, Judge, and Representative of Princess Ann Co.) Sent to Britain for education but returned to Virginia on father's death, married, and succeeded to father's offices and rank; affluence and elegance were exceeded by none. When Lord Dunmore removed from Williamsburg in 1775 and erected Royal Standard at Kemp's Landing, claimant brought in nearly the whole force of the country numbering more than 600 men who took oath of allegiance (several since put to death by rebels; some that remained because of age, totally ruined). Raised Queen's Loyal Virginian Regiment and was appointed its Lt. Col.; after Battle of Great Bridge, was captured, kept in close confinement or parole for five years and treated harshly (being refused an exchange). Was first native of America to have raised a Corps during war; when his Regiment arrived in New York, it was incorporated into Queen's Rangers. Estate, now ruined and desolate, was seized by order of Lt. Col. Epps; wife and children were obliged to live on charity. Memorial 24 September 1783 London. Claim: Arrears of pay; 1000 acres and large

house (his plantation at Lyn Haven River, Princess Ann Co.); plantation of 980 acres three miles away, part covered with white oak, etc. suitable for ships' keels; cattle; household goods, etc.; slaves. Evidences: Copy of claimant's parole issued at Williamsburg permitting him to proceed to British post at Portsmouth but not assist enemies of United States. Schedule of British property confiscated at Norfolk in 1780 with names of former owners and purchasers. Certificate by Thomas McKnight and James Parker that claimant is only son of Jacob Ellegood. (A013/28/318-342, 29/560-579).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 142-143.

Daniel Fraser, Petersburg, Virginia. In 1757, entered Col. Fraser's Highlanders as non-commissioned officer and served throughout that war, being wounded at Quebec. Was discharged in 1763 and went to Virginia as skipper of trading vessel on the rivers, acquiring a property to support himself in old age. Detained by business at Petersburg in 1775, sent his vessel with brother to Norfolk, where she was detained by Army. Claimant was prevented from going down river to join loyalists, taken to Williamsburg, and then sent back to Petersburg. Rejected commission in rebel army, was persecuted and driven from one hiding place to another; then boarded vessel on Nansemond River and left Virginia with other British factors June 1777. Since coming home, has served on a privateer, doing what he could for a livelihood, chiefly by distressing the Americans: he now cannot safely return to America. His schooner which he owned jointly with William Calderhead of Norfolk continued with Dunmore's fleet but was lost in a heavy gale in July 1776 when she was run down by another vessel. Memorials November 1783 and December 1789 Glasgow. Claim: Half of schooner Speedwell; leased lot and house at Petersburg rented from Col. Robert Balling; lot in new town of Petersburg; two negro wenches, etc. Evidences: Deposition 26 January 1786 Glasgow by Frederick Williams, late of Petersburg, now of Irvine, Ayrshire; and William Buchanan, late of Petersburg, now of Glasgow, that they lived in neighborhood of claimant, who was a shipmaster. Deposition 30 January 1786 Glasgow by Alexander Scheviz, merchant, late of Blandford, Prince George Co., Virginia, now of Glasgow; Thomas Scott, merchant, late of Blandford; and John Drummond, merchant, late of Blandford, now of Glasgow, that they went with claimant to New York. (A013/4/195-199, 28/415-424).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 166-167.

John Goodrich, Portsmouth, Virginia, deceased, by widow Margaret Goodrich He was native of Virginia who lived in comfort with large family before war and whose children for the most part had acquired an independent fortune. At beginning of war, joined expeditions to obtain provisions, while on voyage to North Carolina to intercept vessels, four British ships were captured and he was taken prisoner because of intemperate and imprudent conduct of Lt. Wright of H.M.S. *Otter* who commanded expedition. Was confined for two years in different rebel gaols, part of the time in irons; then contrived to escape, but after six days in the woods was discovered hiding in a tree and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the interior. His letters to the different branches of his family were intercepted, but when removed to be tried, he bribed guard and reached H.M.S. *St. Albans* in a state of exhaustion. Upon arrival in New York,

joined son in fitting out private ships of war to harass enemy: together they mounted nearly 20 cruises, recruited more than 10,000 men, and destroyed more than 500 enemy vessels. When he returned to England, was supported by the elder branches of his family but, for a short time before his death 17 November 1784, received a Government pension of £100 a year. Memorials: by John Goodrich, 1 March 1784, 10 May 1784 London; by Margaret Goodrich, 10 December 1784 London. Claim: Two lots on Elizabeth River, Portsmouth, Virginia with large house and stores; new cooper's, blacksmith's and blockmaker's shops; country villa called Springfields or Connor's place with 70 acres near Portsmouth; slaughterhouse, wharf, and warehouses; vessels burned on the stocks; estate called Shoulder's Hill, 575 acres; estate called Pearce's Plantation in Bear Quarter, 350 acres; estate called Day's Neck on James River, Isle of Wight Co., 400 acres; plantation called Shelly Point or Old Town on Pagan Creek, 50 acres; house and store on Main St., Alexandria; slaves including negro sailors. Evidences: Conveyances: 9 February 1754 of plantation of 225 acres in Suffolk, Nansemond Co., Virginia from Christopher Wright and wife Mary to claimant, which estate was divided by 29 March 1748 will of William Wright, grandfather of vendor, between his sons William and Edward Wright; 16 March 1759 of tract of 300 acres in Suffolk, Nansemond Co. from Simon Cohoon and wife Mary to claimant, which tract vendor bought from Benjamin Waller of Williamsburg, Virginia, as attorney for Amy Cary, Henry Stevens, and Henry Woodcock, executors of Robert Cary of City of London; (lease) 20/21 January 1762 from Andrew Duche to claimant of land in Portsmouth; 25 May 1769 of a half lot and building in Portsmouth from William Dale to Robert Shedden; 1 September 1771 of other half of same lot from Daniel Dale to Robert Shedden; 30 October 1764 of 50 acres in Portsmouth from Roderick Connor to claimant; 12 April 1762 of 15 acres in Suffolk from William Grimes to claimant; 14 July 1755 of 150 acres from Daniel Pugh to claimant; 1 January 1767 of 363 acres in Newport from William Glover to claimant; 31 July 1771 of lot in Alexandria Town from John Alexander to claimant. Inquisition taken 6 August 1779 Isle of Wight Co. on claimant's property, including 400 acres in Patesfield. Inquisition taken 17 November 1779 Suffolk, Nansemond Co. Deposition 4 August 1785 London by Richard Blow of Portsmouth, Virginia, that he knows claimant's buildings in Crofford St., Portsmouth, to have been burned; in 1781 deponent purchased a lot in ruins from Richard Nestor, who had acquired claimant's estates in Portsmouth. Examination 20 February 1787 on behalf of Robert Shedden, John Goodrich, and Bridger Goodrich, executors to John Goodrich deceased. Robert Shedden examined says that John Goodrich owned a one-third share in Shedden & Co. at start of war. Probate of 28 August 1783 will of John Goodrich is produced; the testator left legacies to wife Margaret, sons Samuel, Edward, and James, and to his grandchildren. Robert Gilmour and Bartlett Goodrich, son of John Goodrich deceased, also examined. (A013/30/305-472).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 189-190.

Goodrich's memorial to the Loyalist Claims Commissioners confirms Sabine's entry, but adds that he procured his final release from prison by bribing his guards and boarding a British ship, the *St. Albans*. Afterwards, in New York, Goodrich fitted out privateers in partnership with Robert Shedden. They had, he said, between ten and twenty ships constantly at sea, destroyed 500 enemy vessels, and furnished employment for 1,000 Loyalists. Goodrich estimated his loss

at £25,192 sterling, £8,000 sterling of which was money owed to him. He died on November 17, 1785, possibly in England. Goodrich received an allowance of £100 *per annum*, and £60 *per annum* was continued to his widow Margaret. (A012/56/166, A012/101/289).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 324.

Alexander Gordon, Norfolk, Virginia. Surgeon and druggist; settled there in 1761 and acquired property through his practice. Was appointed a Colonel of Norfolk Militia, fought at Battle of the Great Bridge, was taken prisoner there, tried, and found guilty; was imprisoned from December 1775 until March 1777, then exchanged and sent on board H.M.S. *Emerald* in Chesapeake Bay, leaving family behind in Virginia. Rejoined Army in New York; was in action at Heads of the Elk and Brandy Wine before coming to England in 1779. Returned to America with Lord Dunmore in 1781, but was refused permission to see family there. After the peace, made another journey to Virginia to secure the remains of his ruined estates, but found them all destroyed by fire, and was not allowed to remain. His health and strength have been greatly impaired by his sufferings. He has (1779) a wife and five children, the eldest a boy aged 13 who was sent to Scotland to be educated. Memorials 14 January 1779 London, 25 October 1783 Charlestown, South Carolina, 10 March 1784, 4 August 1784, 11 September 1784 London. Claim: Three new houses in Norfolk; stock in trade; instruments; loss of practice. Evidences: Series of instructions to claimant from Lord Dunmore dated 1776.

Note of agreement 24 February 1777 Williamsburg to exchange claimant for Col. Anthony Lawson, a prisoner in East Florida. Deposition 11 September 1784 London by James Parker, Jacob Ellegood, Robert Gilmour, and William Calderhead that they knew claimant and have appraised value of his property. Depositions 17 May 1784 Norfolk, Virginia by Richard Taylor appraising claimant's property; by John Ross that he lived with claimant as his assistant. Deposition 22 October 1785 London by William Farrar, formerly of Norfolk, Virginia, and now about to leave the kingdom, that he has known claimant more than 20 years and was his neighbor in Bute St., Portsmouth.

(A013/29/672-691, 30/360-377).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 191-192.

A native of Scotland, Gordon immigrated to America in 1760 and settled at Norfolk, Virginia, as a physician. He joined Lord Dunmore in 1775, was appointed a colonel of militia at Norfolk, and served in the battle at Great Bridge. Taken prisoner, he was afterwards exchanged, and in April 1777 joined Sir William Howe. Gordon went to England soon after the evacuation of Philadelphia in 1778, but later sailed for America with Lord Dunmore; he returned to England again in July 1784. Gordon's earnings as a physician were £400 sterling *per annum*. His claim was for property destroyed during the burning of Norfolk. His land was not confiscated. Gordon claimed a loss of £2,220 sterling, and received £1,420 sterling. He had a pension as a Loyalist of £103 sterling *per annum*, along with a military pension of £97. Gordon returned to Virginia after the Peace in an unsuccessful attempt to recover damages for his property. (A012/56/41, A012/109/148, A013/29/672).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, pp. 324-325.

Walter Hatton, Accomack, Virginia, deceased, by widow Ellen Hatton. Was appointed Collector of Customs for Accomack in 1760 and continued in that post until 1775, when seized and taken to Williamsburg under guard with orders that he should be killed if guard was pursued. After being imprisoned, escaped by concealing himself in an open, wet marsh where he lay exposed to all weathers, in consequence of which he became sick and was unable to leave room. Reached H.M.S. *Preston* and arrived in England April 1777 from New York on frigate *Brune*. On orders from Lord Dunmore, embarked October 1781 to return to Virginia but, having arrived at Charlestown, received permission to return to England. Embarked on transport *Hope* 25 January 1782 but she was lost and all on board perished. Left widow with two infant children. Memorials: By Walter Hatton received 2 June 1777; another 18 June 1777 Shrewsbury that he has retired hither for health; another May 1781 Shadwell, Middlesex; by Ellen Hatton 2 July 1782 London that she was unable to return to Virginia, with husband, being far advanced in pregnancy; another 15 March 1784 London. Claim: Landed and personal estate [unspecified]. Evidences: Letter by Walter Hatton to Commissioners 9 May 1777 London that his brother Rev. Thomas Hatton, Rector of Waters Upton, has told him he might expect a better place than Hampton. Letter from Walter Hatton 20 April 1781 Shadwell addressed "Revd." and Dear Sir", saying he will have the burden when he arrives in America of not hearing the Gospel there, and is prepared to take books to the Society and people there; proposes to give up stewardship of Wapping Chapel. Letter from John Westly 26 August 1781 Pembroke support claim. (A013/30/581-588, 31/81-96).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 222-223.

Appointed Collector of Customs for the port of Accomack, Virginia, in 1760. Hatton abandoned his post in 1775, and in 1777 sailed for England, where he received a pension of £80 sterling *per annum*. He returned to America in 1781, but again embarked for England in the following year on the brigantine *Hope*. when that vessel sank, resulting in the death of everyone on board, Hatton left a widow named Ellen with two children. His loss was estimated at £3,140 sterling, but the claim was disallowed for want of proof. (A012/56/132, A012/109,168, A013/31/581). Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 369.

Richard Mackie. A native of Scotland, Mackie immigrated to America in 1749, and settled at Nansemond, Virginia, as a planter and pilot. In 1776, when more than 100 Scottish merchants were ordered out of Virginia, he and a Reverent Agnew sheltered many of them until they could depart. Mackie brought these merchants to New York, but on his return trip he was imprisoned by a Committee of Safety. In 1779 he escaped and joined General Mathews at Portsmouth, Virginia, and was taken to New York to act as master of a transport during the British expedition to Charleston. In 1781 Mackie piloted General Benedict Arnold's troops up the James River to Westover. After the Peace he returned to Virginia in order to resume his mercantile career, but he was driven out and forced to go to Nova Scotia, where he hoped to engage in the fishing trade. Mackie lived in Shelburne, Nova Scotia, and claimed a loss of £1,164 sterling. He received £835 sterling. (A012/56/256, A012/109/204).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 561.

Andrew McCan [McCann]. Of Virginia. A lieutenant in the Queen's Rangers. Joined Lord Dunmore as ensign, and shortly afterwards was taken prisoner and confined for three years. Went to Nova Scotia. McCan travelled to England to apply for £220, the pay which he had not received during his imprisonment. (A013/91/186).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 523.

Thomas Manning, Norfolk Co., Virginia. Born in Virginia; with relations and friends set out to join Lord Dunmore, but could not pass over Great Bridge because it had been taken by rebels. He and party had to live in woods until 1779, when he was able to join a British expedition sent into Virginia from New York. Enlisted a private in 84th Regiment but was wounded at Battle of the Utaahs and rendered unfit for further service. While his party was hiding in woods they were attacked by rebels: two of them killed, another five captured and executed at Williamsburg. Claimant was sent with invalid Co. to New Providence, where he was captured by Spaniards. With rest of garrison was sent back to England in 1783 and ordered to Portsmouth, where he was discharged 24 March 1789. Memorial 6 April 1789 London. Claim: Relief for self and family. (A013/31/347-352).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 330.

James Parker, Norfolk, Virginia. Merchant; was resident there for more than 30 years before war, carrying on extensive trade in Virginia and North Carolina. Was Agent for victualling Navy in Virginia and in 1775, was commissioned Engineer and Master of Works, causing him to be object of special hatred; Americans chose his houses to start conflagration. He went to Boston to procure provisions; on return was wounded on H.M.S. *Glasgow* when she was attacked by rebel fleet off Rhode Island. Was then wrecked in sloop *Vulcan* on Eastern Shore and taken prisoner. While wife and children were subsisted by relations, he was taken from one gaol to another, travelling several hundred miles up country. After 10 months he escaped with eight others, travelled nearly 500 miles at night time, and reached H.M.S. *Roebuck* off Cape Delaware. Went to New York and was with Army at actions in Philadelphia, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. Joined expedition to Virginia in 1779, to Charleston in 1780, and on the way back to Virginia February 1781 was taken by French while on H.M.S. *Romulus*. Was put on prison ship at Rhode Island, then taken to Boston and, without being allowed to go ashore, was sent with four others from Virginia to Cape Francois and close confined five months. Was again shipwrecked in French warship *Union* and finally arrived in France December 1781. Was confined at Brest, Dinant, and St. Malo and then sent on parole to Caen until freed at the peace. Has been at great expense to educate two sons in Britain and to support wife and daughter in Virginia. Memorial 30 April 1783 London. Claim for relief. Evidences: Letter 29 January 1787 London from claimant to Commissioners that son Patrick went to Virginia to dispose of claimant's property, was unable to do so, and is now leaving to West Indies intending to go into business. (A013/32/229-236).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 379.

Of North Carolina and Virginia. Parker served Lord Dunmore as an engineer and master of works. While imprisoned for the first time he was sent to Bedford in the backcountry of Virginia, and during this period his property in North Carolina was seized and later confiscated by the "Convention" of North Carolina. Parker eventually escaped with other Loyalists after nine months' imprisonment. In 1777 he joined the British Army under Sir. William Howe, serving in the expedition to the Chesapeake, and at the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. Parker went on the southern expedition in 1779, and on February 19, 1781, he was captured by the French. He was shipwrecked twice before reaching France, and imprisoned in the castles of Brest, Dinant and St. Malo. Through the intercession of the Duke of Harcourt, Governor of Normandy, Parker was sent to Caen, where he remained until the Peace. Both the "James Parkers" mentioned in Sabine are this man. He was in partnership with the firm of Aitchison, McCormick and McKnight. Parker claimed a loss of £15,497 sterling, and received £5,110 sterling. On behalf of himself and his partner William Aitchison, he claimed a loss of £3,027 sterling, and was awarded £2,410 sterling. (A012/54/247, A012/109/242).

Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, Gregory Palmer [British Library], Meckler Publishing, Westport, London, 1984, p. 670.

Thomas Powell, Augusta, Virginia. Went to America in early youth and became clerk and storekeeper to a merchant. Refused to take up arms for rebels and procured substitute at considerable expense; then set off for Philadelphia and was employed for more than a year by the Mayor there. Joined with three merchants, Kidd, Turner, and Urquhart, who had purchased brig *St. Johns* which they intended to freight to Virginia and New York. Claimant smuggled intelligence aboard ship and on pretext of being indisposed, obtained leave to sail with Mr. Kidd (the other two merchants set off overland to Virginia, intending to meet their partners at Hampton River); they went up Nansemond River and took seven weeks to complete their loading. Then a villain came aboard, a search was made for him, and to save himself he informed on claimant. The vessel was detained, the papers containing intelligence were found in the cabin, and ship was libelled. Claimant was taken prisoner to Williamsburg; while the merchants were allowed to ride to Philadelphia, he was marched there in handcuffs living off scraps tossed to him by his guard, before being thrown on top of a baggage waggon to complete his journey. Mr. Turner got to Little York, Virginia, where he was killed when French and rebels stormed the place. Urquhart died on passage to England, and Kidd became a merchant at St. Kitts. Claimant in gaol at Philadelphia had head shaved and blistered; was reduced to a skeleton, being given bread, salt, and water to live on. After being confined seven months, chose to serve on an American warship in hope of being taken by British; on passage from Cape Francois his vessel was captured by H.M.S. *Roebuck* and *Orpheus*. He thought it proper to conceal his true situation, was put with other prisoners, and on arrival at New York was put into prison ship *Jersey* before he took oath of allegiance and was released. He then opened a school at Brooklyn and regained health by adhering to diet of milk and vegetables. When he came to Nova Scotia, was offered land at St. Johns, but rejected it because he had no means of improving it. Memorial 28 January 1790 H.M.S. *Barfleur*, Portsmouth Harbour.

(A013/32/275-286).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 397.

John Adam Risch, Eastern Shore, Northampton Co., Virginia. Surgeon and practitioner of medicine; native of Hesse Cassel, Germany. In 1756, served as surgeon on British privateers *Severn* and *Invincible*; in 1761 went to America, finally settling to practice in Northampton Co. yielding more than £700 a year. Having acquired right of citizenship after so long a residence, he remained loyal. Was confined by rebels, first in Accomack Co. and then in Northampton Co., before being condemned to close confinement at Williamsburg three months; effects were taken, books and papers lost. September 1777, fled to H.M.S. *Raisnable* in Chesapeake Bay, went to New York and remained there until the evacuation. Now in bad health and in distressed circumstances, he wishes to visit Hesse Cassel where he has a brother in service of the Prince who will relieve his want. Memorial 22 April 1785 London. Claim: for relief. Evidences: Certificate by Jacob Ellegood and James Ingram, merchants, late of Norfolk, Virginia, and by James Parker, that while they were prisoners on Eastern Shore claimant was hospitable to them. (A013/32/390-395).

American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I, Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980, pp. 415-416.