

SPRING 2021

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

This issue is dedicated to the late Dr. Frank T. Bumpus, the transformative underwriter of the Hudson River Valley Institute as the principal donor to its endowment and with the Dr. Frank T. Bumpus Chair in Hudson River Valley History. We will always remember him as a “Philanthropist, Aviator, Radiologist.”

MARIST



The Hudson River Valley Institute at Marist College is supported by a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

From the Publisher and Executive Director

Our entire Hudson River Valley Institute (HRVI) and Marist College community mourns the loss of Advisory Board member Dr. Frank T. Bumpus, a true champion of HRVI and our region's history, who passed away in December 2020. He was one of Marist College's most generous and transformational benefactors. A resident of Cold Spring, Dr. Bumpus was the principal donor for a National Endowment for the Humanities Challenge grant that underpins HRVI's endowment and also established the endowed Dr. Frank T. Bumpus Chair in Hudson River Valley History.

Dr. Bumpus lived his over ninety-eight years to the fullest, and his public service contributions were legion as a philanthropist, an officer in the U. S. Army in World War II, and a doctor. As a member of the Air Corps, Frank trained as both a bombardier and a navigator and flew forty-three combat missions in Douglas A-20 Havoc bombers from bases in England against targets in France and Germany, for which he was awarded seven Air Medals for meritorious achievement in flight and the Distinguished Flying Cross. Upon his discharge from the Army, he graduated from the University of California, Berkeley and then from Tufts College Medical School as a radiologist, going on to practice medicine at Memorial Hospital, now Memorial Sloan Kettering, in New York City. His philanthropy spanned both coasts, and he devoted his life to good works at the Florida Memorial Hospital in Key West, Tufts University, and HRVI.

Frank's contributions to HRVI extend well beyond the Dr. Frank T. Bumpus Chair in Hudson River Valley History, and will live on at the Institute into the future. Among them, the Dr. Frank T. Bumpus Collection of paintings by artist David Wagner, commemorating the march of Generals Washington's and Rochambeau's armies during the American Revolution, adorn the walls of the Institute, and the Dr. Frank T. Bumpus Internship is awarded annually to a Marist student researching Hudson River Valley history. He was a true Renaissance man in every sense of the word, and it was an honor to have known him. We remember him here in the same way as we do in the plaque in HRVI's offices as "Philanthropist, Aviator, Radiologist" and above even these, "Friend."

Thomas S. Wermuth, *Publisher, and HRVI Director*

James M. Johnson, *HRVI Executive Director, and Dr. Frank T. Bumpus Chair*



On the cover: Seth Eastman. View from West Point. Oil on Canvas. 11 3/4 x 15 3/4 inches. 1835-1839. West Point Museum Collection, United States Military Academy. Highland Falls, NY

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

Vol. 37, No.2, Spring 2021

Who Were the Hudson River Valley Loyalists? A Demographic Study, <i>Kieran J. O'Keefe</i>	2
Explorers, Naturalists, and Military Precursors to the Hudson River School, <i>James Lancel McElhinney</i>	25
Votes for Women: Celebrating New York's Suffrage Centennial 2017 & 2020, <i>Jennifer Lemak and Ashley Hopkins-Benton</i>	59

Notes and Documents

Chasing Sholem; In Search of the First Jewish Communal Agricultural Colony in the United States, <i>Marianna Boncek</i>	76
--	----

Regional History Forum

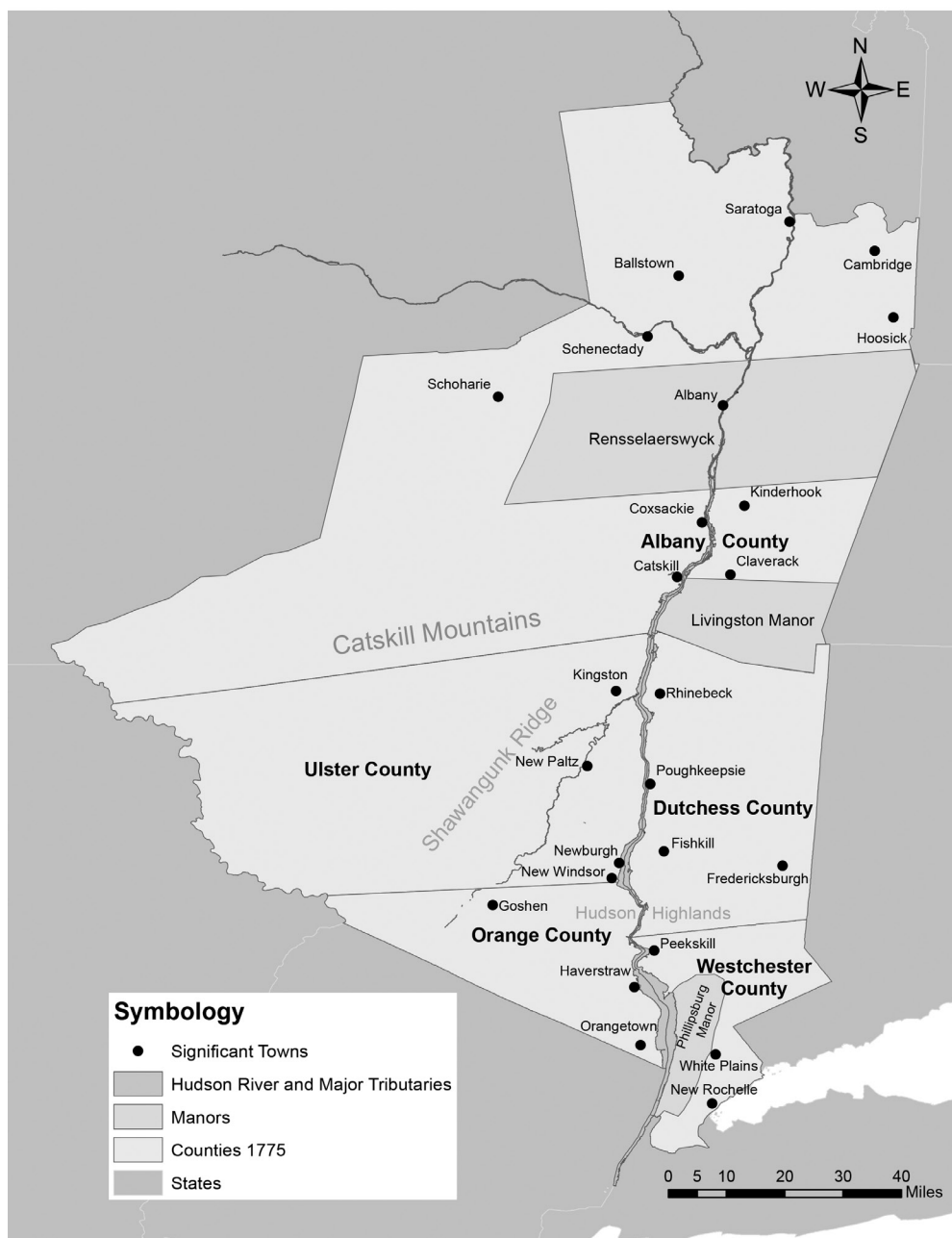
Preserving Poughkeepsie's Pink House: The Colorful History of the James Winslow Gatehouse, <i>Kasey Calnan</i>	97
---	----

Book Reviews

Thomas Cole's Refrain: The Paintings of Catskill Creek, <i>H. Daniel Peck</i>	108
Charles S. Keefe, 1876-1946; Colonial Revival Architect in Kingston and New York, <i>William Bertolet Rhoads</i>	111
Frederic Church's Olana on the Hudson: Art, Landscape, Architecture, <i>Photography by Larry Lederman, Edited by Julia B. Rosenbaum and Karen Zukowski</i>	114

Who Were the Hudson River Valley Loyalists? A Demographic Study

Kieran J. O'Keefe



Map of the Hudson Valley in 1775. Designed by Kieran J. O'Keefe and Kean McDermott. Courtesy of the author

Historians have long sought to learn who remained loyal to the British crown during the American Revolution. This study revitalizes the quantitative study of loyalism by providing an in-depth examination of Loyalists from the Hudson River Valley. The basis of this examination is a database I have compiled on all Loyalists and suspected Loyalists in this region. The details come from various sources, including the Loyalist Claims Commission, church records, town government records, family papers, newspapers, and tax lists.¹ Loyalism was stronger in places where there had been greater unrest before the war, particularly in Albany, Dutchess, and Westchester counties. Demographically, Loyalists were a crosscut of society. Every ethnic, racial, economic, and religious group had individuals loyal to the king. Many men remained loyal for practical concerns that had little connection to ideology, religion, or economics. However, there were some broad patterns among Loyalists. In terms of religion, there was a connection between Loyalism and the Church of England throughout the region, with Anglican parishes consistently having higher levels of loyalism. Members of some ethnic groups were disproportionately loyal, while among others there is no discernable pattern in political allegiance. The Scots, enslaved Blacks, and Indians were all inclined to loyalty. The two largest ethnicities in the Hudson Valley were the Dutch and the English, but neither was disproportionately for or against the Revolution.

The most significant quantitative study of Loyalists to date is Wallace Brown's examination of the Loyalist Claims Commission. Brown surveyed each compensation claim filed by Loyalists after the war and divided his book into chapters that focused on each colony. He counted the number of claims from each state to determine the strength of loyalism, and then analyzed the applications for national origin, occupation, wealth, type of service to the British, and geographic distribution around the colony. He concluded that while there were regional differences in the composition of the Loyalists, they represented a cross-section of American society. Brown's quantitative study came under scrutiny from other historians. Eugene R. Fingerhut argued that exclusive reliance on the Loyalist claims was problematic for several reasons, including that Loyalists were not always honest in their claims, some applications were completely fraudulent, and that poorer people were less likely to request compensation. While Fingerhut's critique has

1 This database contains information on Loyalists from Albany, Dutchess, Orange, Ulster, and Westchester counties. Some of the most important printed sources used to compile the database were the *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New York, 1775–1777*, 2 vols. (Albany: Thurlow Weed, 1842), *Minutes of the Committee and of the First Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York: December 11, 1776–September 23, 1778*, 2 vols. (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1925), Hugh Hastings, ed., *Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 1777–1795, 1801–1804*, 10 vols. (New York and Albany: New York State, 1899–1914), James Sullivan, ed., *Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, 1775–1778*, 2 vols. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1923), Victor Hugo Paltsits, ed., *Minutes of the Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, Albany County Sessions, 1778–1781*, 3 vols. (Albany: New York State, 1909–1910), Helen Wilkinson Reynolds, ed., *The Records of Christ Church Poughkeepsie New York*, 2 vols. (Poughkeepsie, NY: Frank B. Howard, 1911), and Peter Force's *American Archives*. Newspapers, particularly the *New-York Packet* and *New-York Journal*, were used too. I also consulted manuscript and microfilm collections at various archives, including the Adirance Memorial Library, Columbia County Historical Society, Ulster County Archives, New York State Archives, New York State Library, New-York Historical Society, New York Public Library, Library of Congress, Library and Archives Canada, the Loyalist Collection at the University of New Brunswick, and the National Archives of the United Kingdom.

merit, it does not mean that quantitative studies of loyalism are without use, and they still allow exploration of broad patterns among Loyalists.²

Many other scholars have debated who remained loyal and why without using a quantitative approach. In one of the earliest modern studies of loyalism, William H. Nelson observed that Loyalists came from a variety of backgrounds, saying, “Always the gentlemen, esquires, merchants, and the like are far outnumbered by the yeomen, cordwainers, tailors, labourers, masons, blacksmiths, and their fellows.” He criticized the use of economics as a predictor of loyalism, instead arguing that a more consistent pattern was loyalty among cultural minorities because they believed that British rule formed an essential bulwark in their cultural protection from the Anglo-American majority. In a separate study from his examination of Loyalist claims, Wallace Brown argued that motivations for loyalty included ideology, economics, religious beliefs, and individual choices. Some historians, such as Janice Potter in *The Liberty We Seek*, emphasized the role of ideology, especially among the elites, contending that Loyalists were bound by a shared political philosophy. Maya Jasanoff argued that while ideology played a role—in that all Loyalists remained loyal to the king—their beliefs otherwise varied significantly. In her study of South Carolina, Rebecca Brannon asserted that the Loyalists came from many different backgrounds and that loyalism had “little to do with class tension, political ideologies, or even social relations.” Instead, she stressed that people generally decided allegiance because of practical concerns, such as wanting to choose the strongest side in the war at any given moment. Alan Taylor has likewise concluded that Loyalists came from a wide variety of backgrounds, that loyalism was a decision many individuals came to slowly, and that loyalty often ebbed and flowed throughout the course of the war.³

This examination supports some of the same conclusions from earlier studies. As in other regions, Loyalists in the Hudson Valley were extremely diverse, and they had many different reasons for remaining loyal to the king. This essay, however, shows that close studies of individual communities are the best way to determine the origin and nature of political allegiance because all loyalism was local. The Hudson Valley was extremely heterogenous and politics were very localized. In certain towns, loyalism was driven by religious tension, while in others, disputes over the system of land ownership or economic anxiety pushed people to loyalism. Oftentimes, towns that bordered each other had noticeably different demographics among their Loyalist community. Loyalism

2 Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1965); Eugene R. Fingerhut, “Uses and Abuses of the American Loyalists' Claims: A Critique of Quantitative Analyses,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (April 1968): 245–258.

3 William H. Nelson, *The American Tory* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), 86 (“Always the”), 87–91; Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1969), chap. 3; Janice Potter, *The Liberty We Seek: Loyalist Ideology in Colonial New York and Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Vintage Books, 2011), 8–9; Rebecca Brannon, *From Revolution to Reunion: The Reintegration of the South Carolina Loyalists* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016) 15 (quote), 16–17; Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750–1804* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2016), 213–15.

in the Hudson Valley was driven by a mixture of overreaching factors, such as religion and ethnicity, individual choices, the contingency of war, and local conditions.

The Problem of Definitions

One challenge in studying loyalism is determining who was a Loyalist. Political allegiance often fluctuated, with some individuals switching sides during the conflict. In other cases, it is difficult to distinguish between loyalism and neutralism. Was absence from militia duty a sign of loyalism? Was a person who sold supplies to the British army a Loyalist? Or were these individuals just trying to survive the conflict? The line between loyalism and neutralism was blurry, and neutralists were often accused of loyalism. Sung Bok Kim further complicates distinctions between different political groups in his study of Westchester County. He demonstrates that many civilians during the war became apathetic and cynical as the conflict progressed. They were depoliticized by the sufferings of war and tried to survive by staying neutral, thinking little of the larger meaning of the conflict and only getting involved when compelled.⁴

Given these challenges, historians have offered various definitions for loyalism. Some scholars, such as Philip Ranlet and Robert Calhoon, provide relatively narrow definitions for loyalism, while others like Edward Larkin frame it more broadly. Ranlet argues that a Loyalist must have shown “active support” on behalf of Great Britain. He does not consider off-handed comments in favor of Britain nor spreading rumors about British military success as marks of loyalism. Similarly, individuals who wanted Britain to win the war but never acted on their beliefs are not considered Loyalists. Calhoon likewise argues that Loyalists were colonists who supported Britain “by some overt action.” Larkin provides a broader definition. He says that Loyalists should be defined as “American[s] who favored reconciliation with Great Britain during conflicts that began with the Stamp Act and concluded with the War of 1812.” His description does not require overt action and includes those who favored remaining in the British Empire, even if they never acted on their beliefs. Building off these understandings of what made a Loyalist, my definition of “Loyalist” aligns more closely with Ranlet and Calhoon and requires taking an action during the war against the Revolution or in support of Great Britain. “Action” encompasses, but is not limited to, joining Loyalist military units, fleeing to British lines, harboring suspected Loyalists, speaking out against the Revolution, and refusing oaths of allegiance to New York. This definition includes those who made pro-British remarks, even if they were not overt Loyalists. Choosing loyalty was one of the most difficult life decisions that colonists faced. Both Patriots and Loyalists recognized that they could

4 Sung Bok Kim, “The Limits of Politicization in the American Revolution: The Experience of Westchester County, New York,” *The Journal of American History* 80, no. 3 (December 1993): 868–889.

lose everything if the other side won. Often, such considerations put them at odds with neighbors, friends, and even family.⁵

Crucially, there were varying degrees and motivations of loyalism. Samuel Seabury and Benedict Arnold were vastly different kinds of Loyalists. Seabury was a committed supporter of Britain from the beginning of the war, speaking out against the resistance movement even before the first shots at Lexington. He later suffered imprisonment at the hands of Revolutionaries and joined the British in New York City at first opportunity. Afterward, he was the chaplain of a Loyalist provincial regiment. Benedict Arnold also became a Loyalist, yet he was a leading officer in the Continental Army for much of the war, only later defecting to the British. Thousands of Loyalists fell somewhere between these ends of the spectrum. Some only joined the British because they thought Great Britain would win the war. Many Americans supported resistance to British policy but opposed the idea of independence. These individuals have been called “Whig-Loyalists,” because they embraced a Whig ideology that mandated resistance to transgressions but feared the social upheaval brought by revolution. In recent years, historians have recognized that not all British supporters were white men and that motivations for loyalty among other groups differed. Female Loyalists experienced great hardship during the war and were faced with the challenges arising from their husbands’ political position. Many enslaved Blacks sided with Great Britain simply because they believed that Britain gave them their best chance at gaining freedom. Most Indian tribes supported the British, viewing them as less of a threat to their land than the rebelling colonists. Although those Indians who sided with Britain are perhaps better described as foreign allies than “Loyalists,” they did fall under the broader umbrella of loyalty to the crown, as some tribes allied with the Revolutionaries. Many groups of people can be characterized as “Loyalists.”⁶

Another issue is the term “disaffected.” Patriots used this word frequently during the war to describe various people who did not support the Revolution. Historians today generally define disaffected as those who tried to stay out of the conflict, and they are often considered a separate political group from Loyalists.⁷ But when Patriots used the term “disaffected” they did not always refer to neutrals. Instead, Revolutionaries frequently used the word to describe violent supporters of Britain. In January 1777, the chairman of the Pawling Committee of Safety wrote to the Provincial Convention warning of a plot

5 Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, 2nd edition (New York: University Press of America, 2002), 6–7; Robert Calhoon, “Loyalism and Neutrality,” in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, eds. Jack P. Green and J.R. Pole (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1991), 247; Edward Larkin, “What is a Loyalist?” *Common-Place* 8, no. 1 (2007).

6 William Allen Benton, *Whig-Loyalism: An Aspect of Political Ideology in the American Revolutionary Era* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1969); For works on women, African Americans, and Indians see Janice Potter-MacKinnon, *While the Women Only Wept: Loyalist Refugee Women in Eastern Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993); Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006); Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006); James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783–1870* (Halifax: Dalhousie University Press, 1976); Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

7 For discussion of the disaffected, see Aaron Sullivan, *The Disaffected: Britain’s Occupation of Philadelphia During the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 4–6, Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 212.

by the “disaffected” to seize the Revolutionaries and “convey them by some means or other to the regulars.” In September 1776, the New York State Committee of Safety expressed concern that the disaffected would join with slaves in an insurrection, and that General William Howe was actively enlisting the disaffected into provincial units. When applying for financial compensation after the war, some Loyalists said they had been considered disaffected by Patriots. Harry Munro, the Anglican minister in Albany and a Loyalist, noted that he was confined as a disaffected person before fleeing to the British army. These examples show that the term “disaffection” extended beyond those who can be described as varying degrees of neutral. Instead, “disaffected” was a term with a broad spectrum. It described individuals ranging from neutrals to strong Loyalists. Although Revolutionaries usually recognized the distinction between disaffection and militant loyalism, the two categories often blurred, and Patriots used the term to describe many true Loyalists. Within this study, I consider the disaffected who leaned toward neutralism as neutralists, while counting those who were closer to loyalism as Loyalists.⁸

Loyalist Strength and Geographic Distribution

Loyalist Strength by County	
County	Estimated Percentage Loyalist
Albany	20–25%
Dutchess	18–22%
Orange	5–10%
Ulster	8–12%
Westchester	20–25%
Total	~20%

New York has long been considered a stronghold of loyalism. In Alexander Flick’s study of the New York Loyalists, he estimated that half of the state was loyal to the crown. In the Hudson Valley, he believed Loyalist strength was one-third. Although later historians questioned that Loyalists were half of the colony’s population, none challenged the belief that Loyalists were particularly strong in New York. Wallace Brown argued that New York was “unquestionably the great Loyalist stronghold,” though they were “probably not a majority.” Robert Calhoon similarly contended that “there appear to have been a significantly higher proportion of loyalists in New York than in any other state.” It was not until Philip Ranlet published *The New*

York Loyalists that the idea of New York as a Loyalist stronghold was seriously questioned. Ranlet argued that not only were Loyalists less than half the colony, they were just a small minority, consisting of perhaps fifteen percent of the population, while neutrals were only ten percent. Although Ranlet did not provide an exact number for Loyalist strength in the Hudson Valley, he did not think it was extensive among the broader population. Ranlet

8 *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, 1: 606, 766–67 (quote); Loyalist Claim of Harry Munro, Reel 14, volume 45, page 51, American Loyalists Collection, New York Public Library (hereafter cited as 14/45/51, ALC, NYPL).

probably slightly underestimated the strength of New York's loyal population, but his overall conclusion—that historians have overestimated New York loyalism—is accurate.⁹

The loyal population of the Hudson Valley was likely around twenty percent, although it was spread unevenly. Neutrals and the disaffected who leaned toward neutralism are harder to estimate, but perhaps twenty percent of the region also falls into these categories. Revolutionaries of varying degrees were likely around sixty percent of the region. This estimate comes from my database that documents Loyalists and suspected Loyalists in the region. Although few historians have estimated the specific strength of Hudson Valley loyalism, twenty percent is lower than most estimates for New York as a whole. Loyalism tended to be stronger in Albany, Dutchess, and Westchester counties, and weaker in Orange and Ulster. Sixty-four Loyalists from Saratoga and Stillwater, then in northern Albany County, filed compensation claims after the war, compared to only seventeen men in all of Orange County. There were exceptions to this pattern, however. The city of Albany was a Patriot stronghold, with only a tiny minority of the community being strong Loyalists. Likewise, within pro-Revolution Ulster County, Loyalists probably made up twenty to twenty-five percent of Newburgh's population. However, Loyalists in the Hudson Valley tended to be more active than those elsewhere because of the proximity of British forces.¹⁰

One of the first issues illustrating divided loyalties within the Hudson Valley was whether to sign the General Association. In response to the Coercive Acts, the First Continental Congress passed the Continental Association in 1774. It mandated colonial non-importation and non-consumption of British goods, as well as non-exportation of American goods. To enforce these measures, Congress ordered the formation of committees in "every county, city, and town . . . whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons."¹¹ This directive spawned Committees of Safety, which acted as the effective government in New York until 1778. The committees forced white men to swear allegiance to the Association and the measures of the Continental Congress. Those who refused were identified as enemies of the Revolution and were shunned or terrorized by Patriots. As relations between Britain and the colonies deteriorated further, many non-signers ultimately became Loyalists.

The twenty-two surviving Hudson Valley Association lists strongly support that loyalism was stronger in Dutchess County and weaker in Orange and Ulster. Few lists

9 Alexander Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1901), 181–82; Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1969), 231; Robert McCluer Calhoun, *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America 1760–1781* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), 408; See also, Bernard Mason, *The Road to Independence: The Revolutionary Movement in New York, 1773–1777* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), chap. 3; Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, 139, 173.

10 For Saratoga, Stillwater, and Orange County compensation claims, see Vols. 17–24, 42–43, ALC; Elizabeth M. Covart, "Collision on the Hudson: Identity, Migration, and the Improvement of Albany, New York, 1750–1830" (PhD diss., University of California Davis, 2011), 132; Kieran J. O'Keefe, "Religion, Wealth, and Geographic Location: The Loyalists of Newburgh, New York," *New York History* 99, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 158–182. A portion of this research on Newburgh was published in the aforementioned *New York History* article. The compensation claim statistics for Orange County and Saratoga are taken from volumes 17–24 and 41–46 of the American Loyalists Collection at the New York Public Library.

11 First Continental Congress, *The Continental Association*, October 20, 1774.

remain for Albany or Westchester counties; thus, no significant conclusions can be drawn for them. Northern Orange County mostly supported the Association, while there was more opposition in its southern towns of Haverstraw and Orangetown. Within Ulster County, there was little to no resistance to the Association in most communities, and it had the fewest non-signers of the three documented counties. Only in Newburgh and Marlborough was there any substantial opposition to the Association. Dutchess had the most resistance, with nearly a third of the county refusing to sign. Even within Dutchess, support for the Association varied significantly by town. In Amenia, only 7.4 percent of men refused to sign, while almost half in Rhinebeck were non-signers.¹²

There are several reasons why loyalism was stronger in Albany, Dutchess, and Westchester than in Orange and Ulster counties. In the case of Westchester, its proximity to British-occupied New York City was critical. The southern portion of the county was occupied by British troops, making it more enticing for Loyalists to act on their allegiance. More generally, though, these three counties had greater strife in the decade before the Revolution. In each, wealthy landlords owned extensive manors populated with thousands of tenants. The system of ownership led to economic divisions that culminated in severe land riots by tenants and squatters in the years before the Revolution. Although tenant rioters took both sides during the war, there is a consistent pattern of higher levels of loyalism and disaffection in areas where tenancy predominated. Cortlandt Manor (Westchester County) saw significant unrest during the war, as did Livingston Manor in southeastern Albany County (now Columbia County). Revolutionaries often misidentified neutralism as loyalism, and most manors consisted of a mixture of both. The disaffection on Livingston Manor leaned more toward neutralism than loyalism. Only three compensation claims from manor residents were filed with the British government after the war. Conversely, there were at least twenty-five claims for Cortlandt Manor, suggesting that loyalism was stronger than neutralism. Although it had not seen large tenant riots, Saratoga, which had many tenants on the Saratoga Patent, also had strong loyalism. Several of Philip

12 The following are all surviving Association lists for the Hudson Valley. *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 583, "Signers in Kingston, Ulster County, May and June;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 585, "Names of Persons in Kingston who Refused to Sign;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 582, "Signers of the Association in the Town and Neighborhood of New-Paltz, in Ulster County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 585, "Signers in Marblatown, Ulster County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 588, "Signers in New-Marlborough, Ulster County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 587, "Signers in Rochester, Ulster County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 586, "Signers in Mamacoting, Ulster County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 587, "Signers in Hurley, Ulster County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 590, "Signers in Goshen, Ulster County, June 8 1775.;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 591, "Signers in Cornwall, Orange County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 597, "Signers in Orange Town;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 593, "Signers in Haverstraw Precinct, Orange County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 595, "Signers in Newburgh, Orange County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 589, "Signers in Orange County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 593, "Signers in Orange County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 601, "Signers in Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County, June and July, 1775;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 606, "Signers in Rhinebeck Precinct, Dutchess County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 603, "Dutchess County, Northeast Precinct;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 605, "Dutchess County, Amenia Precinct;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 608, "Signers, and those who refused to sign, in Dutchess County;" *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume V, 904, "Signers in Rye;" Coxsackie Declaration, Albany Institute of History and Art.

Schuyler's tenants became Loyalists, including John Freeman, whose farm was the site of the First Battle of Saratoga.¹³

The far western parts of the region, sparsely settled by whites, also had higher levels of loyalism. Many men who lived along the Delaware River remained loyal. One example is George Barnhart. In 1770, he signed a lease for 180 acres on the Delaware. Early in the war, he was arrested and confined in Poughkeepsie. He was apparently released but left his home in 1778 and spent time in Indian country, at one point serving under Joseph Brant. Later, he joined Sir John Johnson's King's Royal Regiment of New York and settled in Canada after the war. Many of Barnhart's neighbors along the Delaware likewise supported the British.¹⁴ This pattern is not surprising. The western areas were relatively isolated from the revolutionary movement in mainstream Anglo-American society. Many men in the western Hudson Valley also had connections to New York's Indian tribes that pushed them toward loyalty. Adam Crysler, who lived in Schoharie, worked in the Indian department and became a strong Loyalist. During the war, he coordinated resistance with Brant in the Schoharie area. Daniel Campbell was a prominent merchant from Schenectady who traded with Indians and opposed the Revolution early in the war, although he later backed off his opposition. When Revolutionaries prevented his sending his merchandise to business contacts at Detroit in 1776, he expressed frustration, saying that it would "be a very great loss both to them & my self." Because most Indians were inclined to support Britain, those with close Indian ties were more likely to be Loyalists.¹⁵

Religion

One of the most consistent trends in Hudson Valley loyalism was that Anglicans were more often Loyalists than other Protestants. There are several ideological and social reasons that Anglicans were inclined to loyalty. The king served not just as their political head, but also was the leader of the church, with prayers offered to him at every service. The church was also very hierarchical compared to most Protestant denominations, impressing the importance of structure and order among adherents. Most clergymen had ties to Britain and encouraged loyalty among their parishioners. Although there were many Anglicans who supported the Revolution, Loyalists were common in every Anglican congregation within the region. This section examines Newburgh, Poughkeepsie, and several other communities in the Hudson Valley to demonstrate how Anglicans were more drawn to loyalism.

13 For the Livingston Manor claimants, see Peter Esselstine, 7/22/177, Peter Plass, 7/24/719, and George Wheeler, 6/20/43, ALC; For Cortlandt's Manor claimants, see vols. 17–20, 43 of ALC; Loyalist Claim of John Freeman, 7/24/517, ALC; John Freeman Indenture, August 2, 1768, Land Papers, box 46, Philip Schuyler Papers, NYPL; There are some exceptions to the connection between tenancy and unrest against the Revolution. Most of the tenants in Schaghticoke supported the Revolution and there was little unrest. See R. Beth Klopott, "The History of the Town of Schaghticoke, New York 1676–1855" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Albany, 1981), 98–99.

14 Loyalist Claim of George Barnhart, 7/23/413, ALC.

15 Adam Crysler Records, F 4421 Crysler family fonds, Archives of Ontario; James J. Talman ed., *Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 56–60; Daniel Campbell to Philip Schuyler, April 25, 1776, Letters Received, Box 6, Folder 53, Philip Schuyler Papers, NYPL.

Newburgh experienced intense battles between Anglicans and dissenting Protestants in the twenty years before the Revolution. The community was founded by Lutherans in 1709 and they were allotted 500 acres of glebe land for the Lutheran Church. A glebe was land owned by the church that was leased or farmed, with the income used to fund the church's functioning and provide the minister's salary. By the 1740s, many of the original settlers had left the town and Anglicans sought control of the glebe, which they were granted in 1752.¹⁶ Within just a few years, however, many dissenters, particularly Presbyterians, moved into the community. Presbyterians founded a church in neighboring New Windsor in 1764 and dissenters were elected glebe trustees in the early 1760s. Anglican Reverend Hezekiah Watkins noted that the new trustees were "so Spiteful, malicious, and Envious against the Established Church [the Church of England], that if it were in their Power, I have the greatest Reason to believe, they would Destroy it from the Earth." When Watkins fell ill in 1764 and could not preach, the trustees requested permission for dissenting ministers to use the church, and upon Watkins' refusal, he noted that they threatened to "cut the door down and take the church by force from me." This tension continued until the beginning of the Revolution and laid the groundwork by which Anglicans and Presbyterians became the dominant Loyalist and Patriot factions, respectively.¹⁷

The religious discord shaped political loyalty in Newburgh during the Revolution. Of forty-five known Newburgh Loyalists, a minimum of 51.1 per cent were Anglican, while only 6.6 percent were Presbyterian. Incomplete church records make precision difficult and it is likely that an even higher percentage were Anglican. Of the eight men who petitioned for the incorporation of the Anglican church in 1770, four became Loyalists.¹⁸ Newburgh's Presbyterians were almost entirely Patriots, with only a small minority becoming Loyalists. In 1766, the New Windsor Presbyterian Church appointed trustees who were "to collect funds to support a minister." Jonathan Hasbrouck, Abel Belknap, Moses Higby, Elnathan Foster, and Isaac Belknap were appointed to this position for Newburgh. All were active members of the church, and Abel Belknap additionally served as an elder. Each trustee signed the Association and four of the five became Patriots and leaders of the revolutionary community. Hasbrouck was colonel of the 4th Ulster County Militia from 1775 to 1778, and his home was later used as General George Washington's military headquarters in 1782 and 1783. Abel Belknap, Isaac Belknap, and Moses Higby all served on the Newburgh Committee of Safety and were active in prosecuting the war effort.

16 E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New York* (hereafter cited as *DHNY*), 4 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1850), 3:574–76; O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3:594; O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3:598.

17 Hezekiah Watkins to S.P.G., October 30, 1764, S.P.G. Letters (Series B), Volume III, 308; O'Keefe, "Religion, Wealth, and Geographic Location," 162.

18 O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3:364; St. George's Episcopal Church of Newburgh Vestry Minutes, 1769–1774, St. George's Church Archives.

Elnathan Foster was the sole Loyalist among the trustees. The broader congregation was also overwhelmingly Patriot.¹⁹

Cadwallader Colden II explicitly tied wartime political allegiance to religious debates. Colden resided just outside Newburgh in Hanover and was a member of the Newburgh Anglican Church. A determined supporter of strengthening the church before the war, he was harassed and periodically arrested on account of loyalism from 1776 to 1778, before being banished to the British lines. Colden blamed local Presbyterians for his treatment, complaining that it was to “some of the members of [the Presbyterian] church that I owe all the abuse & ill treatment I have mett with in the County, Even that of being sent to jail in the Scandleous Manner I was.” Colden was particularly critical of Robert Annan, the Presbyterian minister at the congregations of Wallkill and Little Britain. He derided Annan for his sermons, which made “Politicks more the subject . . . then Either Morrality or Religion.” Colden added that Annan once declared that “it was his firm opinion that *“Should the British arms prevail over the Americans that a Religious Persecution would Emedately insue.”* To people like Colden, the war drew strict religious lines in and around Newburgh.²⁰

Although the Anglican community comprised a significant portion of Newburgh’s Loyalist population, it was not entirely united in opposing the Revolution. One vestryman who became a Patriot was Martin Wygant. A tavern keeper, Wygant was descended from the original Lutheran settlers, but had become an Anglican. His tavern held court for the local justices of the peace and was the location of Newburgh’s annual town meeting. When the war began in 1775, Wygant immediately took up the Revolutionary cause and his tavern served as the physical location of the Association, where community members came to sign their names in support of the Continental Congress. His tavern also was the meeting point of the Newburgh Committee of Safety.²¹

Anglicans were similarly more likely to be loyal in Poughkeepsie. The two main churches there were Anglican and Dutch Reformed. The Anglican parish was established in 1766 and the congregation chartered in 1773. Previously, Anglicans in Poughkeepsie had been served by itinerant ministers. While both churches had some Loyalists, Anglicans were disproportionately loyal. In his study of Poughkeepsie, Jonathan Clark found thirty-two Loyalists with known religious backgrounds, twenty-six of whom were Anglicans and six Dutch Reformed. Within the entire community, there were fifty-three identifiable

19 Records of the New Windsor Presbyterian Church, 1764–1840, Town of New Windsor Archives (quote); *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 595, “Signers in Newburgh, Orange County;” Newburgh Militia Records, Collection of the Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands, Newburgh, New York; *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume II, 966, “Committees in Ulster County to New-York Congress;” *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III 438, “Newburgh Committee to New-York Congress;” *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume V, 89, “Letter from the Committee at Newburgh to the New-York Congress;” O’Keefe, “Religion, Wealth, and Geographic Location,” 166; Hasbrouck served as Colonel of the 4th Regiment from 1775 until 1778 when he resigned. He died in 1780.

20 The Journal of Cadwallader Colden, Esq. 1776–1779, 23–24, Huntington Library.

21 St. George’s Episcopal Church of Newburgh Vestry Minutes, 1769–1774; *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume II, 606, “Newburgh (New-York) Committee;” *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume III, 595, “Signers in Newburgh, Orange County;” E.M. Rittenber, *The History of the Town of Newburgh* (Newburgh: E.M. Rittenber & Co., 1859), 100.

Anglicans, meaning that forty-nine percent of all Anglicans were loyal in Poughkeepsie. Only eighteen Dutch Reformed church members can be identified, meaning a third were loyal. Loyal Anglicans included the minister, John Beardsley, and the community's leading lawyer, Bartholomew Crannell.²² The records of the Anglican parish are littered with Loyalists. Of sixty-seven names on a 1766 subscription, twenty-five would become Loyalists. Crannell and Bartholomew Noxon, the parish's wardens in 1774, would remain loyal during the war. Of the nine men elected to its vestry in 1773, five became Loyalists.²³

Within broader Dutchess County, religion became a dividing line in political loyalty. In Rombout on July 29, 1775, Cornelius Lusyster went before the Committee of Observation and charged Theodorus Van Wyck with "speaking very Contemptuously of the Church of England"; he asked that Van Wyck be tried. Luyster later accused Patriots of attempting to "Bring the Pretender on the Throne" and was forced to seek refuge in New York City due to his Loyalist beliefs. Conversely, Van Wyck became a leading revolutionary in the Hudson Valley and was tasked with confiscating loyalist property. One Loyalist in Charlotte complained that Revolutionaries said "that the King is a Roman and a papish" and that "he Keeps a papish Parliament." Quakers, most of whom lived along the Connecticut border, were also involved in this religious tension. Many tried to stay out of the war, and were consequently accused of loyalism, with some being jailed for long periods. Religious tension between the diverse sects was a key dividing line and cause of tension in Dutchess County.²⁴

Newburgh and Poughkeepsie were not alone in having strong connections between Anglicanism and loyalism. The same was true on the Philipse Patent (in today's Putnam County), as well as in Albany and other communities throughout the region. St. Philip's, which serviced Anglicans on the Philipse Patent, had Loyalists among the vestry and church wardens, the most prominent being Beverley Robinson. St. Peter's Church in Albany likewise had many Loyalists among its members. Prominent men such as Stephen DeLancey, Ebenezer Jessup, and James Dole all appeared on a 1768 subscription list; each moved to Canada after the war.²⁵ Within the Hudson Valley, virtually all Anglican ministers remained loyal. Of the eight Anglican clergymen in the region in 1775, seven were Loyalists, while the loyalty of the eighth is unclear. These ministers were among the most active Loyalists in the region. Samuel Seabury spoke out against resistance from an

22 Reynolds, *The Records of Christ Church Poughkeepsie New York*, 1:12–15; Jonathan Clark, "The Problem of Allegiance in Revolutionary Poughkeepsie," in *Saints and Revolutionaries: Essays on Early American History*, eds. David Hall, John M. Murrin, and Thad W. Tate (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 311–316. My analysis of Poughkeepsie is based off Clark's list of community residents from 1775. He categorizes each male head of household as a Loyalist, Occasional Loyalist, Occasional Patriot, or Patriot. I group Occasional Loyalists with Loyalists.

23 Reynolds, *The Records of Christ Church*, 1:14–15, 303–304.

24 Peter Nelson, "Minutes of Rombout Precinct of Observation July 13–September 9, 1775," *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 12, no. 3 (July 1931): 296 ("speaking very"), 300; Petition of Cornelius Luyster, October 11, 1779, Guy Carleton Papers, Reel 9, 2368 (1, 2, 3), Loyalist Collection, University of New Brunswick; Patrick [Maiway] to William Tryon, undated, Colonial Office 5/1107, Part I/104 ("that the king" and "he keeps").

25 E. Clowes Chorley, *History of St. Phillips Church in the Highlands* (New York: Edwin S. Gorham, 1912), 115–18; 1768 Subscription List, Box 2, St. Peter's Episcopal Church Records, New York State Library.

early date. John Doty, the Anglican minister in Schenectady, served as chaplain for the Kings Royal Regiment of New York, while John Beardsley of Poughkeepsie was chaplain for the Loyal American Regiment.²⁶

Although Anglicanism was linked to loyalism throughout the Hudson Valley, many non-Anglicans also were Loyalists. William Smith was a prominent Presbyterian Loyalist. He sat on the colonial council beginning in 1767 and he supported the Livingston faction in New York politics. He tried to avoid taking a side for much of the Revolution, residing in Haverstraw and on Livingston Manor at various points during the conflict. When Smith refused to take an oath of loyalty to New York in 1778, he was banished to British lines. Later, Smith became the chief justice of Lower Canada. John Michael Kern, the Lutheran minister at Wallkill, provides another example of a non-Anglican Loyalist. He encouraged his congregation to remain loyal, which made him many enemies in the area. He was removed to New York City in 1778 and later settled in New Brunswick. Church records in Kinderhook, Claverack, and Coxsackie reveal that there were Loyalists within the Dutch Reformed churches of those communities. Thus, while Anglicans were more likely to be loyal than any other religious group, each sect in the Hudson Valley had some members who supported Great Britain.²⁷

Divisions in loyalty based on religious lines also occurred among Indian tribes. Many of the Mohawks, who resided on the northwestern edge of the region, had converted to the Church of England. There was an Anglican mission at Fort Hunter. Beginning in 1770, John Stuart became the resident missionary; he was a significant Loyalist during the war. Several Mohawk leaders also were strong Anglicans, most prominently Joseph Brant. Late in the war, when many of the Mohawks had been forced to take refuge around Fort Niagara, Brant founded an Anglican Church for the community. William Johnson, the British agent to the Iroquois, was also Anglican. Prior to his death in 1774, he promoted the Church of England among the Mohawks. Johnson believed that if Indians were tied to the monarchy through the Anglican Church, they would remain loyal to the king. Johnson had an Anglican prayer book, translated into Mohawk in 1715, expanded and revised. Conversely, non-Anglican Indian tribes generally supported the Revolution. The Mohicans and Wappingers were often Congregationalist, Presbyterian, or Moravian. The Moravians had established a short-lived mission for the Mohicans in Dutchess County, while many of the Wappingers at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, became Congregationalists.

26 John Doty to Reverend Dr. Kind, May 20, 1778, Reel 1, The Nova Scotia Records of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: 1722–1860, Loyalist Collection, University of New Brunswick; Return of Troops, 1779, Guy Carleton Papers, Reel 29, 10436 (82), Loyalist Collection, University of New Brunswick; John W. Lydekker, “The Reverend John Doty, 1745–1841,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 7, no. 3 (September 1938): 287–300; James B. Bell, *A War of Religion: Dissenters, Anglicans and the American Revolution* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 226–27. Bernard Page, who was probably the minister at the Anglican Church in Peekskill, is the one clergyman whose views remain unclear.

27 L.F.S. Upton, “Smith, William (1728–93),” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval; Benton, *Whig-Loyalism*, 172–73, 197–201; Loyalist Claim of Simon Fraser, 7/22/659, ALC; Loyalist Claim of John Michael Kern, 6/19/385, ALC; Royden Woodward Vosburgh, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of Kinderhook, Columbia County, N.Y.* (New York, 1920); Arthur C.M. Kelly, *Marriage record of Reformed Church, Claverack, New York, 1727–1899* (Rhinebeck, NY: 1970); Royden Woodward Vosburgh, *Records of the First Reformed Church of Coxsackie in West Coxsackie, Greene County, N.Y.* (New York, 1919).

Although there were factors other than religion that played into Indian allegiance, as will be discussed below in the section on ethnicity and race, there is a consistent pattern of Anglican Indians remaining loyal, while non-Anglicans were more likely to support the Revolution. Even within the Iroquois Confederacy, the Oneidas were partly pushed to support the Revolution by the influence of Samuel Kirkland, a Presbyterian missionary.²⁸

Wealth and Class

On average, Loyalists were no wealthier or poorer than their Patriot counterparts. There were few consistent patterns in terms of wealth, and class divisions in political allegiance were again driven by local conditions within the community. To support this point, this section examines wealth and class in several Hudson Valley towns.

A tax assessment list of Newburgh from 1767 allows a breakdown of residents' wealth. It shows that the Loyalists were noticeably, although not significantly, poorer than Newburgh's Patriots. Jonathan Hasbrouck, the wealthiest man in Newburgh, was assessed £29, while there were 105 inhabitants taxed less than £1. Of the twenty-five future Loyalists assessed, none was as remotely wealthy as Hasbrouck, and only Samuel Fowler was among the twenty wealthiest members of the community. The Loyalists were slightly overrepresented among the town's middling and lower ranks; 87.5 percent of Loyalists were taxed at less than £4. However, only 181 of the remaining 233 assessed in the town, or 77.6 percent, were taxed below £4. Within Newburgh, there was a connection between Anglicanism and poverty, and sixteen of the twenty-two Loyalists assessed under £4 (72.7 percent) were Anglican. Anglicans were even more prevalent among the very lowest ranks, consisting of 77.7 percent of those Loyalists assessed less than £1. Patriots were more equitably distributed in terms of wealth. The Newburgh Loyalists were slightly overrepresented among the middle and lower ranks of the community and mostly excluded from the wealthiest members of the town.²⁹

At the beginning of the war, the Newburgh Loyalists were noted to be from the lower ranks of the community. On April 14, 1775, Cadwallader Colden II, along with Peter and Walter Dubois, wrote and signed a protest in which they objected to a meeting of Ulster County leaders at New Paltz where delegates were elected to the New York Provincial Congress. The men rejected the legitimacy of the meeting and the Provincial Congress, arguing instead that sovereignty remained with the Provincial Assembly and that Ulster County's action would inflame tensions and help precipitate "an unnatural civil war." The protest was signed by approximately sixty men from Newburgh. Robert Boyd, Jr., a leading Patriot, observed that the signatories from Newburgh "were rather to be ranked among

28 Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), 47, 148, 252; Colin Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 62–63, 86–88; James Thomas Flexner, *Lord of the Mohawks: A Biography of Sir William Johnson*, rev. ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 291; Tom Arne Midtrød, *The Memory of All Ancient Customs: Native American Diplomacy in the Colonial Hudson Valley* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 181, 207–208.

29 Newburgh, Real and Personal Estates, 1767, Ulster County Archives, Kingston, New York; O'Keefe, "Religion, Wealth, and Geographic Location," 166–67.

the lower class of mankind.” Boyd’s comment provides more evidence that loyalism in Newburgh was stronger among its poorer residents.³⁰

Wealth distribution and political allegiance in Poughkeepsie resembled Newburgh. Patriots were taxed £3.4 on average, while Loyalists were assessed £2.6 in a 1775 tax list. Clark’s examination of Poughkeepsie concluded that much like Newburgh, the greatest difference between those who became Loyalists and Patriots was among the very wealthy of the community. Among men assessed £5 or higher, twenty-eight became Patriots and only nine Loyalists. Henry Livingston, the wealthiest man in the city, was a strong Patriot. Within the middle and lower ranks of the community, political loyalties were much more evenly split.³¹

On Livingston Manor, men who were Loyalists or favored neutrality tended to be poorer than Revolutionaries. Opposition to the Revolution was driven by a mixture of loyalism and disaffection, which was influenced by the class conflict between tenant and landlord before the war. Loyal or disaffected tenants were poorer and usually not as established on the manor compared to those who supported the Revolution. A 1779 tax list shows that only five suspected Loyalists had any taxable property. On Livingston Manor, the distinctions between true Loyalists and those who simply opposed their revolutionary landlords is often unclear. Many of the men who participated in a 1777 insurrection against the Livingstons seem to have had few ideological motives for supporting Britain. Rather, the poorest on the manor were frustrated with their conditions and believed that the British would punish the Livingstons—perhaps by land confiscation—which would allow them to gain freehold. Regardless of their motivations, these conclusions show that Loyalists on Livingston Manor were poorer than Patriots.³²

Sung Bok Kim has argued that tenants usually followed the political allegiance of their landlord. He is correct that some historians have exaggerated class tensions between landlord and tenant, but in other areas his argument is not as persuasive. There was consistent unrest on manors during the war, more so than in areas where freehold farms prevailed, suggesting tenants did not adhere so neatly to their landlords’ political persuasions. Further, not all manors were the same; some exhibited stronger degrees of loyalism. In the case of Livingston Manor, Kim correctly notes that most unrest was disaffection, not overt loyalism. However, this does not extend to all manors. Rensselaerswyck appears to have had higher levels of loyalism, with at least fifty residents being indicted for adhering to Great Britain, whereas I have found no tenants on Livingston Manor who were indicted.³³

30 Petition of Cadwallader Colden II, Peter DuBois and Walter DuBois, April 14, 1775, Washington’s Headquarters, Newburgh, New York (“unnatural”); *American Archives*, Series 5, Volume I, 791, “Letter from the Committee for Ulster County” (“were rather”); The list of those who signed from Newburgh is not extant.

31 Clark, “The Problem of Allegiance in Revolutionary Poughkeepsie,” 300–301.

32 Cynthia A. Kierner, “Landlord and Tenant in Revolutionary New York: The Case of Livingston Manor,” *New York History* 70, no. 2 (April 1989): 139–140; Thomas Humphrey, “Politics and Poverty in the Hudson River Valley,” in *Down and Out in Early America*, ed. Billy G. Smith (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Press, 2004), 248.

33 Sung Bok Kim, “Impact of Class Relations and Warfare in the American Revolution: The New York Experience,” *Journal of American History* 69, no. 2 (Sept. 1982): 326–346; List of loyalists against whom judgments were given under the Confiscation Act 1802, MssCol 2211, NYPL.

For every community where wealthy Patriots predominated, there was another where Loyalists were more affluent. Charlotte, located in central Dutchess County, provides one such example. It was a stronghold of loyalism, and the Loyalists were substantially wealthier than the rest of the community. The 1774 tax list for the town reveals that while the entire community was assessed an average of £2.8, known Loyalists were taxed £4.6. The wealth gap between Loyalists and Patriots in Charlotte was greater than between the factions in nearby Poughkeepsie. Further supporting this point is an assessment list from 1780. New York passed a law that taxed families with sons under the age of twenty-one who had joined the British. Of the tax lists for the towns that have survived, Charlotte had the most Loyalists by a wide margin, and the families on the list were wealthier than most other communities. This evidence indicates that Loyalist families in Charlotte were disproportionately prosperous.³⁴

In the upper Hudson Valley, the districts of Coxsackie and Kinderhook followed similar patterns to Charlotte. In both communities, Loyalists were wealthier than Patriots. In a March 1779 tax list, Coxsackie Loyalists were assessed on average £17 in a land tax, while the broader community was taxed about £14. Despite identifiable Loyalists comprising just 13.5 percent of those on the list, 16.4 percent of the total tax assessed for the community came from Loyalists. In Coxsackie, men loyal to the king were not considerably wealthier than Revolutionaries, but they were slightly more affluent. The wealth gap between Loyalists and non-Loyalists was much greater in Kinderhook. The entire district was assessed approximately £10 on average, but Loyalists were taxed at about £19. Thus, Loyalists in Kinderhook were about twice as wealthy as an average community member. As will be discussed below in the section on ethnicity, loyalism in Kinderhook was strongest among the Dutch elite.³⁵

Town government records provide another avenue for determining the social standing of Loyalists. An examination of nine communities in 1774 shows that future Loyalists were about as likely as Patriots to be elected to town government. In these nine towns, there were a total of 133 town officer positions in 1774. Twenty-seven of these positions (20.3 percent) were filled by men who would be at least somewhat loyal to the crown during the war. The communities differed significantly in how many of these officers remained loyal. In New Windsor, none became true Loyalists. On the other end of the spectrum, five of the nine town officer positions in Westchester County's North Castle were filled by Loyalists. In the communities where loyalism was to be stronger, Loyalists generally had a greater presence in town government. These future Loyalists served in a variety of positions. Many were assessors or collectors. In Cambridge (Albany County), Simeon Covell served as town supervisor. He would become a militant Loyalist during the war.

34 1774 Charlotte, Dutchess County Tax List, Adriance Memorial Library, Poughkeepsie, New York; Hugh Hastings, *Public Papers of George Clinton*, 6:576–77; Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, 128.

35 Coxsackie District Tax Assessment March 1779, Series A3210, New York State Library; Kinderhook District Tax Assessment March 1779, Series A3210, New York State Library; This analysis includes only those Loyalists who could be identified with a high degree of certainty. There are probably other Loyalists on the tax lists.

Given that the percentage of Loyalists in elected positions closely parallels the overall strength of Loyalists in the region, this analysis shows that Loyalists were just about as likely to be elected to town government as their Patriot counterparts.³⁶

Occupation

Loyalists had various occupational backgrounds, with some working as farmers, others as laborers, and still more as artisans. However, the great majority were farmers. The occupations of Loyalists differed depending on their community, with port towns having more artisans and rural communities more farmers.

Loyalist Occupations		
Occupation	Total Number	Percent of Total
Farmer	705	68.3%
Carpenter	48	4.6%
Shoemaker	41	3.9%
Laborer	40	3.8%
Blacksmith	36	3.4%
Merchant	33	3.1%
Esquire/Gentleman	32	3.1%
Innkeeper	16	1.5%
Mariner/Boatman	14	1.3%
Weaver	12	1.1%
Physician	9	0.8%
Other	46	4.4%
Total	1,032	

³⁶ Beekman's Precinct Town Records, Adriance Memorial Library, Poughkeepsie; Cambridge Town Record Book, Reel 75-2-1, Canaan (King's District) Town Record Book, Reel 74-26-1, Charlotte Precinct Records, Reel 75-10-1, Eastchester Town Record Book, Reel 75-55-1, Harrison Town Record Book, Reel 75-13-1, North Castle Town Minute Book, Reel 75-56-1, Rhinebeck Town Minute Book, Reel 74-19-1, New Windsor Precinct Journal, Reel 74-34-1, New York State Education Department Office of State History Local Records on Microfilm, New York State Archives. The town officer positions included in this analysis were the following: supervisor, constable, collector, assessor, pound masters, poor masters, fencer viewers, commissioners of the highways, pounder, firemen, and appraiser of intestate estates.

Almost 70 percent of Hudson Valley Loyalists were farmers. Loyalists were no more likely than Patriots to be farmers, and these demographics reflect the rural nature of the region, where the economy was primarily based on agriculture. The next most common occupations were tradesmen, particularly carpenters, shoemakers, and blacksmiths. 13.5 percent of Loyalists were artisans. Less typical employments were innkeepers and boatmen. Loyalists were more likely to be farmers in communities that were not major ports on the Hudson River. Along the Connecticut line in North Castle, eighty-four percent of Loyalists were farmers, while in Schoharie, 82.5 percent were employed in farming. In port towns along the Hudson, Loyalists were frequently employed in non-agricultural work. In Newburgh, artisans comprised a greater percentage of the Loyalist community than farmers. Of the thirty-nine determinable Loyalist occupations in Poughkeepsie, only fourteen (35.8 percent) were farmers. Similarly, in Albany, 34.2 percent of Loyalists were merchants, by far the highest of any community in the Hudson Valley. Almost forty percent of loyal merchants in the region were from Albany.

This examination of the Hudson Valley Loyalists highlights similarities and differences with previous studies of Loyalist occupations by Wallace Brown and Christopher Minty. From his study of the Loyalist Claims Commission records, Brown found that 74.7 percent of New York Loyalists were farmers. He also concluded that while there were many powerful Loyalists, the average Loyalist was a farmer of ordinary means. This study of the Hudson Valley reinforces some of these findings. By far, farmers were the most common Loyalists in the region, although they did not comprise as much of the population as Brown thought. Brown included New York City in his study, where there were far fewer farmers than upstate. He also found that only nine percent of claimants were artisans, which seems low considering that 13.5 percent of Loyalists from the mostly rural Hudson Valley were artisans. Brown likely overestimated the percentage of farmers while underestimating artisans. In Christopher Minty's study of Loyalists in New York City and the surrounding counties, he concluded that only twenty-two percent of Loyalists were farmers, and twenty-eight percent artisans, again suggesting that Brown's numbers are slightly off. This evidence shows that the Hudson Valley Loyalists differed significantly in occupations from Loyalists downstate. In the Hudson Valley, most Loyalists were farmers, with other trades being secondary in the mostly rural region.³⁷

Ethnicity and Race

Each ethnic group in the Hudson Valley had members who became Loyalists and Patriots. Those of Dutch and English descent were the largest ethnicities in the region and were no more or less likely to remain loyal than the other. Local social and political issues guided the political allegiance of the Dutch and English communities. The Scottish were the

37 Brown, *The King's Friends*, chap. 5, 307–311; Christopher F. Minty, "Reexamining Loyalist Identity during the American Revolution," in *The Consequences of Loyalism: Essays in Honor of Robert M. Calhoon*, eds. Rebecca Branon and Joseph S. Moore (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2019), 35–39.

only European ethnic group to be disproportionately loyal, and this was because most were recent immigrants with ties across the Atlantic. Many slaves and Indians in the region also sided with Britain.

Those of Dutch and English descent took both sides in the war, although local conditions often influenced their loyalty. In Kinderhook and Coxsackie, the Dutch were more likely to be loyal than the broader community. On Kinderhook's 1779 tax list, approximately fifty-five percent of individuals had a Dutch surname, but about sixty percent of Kinderhook Loyalists were Dutch, a small but not insignificant difference. Those of English descent comprised around thirty percent of both the broader community and the Loyalist population. The demographics aligned similarly in Coxsackie. Residents with Dutch surnames comprised roughly fifty percent of the 1779 tax list, but they formed about sixty percent of known Loyalists. The strength of the Dutch Loyalists in Coxsackie is supported by anecdotal evidence. Some Coxsackie Loyalists took Peter Hager prisoner in August 1777; Hager later said that one of them "declared in the Low dutch Language by his Salutation that then he would right fight for his King." Another of the Loyalists spoke in Dutch and called the Patriot prisoners "Cursed Rebels." In both Kinderhook and Coxsackie, those with Dutch surnames made up the slight majority and gravitated to loyalism.³⁸

Why might the Dutch be slightly more likely to remain loyal in Kinderhook and Coxsackie? One possibility is that they were entrenched in power. As noted above in the section on wealth and class, Loyalists in Kinderhook and Coxsackie were wealthier than the rest of the community. Before the war, Kinderhook's town supervisor was Henry Van Schaack, who became a moderate Loyalist. The Kinderhook militia rolls reveal some evidence about the status of the Dutch in the community. Before the war, each officer in the militia ranking above corporal, a total of twenty-five men, had a Dutch surname. In both Coxsackie militia companies, virtually every single officer had a Dutch surname. In these communities, the Dutch were generally less anglicized and had disproportionate influence. Yet this pattern of strong loyalism among the Dutch where they predominated was not always the case. Kingston and Shawangunk, communities with large Dutch populations, had very few Loyalists.³⁹

Tensions surrounding land pushed the Dutch elite of Kinderhook to remain loyal. Kinderhook was chiefly freehold in an area dominated by large manors. The East Manor

38 In this section, I rely on surname origin to determine ethnicity. This method is not a perfect way to discern ethnicity, because someone, for example, with a Dutch mother and English father might identify more as Dutch despite their last name. Certain surnames were also anglicized over time. Nonetheless, it is the only way to examine ethnicity, and still provides an outline of broad patterns. Sometimes, surname origins can be disputed, and another researcher who investigated last names in these communities might find a slightly different percentage per ethnic group, so these numbers are merely used to offer rough approximations of ethnic breakdown. Kinderhook District Tax Assessment March 1779, Series A3210, New York State Library; Coxsackie District Tax Assessment March 1779, Series A3210, New York State Library; *The People versus Hans Jury Stoffell, Jacob Dies, Matthew Dies, & 96 other persons*, deposition of Peter Hager, May 3, 1783, Reel 78, P1108, Supreme Court of Judicature Court Papers (JN522-17), New York State Archives.

39 Florence Christoph, *Upstate New York in the 1760s: Tax Lists and Selected Militia Rolls of Old Albany County 1760–1768* (Camden, ME: Picton Press, 1992), 170–77, 185–88.

of Rensselaer was to the north, while the Lower Manor at Claverack was to the south. Livingston Manor also was nearby. The Dutch elite in Kinderhook wanted to protect their freehold, expand land claims, and limit the influence of the Van Rensselaers. These actions put them in conflict with local landlords, all of whom supported the Revolution. Intense land battles were not uncommon in the area. Along the Massachusetts border, Yankee settlers had moved onto what John Van Rensselaer considered his land, leading to a long-lasting dispute. Kinderhook leaders believed Britain could protect their interests from the landlords. Tension surrounding land between the Dutch elite in Kinderhook and the Van Rensselaers can be seen through an issue in the militia. In April 1769, Cornelius Van Schaack received a commission appointing him commander of a regiment composed of men mostly from Kinderhook and surrounding towns. Before Van Schaack was commissioned, John Van Rensselaer had been offered command of the unit, but he declined because, according to Van Schaack, the stated boundaries would not endorse “his Wild and Extravagant claims to a Very Large Tract of Vacant and unpatented Lands.” Not long after, however, some pushed for Van Schaack to be superseded in command, arguing that he “was a Tennant of Mr Ransselaer and therefore Improper to Command his Other Tenants.” Van Schaack protested, saying that while he did have some tenant lands owned by Rensselaer, he also had “Considerable Entrests in a patent within Claverack Independent of Mr Ransselaer.” Van Schaack continued that when he had commanded a company during the French and Indian War and marched to the frontier, “the word Tenant was never used.” Land controversies were widespread around Kinderhook, and while Van Schaack died in 1776, his sons became Loyalists.⁴⁰

In other communities, the Dutch were disproportionately Patriots. The Dutch in Fishkill comprised about forty percent of the community but were only twenty-five percent of the Loyalists. Men of English descent, however, were about forty-five percent of the town and approximately sixty percent of its Loyalists. In Albany, British men were about twice as likely as the Dutch to be accused of loyalism. In Schenectady, although the Dutch were the largest ethnic group, they comprised just a small minority of suspected Loyalists. The Dutch comprised just twenty percent of the town’s Loyalists, while men of English descent thirty-four percent. The largest loyal ethnic group in Schenectady was the Scottish, comprising thirty-eight percent. In many towns, the Dutch were more likely to become Patriots rather than those of English descent, while the English were more likely to be Loyalists.⁴¹

40 John L. Brooke, *Columbia Rising: Civil Life on the Upper Hudson from the Revolution to the Age of Jackson* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 36–7; David J. Goodall, “New Light on the Border: New England Squatter Settlements in New York During the American Revolution” (PhD diss., State University of New York at Albany, 1984); Cornelius Van Schaack to William Tryon, July 27, 1772, William Tryon Papers, 1772–1784, New-York Historical Society; Cornelius Van Schaack to William Tryon, August 20, 1772, William Tryon Papers, 1772–1784, New-York Historical Society.

41 Dutchess County Genealogical Society, “1769 Rumbout Precinct Tax List,” *The Dutchess* 11, no. 4 (1984): 119–127; Covart, “Collison on the Hudson,” 132; Alice P. Kenney, “The Albany Dutch: Loyalists and Patriots,” *New York History* 42, no. 4 (October 1961): 335–36. For a study of the Dutch in Schenectady see Edward Henry Tebbenhoff, “The Momentum of Tradition: Dutch Society and Identity in Schenectady, 1660–1790” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1992).

The strong loyalism among Scots in Schenectady was not an isolated pattern. The Scots were the one European ethnic group that was disproportionately loyal across the Hudson Valley. While the Scottish made up a relatively small percentage of the region's population, they became some of the most stringent Loyalists. Many Scots were recent immigrants. After the French and Indian War, there was significant Scots immigration to New York and many settled in the Hudson Valley, particularly Albany County.⁴² Some Scottish soldiers who fought in the French and Indian War also settled in New York after the war instead of returning home. In both cases, these Scottish immigrants had not fully integrated into American society, had strong ties to Britain, and, in the case of Scottish soldiers, were bound to the crown through military service. Several Scottish officers who settled in New York also received half pay, tying them financially to Britain. Simon Fraser provides an example of a loyal Scottish immigrant. He came to America in 1773 and settled in Mapletown, Albany County. Four years later, he enlisted men to join crown forces and was captured at the Battle of Bennington. He later died in jail in Albany. Donald Munro was one Scottish soldier who remained in America after the French and Indian War. He served in the 60th Regiment of Foot during the war and settled at White Creek (Albany County) after the conflict. In 1777, he joined John Burgoyne's army when it marched into the upper Hudson Valley. Among New York Loyalists who filed compensation claims after the war, Scotland was the largest country of origin among claimants after America. Recent Scottish migrants were more loyal than other groups.⁴³

Enslaved Africans and African Americans also faced a question of loyalty during the Revolution. With one of the largest slave populations in the North, enslaved Blacks in the region faced a difficult decision. There was an enormous risk if Blacks chose any side at all. Although the British offered protection to runaway slaves of Patriot masters who reached their lines, enslaved men and women could face severe punishment if caught. They might be whipped, beaten, or sold away from their family. The slave codes in several towns in the Hudson Valley were tightened during the war to discourage potential runaways and protect against an insurrection. Fearing that slaves would take advantage of the unrest, in May 1775 the Newburgh Committee of Correspondence ordered that any slave found out at night or off their property during the day would be brought before the committee and given thirty-five lashes. Slaveholders were constantly suspicious their enslaved property would join the British. In March 1776, James Horton, Jr., of Westchester County posted an advertisement for a runaway slave. It warned that the slave was "an ingenious fellow" so he would likely "endeavour to get on board a man of war, or go to the King's forces."⁴⁴

Despite the risks, many enslaved Blacks supported Great Britain in hopes of gaining their freedom. Early in the war, slaves knew that the British might provide liberation,

42 Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the People of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), chap. 16.

43 Loyalist Claim of Simon Fraser, 7/22/659, ALC; Loyalist Claim of Simon Fraser, 6/21/171, ALC; Brown, *The King's Friends*, 306.

44 *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume II, 607, "Newburgh (New-York) Committee;" *The New-York Journal*, March 7, 1776.

as word had spread of Lord Dunmore's Proclamation in Virginia that offered freedom to men in that colony enslaved by Patriots. In 1779, British General Henry Clinton issued the Philipsburg Proclamation, which extended Dunmore's original decree by offering "full security" to all slaves of Patriot masters. Some slaves did not wait long after commencement of the war to abscond. In 1777, York Lawrence fled his enslaver in Albany and eventually reached New York City. Later, as a free man, he boarded a ship for Nova Scotia, where he settled in the Black community of Birchtown. Joseph Bartlet fled from his enslaver in Poughkeepsie in 1779. His legal owner was Gilbert Livingston, who had been a member of the New York State Assembly and Provincial Congress. Some slaves in the upper Hudson Valley tried to flee north to Canada.⁴⁵

Much like enslaved Blacks, the war divided Hudson Valley Indians. Many Wappingers and Mohicans, most of whom now lived at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and had converted to Christianity, backed the Revolution. White colonists surrounded and greatly outnumbered these Indians. Their geographic situation would have made it virtually impossible to side with Britain without facing ruin. Their conversion to the Protestant denominations of local whites also tied them to Revolutionaries. It is additionally possible that the Wappingers and Mohicans hoped that by supporting the Revolution, they might protect their land, much of which had already been seized. The Wappingers lost their appeal to the New York provincial government to protect their land in the 1760s, and a new government could be friendlier to their interests. Wappingers and Mohicans offered important service to the Patriot cause. Indians from Stockbridge joined the war effort immediately, with some participating in the Siege of Boston. Abraham Nimham, Daniel Nimham's son, was commissioned a captain and served in the Saratoga campaign. He additionally traveled to the Ohio Valley, where he sought to secure the neutrality of the Natives. In August 1778, Daniel and Abraham were in command of an Indian detachment in Westchester County when they clashed with crown forces. Abraham, Daniel, and fifteen other Indians were killed in the battle. These Natives thought it was in their best interest to support the Revolution.⁴⁶

Other Indians remained neutral early in the war before eventually supporting Great Britain. These tribes faced very different circumstances than the Mohicans and Wappingers. The Esopus and the Mohawks were located on the western edge of white settlement and were not surrounded by whites. They also contended with intensifying land encroachment by colonists, and the British may have seemed more likely to protect their land rights.

45 York Lawrence, Book of Negroes, British Headquarters Papers, MG23 B1, Reel M-369, 10427 (72), Library and Archives Canada; Joseph Bartlet, Book of Negroes, British Headquarters Papers, MG23 B1, Reel M-369, 10427 (135), Library and Archives Canada; Michael E. Groth, *Slavery and Freedom in the Mid-Hudson Valley* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), chap. 2.

46 Robert S. Grumet, "The Nimhams of the Colonial Hudson Valley, 1667–1783," *The Hudson Valley Regional Review* 9, no. 2 (1992): 90–91; David J. Silverman, *Red Brethren: The Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians and the Problem of Race in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 116–120; John Graves Simcoe, *Simcoe's Military Journal, A History of the Operation of a Partisan Corps, Called The Queen's Rangers, Commanded by Lieut. Col. J.G. Simcoe, During the War of the American Revolution* (New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1844, reprint New York: Arno Press, 1968), 84–85.

They were in a geographic position with easier access to Canada and British-controlled forts on the Great Lakes, meaning they could expect a level of British military aid. In the case of the Mohawks, they were also Anglicans. Although the Esopus maintained neutrality early in the war, most had joined the British by 1779. During the last few years of the conflict, Esopus and some Mohicans regularly raided the western Hudson Valley alongside white Loyalists who had been driven from their homes. To the north of the valley, the Mohawks, much like the Esopus, initially sought neutrality. However, they were frustrated by colonial land encroachment and their Anglicanism, which, along with their close ties to the loyal Johnson family, drew them to support Britain. Most openly joined the British in 1777, providing significant aid to the British invasion of the Mohawk Valley that summer. On other occasions, Mohawks joined with British and white Loyalist forces in raiding the New York frontier. Mohawk communities were devastated during the Sullivan Campaign of 1779, with many Natives forced to take refuge at Fort Niagara. The Indian tribes on the western edge of the valley generally tried to remain neutral before joining the British.⁴⁷

This demographic study of Hudson Valley Loyalists reveals that they were a cross-section of society, and while there were some broad patterns, loyalties were most often shaped by individual choice and local circumstances. In some communities, political divisions were largely driven by religious tension, while in others, factors such as land disputes, class differences, or ethnic composition played a role in shaping loyalty. Broadly speaking, loyalism was stronger in Albany, Dutchess, and Westchester, where there had been more unrest before the Revolution. In terms of religion, Anglicans were more likely to remain loyal than others. Loyalists were no more or less affluent than Patriots across the region, and divisions along class lines often depended on local conditions. Ethnically, groups took different positions even in neighboring towns. There were few consistent patterns among those of Dutch and English descent, but Scots tended to be more loyal. African Americans and Indians in the region also frequently supported the British. Loyalism in the Hudson Valley was driven by a mixture of overreaching factors, such as religion and ethnicity, individual choices, the contingency of war, and local conditions.

Kieran J. O'Keefe recently received his Ph.D. in history from The George Washington University. His dissertation examined Hudson Valley Loyalists to study the effects of violence and forced migration on Loyalist communities during and after the Revolutionary War.

47 Midtrød, *The Memory of All Ancient Customs*, 197–203; Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, chaps. 4–7.

We invite you to subscribe to

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

To subscribe to the HRVR, simply complete this form and send to the address below.
Two issues published each year.

Name _____

E-mail _____

- Membership ☐ Membership in The Hudson River Valley Institute Patriots
Society includes a multiyear complimentary subscription;
for more information please see the back of this form.
- ☐ A 1-year Individual subscription (two issues) is \$20
☐ A 2-year Individual subscription (four issues) is \$35
☐ A 1-year Library/Institutional subscription (two issues) is \$30
☐ A 2-year Library/Institutional subscription (four issues) is \$60
☐ A 1-year foreign subscription (two issues) is \$30

- Subscription ☐ begin subscription with current issue
Preferences: ☐ begin subscription with next issue

Back Issues @\$10.00/post paid for HVRR (ending with volume 19.1);
\$8.00 for each additional copy of same order.
Vol. _____ No. _____ Quantity _____

Back Issues @\$15.00/post paid for HRVR (beginning with volume 19.1);
\$13.00 for each additional copy of same order.
Vol. _____ No. _____ Quantity _____

The following issues are no longer available: Vol. and No.: 8.1, 8.2, 9.1, 11.2, 14.1, 15.2,
16.1, 16.2, 17.2, 19.2, 20.2, and 21.1.

Mailing
Address: _____

Please complete form and return with your check or money order, payable to Marist College/HRVI, to:

Hudson River Valley Institute
Marist College
3399 North Rd.
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

For more information, email hrvi@marist.edu, visit www.hudsonrivervalley.org, or call (845) 575-3052