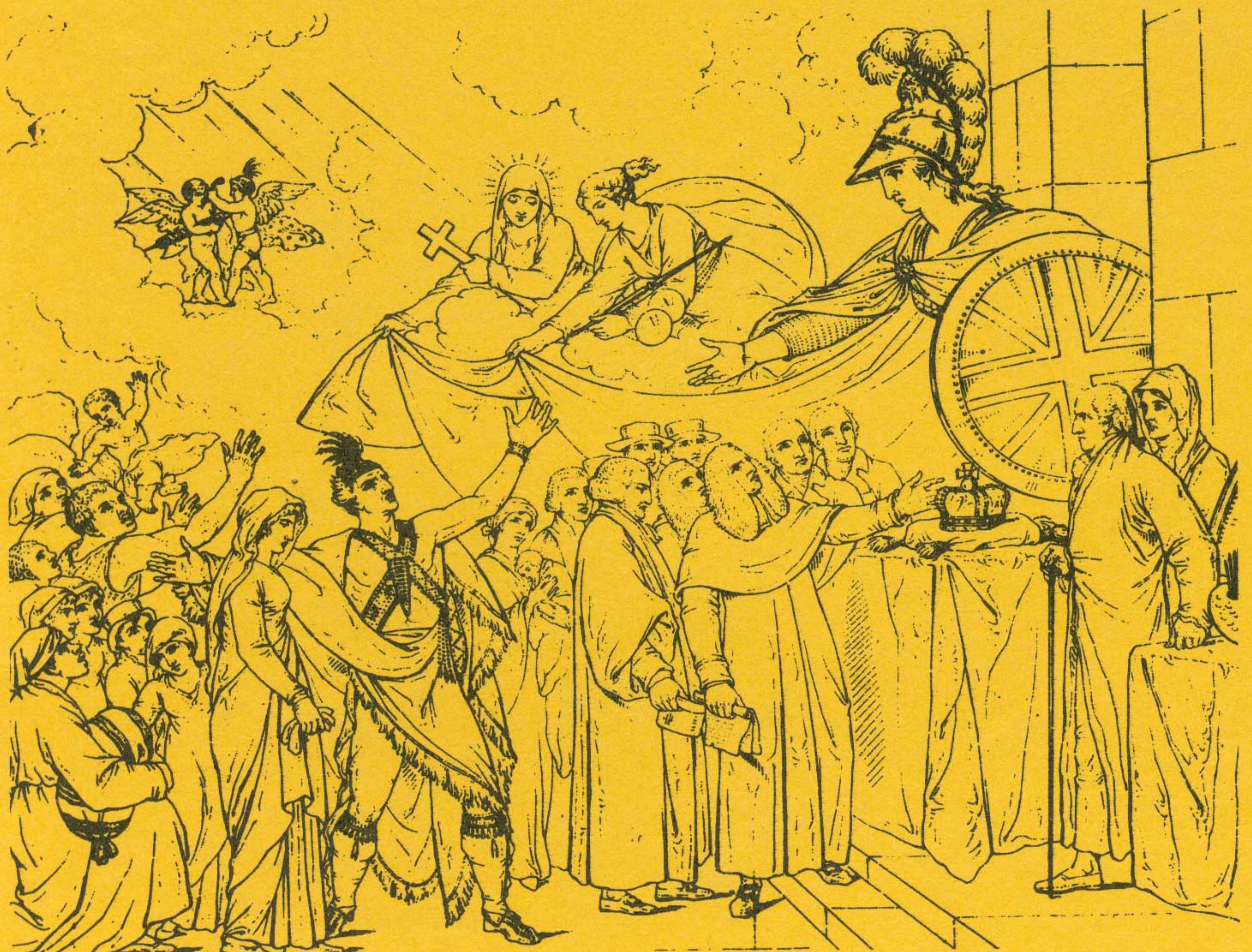


# An American Loyalist

The Ordeal of  
Frederick Philipse III



AN AMERICAN LOYALIST:  
THE ORDEAL OF  
FREDERICK PHILIPSE III

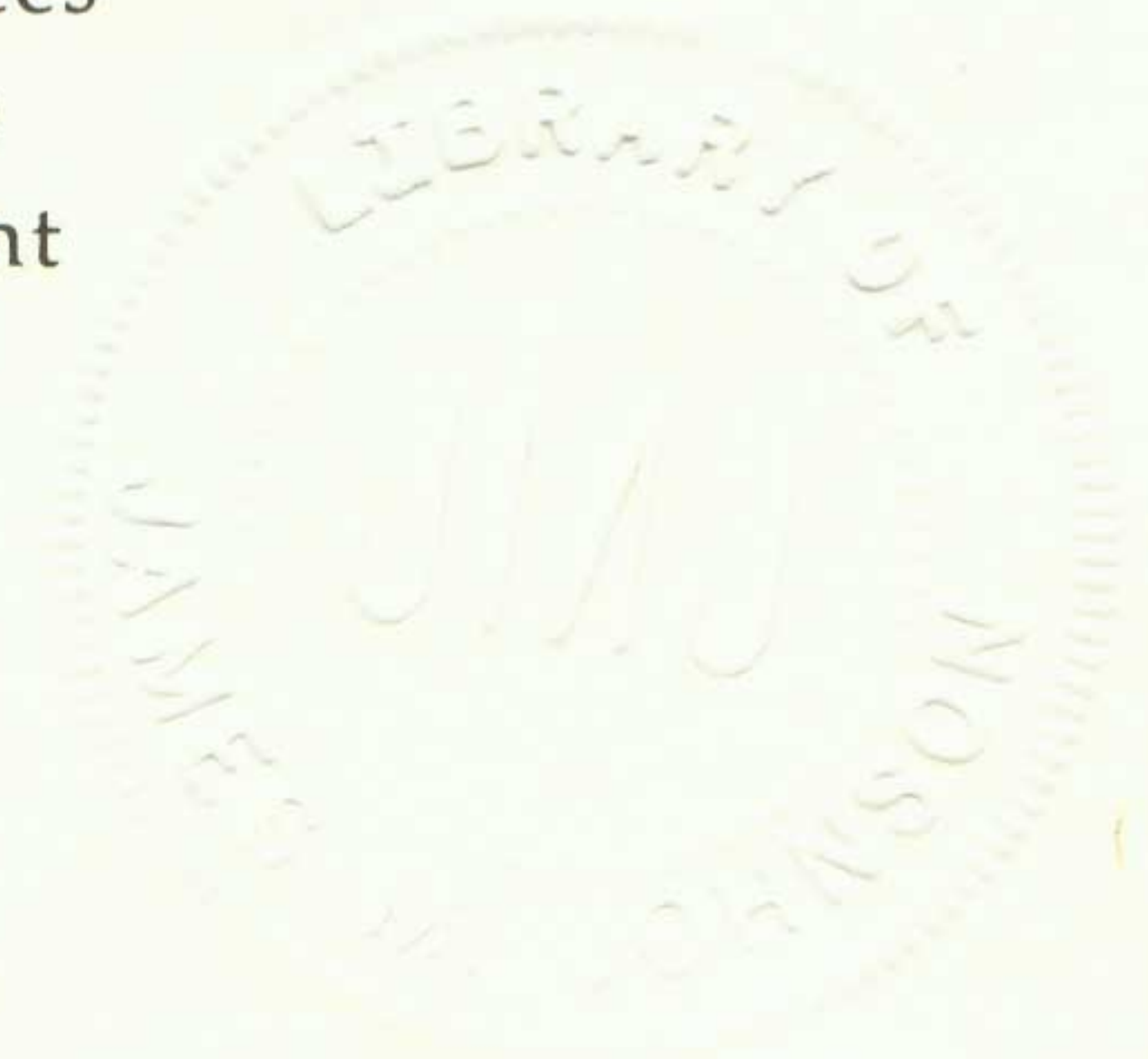


STATE OF NEW YORK  
Hugh L. Carey, Governor

NEW YORK STATE PARKS & RECREATION  
Orin Lehman, Commissioner

TACONIC STATE PARK & RECREATION COMMISSION  
Edward v.K. Cunningham, Jr., Chairman

Text by  
Stefan Bielinski  
Division of Historical Services  
New York State Museum  
State Education Department  
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*Philipse Manor Hall, 1876, from Harper's New Monthly Magazine.*



*PHILIPSE MANOR HALL  
State Historic Site  
Yonkers, New York*

## Foreword

The State of New York is engaged today in a comprehensive program for statewide historic resource management through the Division for Historic Preservation of the Office of Parks and Recreation. Although the program is manifested in many ways, a principal focus is on renewal of its State historic site system, the oldest in the United States.

One of the historic structures that is being restored and is again open to the public is Philipse Manor Hall. Purchased in 1908 after it had served for many years as the first city hall of Yonkers, the building was originally administered by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. When the Office of Parks and Recreation was established in 1972, administration of the site was vested in its Taconic Regional Office, one of eleven park regions in the state.

It is the Division for Historic Preservation in the Office of Parks and Recreation, however, which bears the responsibility for professional development of the State historic site system. To accomplish this it has brought together specialists in historic preservation — administrators, interpreters, historians, restoration architects, archeologists, architectural historians, conservators, landscape architects, museum designers — whose joint efforts assure that historical truth, as far as that can be ascertained, is presented to the constantly growing visiting public.

History, is after all, inquiry, and one of the missions of preservationists is to assure that historical knowledge will crystallize as understanding. At our historic sites we are seeking to inspire a new recognition not only of our ancestors and their buildings and the events in which they took a part but also the concepts, the relationships, and the ideas that marked the greatness of our nation.

Often the latter can be seen only in counterpoint and this, it seems to me, is what lies at the heart of Stefan

Bielinski's booklet, *An American Loyalist: The Ordeal of Frederick Philipse III*. At such State historic sites as Washinton's Headquarters, Knox Headquarters and New Windsor Cantonment, Senate House, Clermont, Schuyler Mansion, Herkimer House, and Oriskany Battlefield, one comes to understand how and why the American patriots fought. At Philipse Manor Hall, however, one can view the Revolutionary period through the eyes of an individual who remained loyal to King George III. This booklet helps to give a clearer picture of the background and the forces that, for some, led to a world turned upside down.

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Under the Parks and Recreation Law, the State Education Department was directed to work with the Commissioner of Parks and Recreation in the field of historic preservation. This booklet is one of the cooperative efforts between the two State agencies and we are grateful to Stefan Bielinski of the Division of Historical Services for his original research that will help us to interpret more clearly Philipse Manor Hall State Historic Site. We look forward to future publications of a similar nature.

F. L. Rath, Jr.  
Deputy Commissioner for Historic  
Preservation

## Introduction

On the eve of independence, perhaps almost half of the 200,000 people living in the royal province of New York considered themselves subjects of the king and members of the British empire. In the years immediately following adoption of the Declaration of Independence by the fourth New York Provincial Congress on July 9, 1776, most of that large minority eventually chose to repudiate the American crusade for liberties, to remain loyal to George III, and, in many instances, to take up arms against their former friends and neighbors. Although New York ranked no higher than seventh in total population among the American colonies, it had both the largest number and highest percentage of Loyalists. New York supplied more men for the British armed forces during the Revolution and had more post-war applicants for compensation as loyal sufferers of the crown than did any other colony. With an important part of the state under British military control, and with New York City the center of British operations in America from mid-1776 until the end of the war, nowhere was the loyalist persuasion stronger or more apparent than in New York.<sup>1</sup>

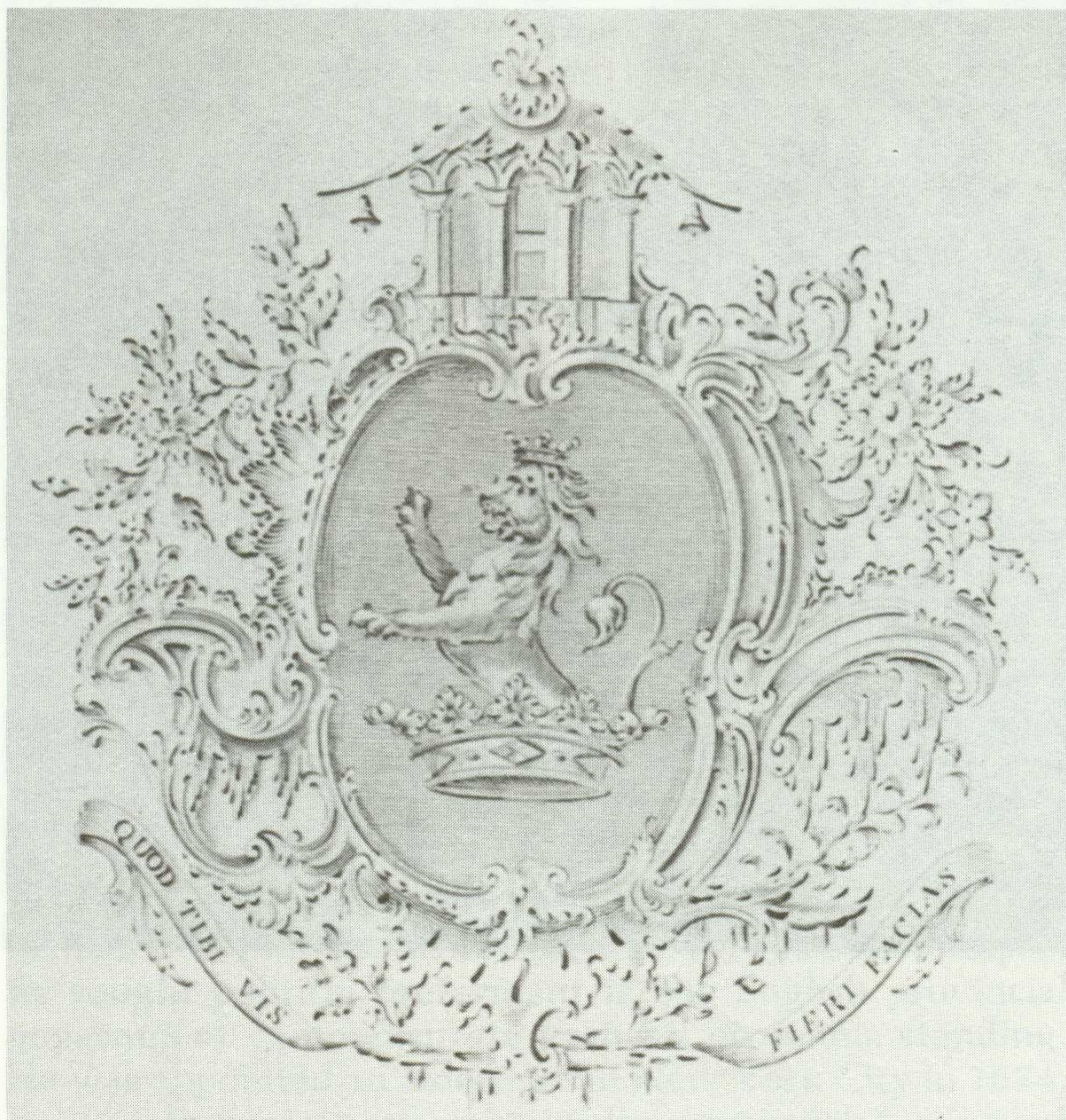
The keynote of Loyalism in New York was its diversity. Loyalist New Yorkers inhabited every part of the province, although they seem to have been concentrated in New York City, on Long Island, and in Westchester County—the southern part of the colony, which, not coincidentally, was occupied by the British army from the summer of 1776 until late in 1783. Loyalism in New York transcended racial, ethnic, religious, social, and economic bounds as outstanding Loyalists were drawn from every segment of colonial society. Many prominent New York families were divided on the question of independence, and even the most stalwart of patriot households, such as the Livingstons, Morrises, Herkimers, and Schuylers, had Tory members.<sup>2</sup>

What made one man a Loyalist and another a revolutionary has been difficult to ascertain. However, simplistic explanations resting solely on economic or ideological determinants are unconvincing or, at least, unfulfilling. Individual loyalist mentalities were far more complex with intellectual, moral, economic and expediential considerations contributing, often over a period of time, to the total, loyalist personality. One's conviction to remain loyal to the king was, therefore, personal and individual. The fact that Loyalism in New York was so widespread and perhaps even predominant has prompted scholars to search for so-called common denominators and to attempt to explain Loyalism through group analysis. Alexander C. Flick's characterization of New York's Loyalists as essentially the colony's wealthy commercial classes, landed proprietors, professionals, Anglican clerics, communicants of the Episcopacy, and conservative farmers has so many important exceptions that his thesis is no longer considered a valid generalization. John Jay, for example, an Anglican, graduate of King's College, wealthy New York City attorney, and political conservative, was foremost among New York's revolutionary leadership, although by Flick's yardstick he should have remained loyal to Great Britain.<sup>3</sup>

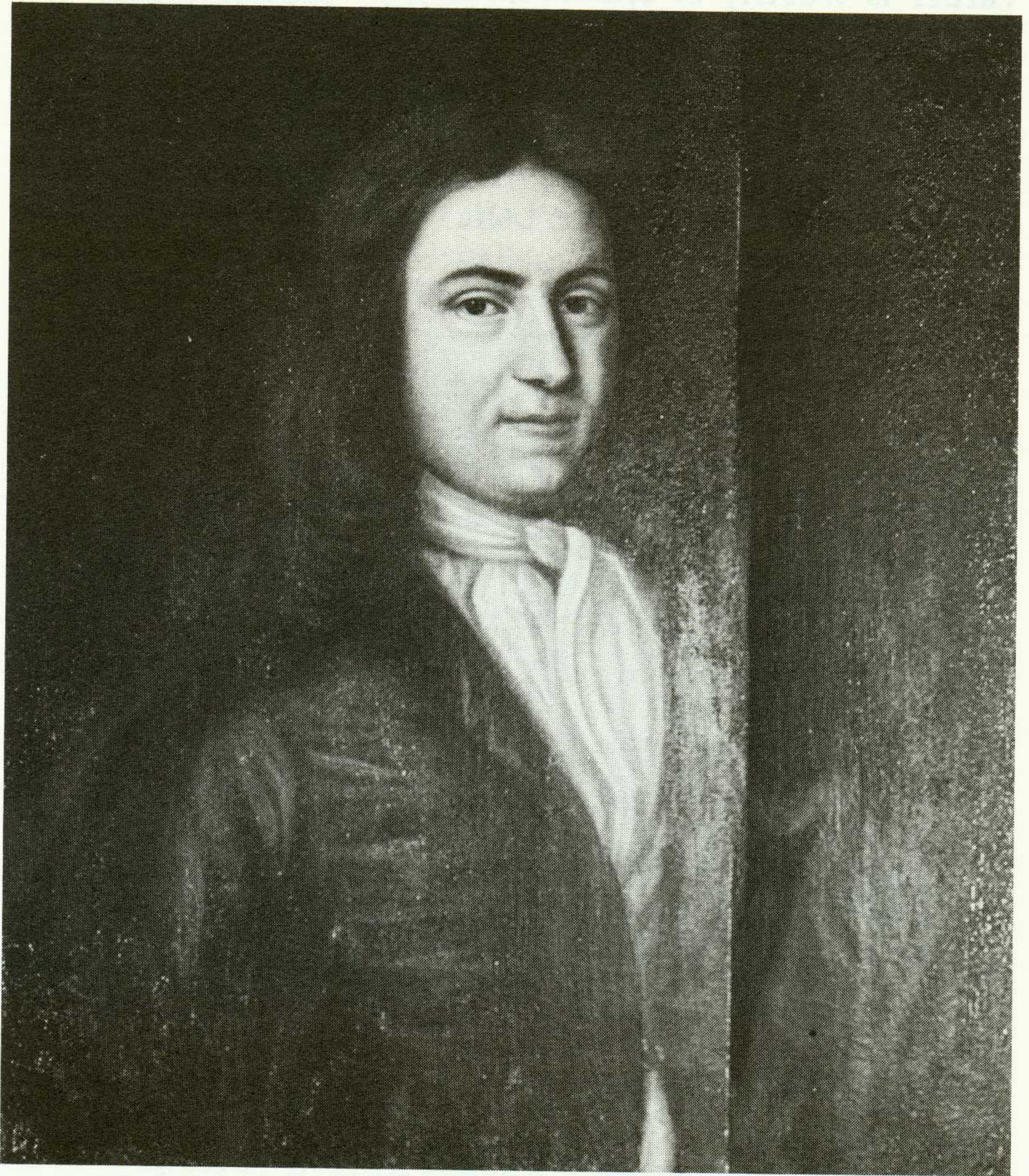
After Flick's seminal study, *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution*, which appeared in 1901, succeeding generations of scholars have sought to determine whether there were less obvious common denominators that separated the Loyalists from their revolutionary counterparts. As a result of these group studies, there exists today a much clearer idea of the numbers, disposition, and collective activities of the Loyalists in the American Revolution. But, because one's loyalty was based on complex determinants and was essentially a personal state of mind, the common denominators or formulas for Loyalists as a group have, by and large, eluded the historian's grasp. Perhaps the key to comprehending Loyalism is to understand the individual Loyalists. Biographical profiles of individual Loyalists, William Smith, Jr., Peter Van Schaack, James De Lancey, Walter Butler, and John Tabor Kempe, to name only a few, have greatly enhanced our understanding of the loyalist persuasion in New York.<sup>4</sup> More such studies are needed.



Frederick Philipse III was a fourth generation American, last Lord of the Manor of Philipsburg in Westchester County, member of the colonial Assembly, and considered so dangerous a Tory that he was among those condemned to death by New York State in 1779. His career is worthy of examination not only because of his elevated position in colonial society, but also because his life and ordeal are representative of an entire segment of the colonial elite who suffered because of the American Revolution.



*The Philipse family crest as it appears on a silver salver. This crest is also on the memorial tablet to Frederick Philipse III.*



*Adolphe Philipse, 1665-1750. Artist unknown. Museum of the City of New York.*

## The Philipse Family in Colonial New York

On October 22, 1779, Frederick Philipse, third Lord of the Manor of Philipsburg, was one of fifty-nine Loyalists attainted of treason by the New York State Legislature. For Philipse, this meant that his large estate in Westchester County and all of his other earthly possessions were forfeited to the state and that Philipse himself was condemned to death without trial if apprehended within the borders of New York. The passage of the Act of Attainder concluded a drama directly traceable to 1776 but one whose roots extended deeply into the colonial period.

Every member of the Philipse family was of the loyalist persuasion. Frederick's eldest son, Frederick, Jr., his sisters, Mary and Susannah, and his brothers-in-law, Roger Morris and Beverly Robinson, were also condemned by name in the Act of Attainder.<sup>5</sup> Thus, all the adult members of one of New York's foremost families had been sentenced to the harshest of punishments in their homeland. While the price of loyalty to the crown was indeed high, the Philipses' decision to remain loyal was by no means unpredictable. It was instead a logical conclusion to more than a century of successful life in New York which began with a former Dutch West India Company carpenter named Vrederic Felypsen.

Although arriving in the New World with only the tools of ambition and intelligence, by 1674, Felypsen had parlayed extensive interests in shipping, fur, and slave trading into the largest fortune in the colony of New York. After the English takeover ten years earlier, Felypsen had had little trouble blending into the English scheme of things—being perfectly willing to take the oath of allegiance to Charles II in return for the right to maintain his various property titles. About that time, he anglicized his name to Phillips or Philipse and, as Frederick Philipse, he sought political preferment in the English provincial government commensurate with his economic standing. He was appointed an alderman in New York City in 1674. In 1675, he became a member of the governor's Council of advisors, the highest honor a colonial could attain.

Political influence, economic resources which included a large store of Indian trade goods, vaguely defined land boundaries which permitted advantageous manipulation,

and two key marriages facilitated Philipse's acquisition of extensive acreage on both sides of the North or Hudson River. On June 5, 1693, a Royal decree created his 90,000 acres in Westchester County the "Mannour of Philipsborough," and established its owner as Lord of the Manor, delegating to him certain quasi-feudal rights and privileges. Frederick Philipse was essentially a merchant with mercantile liaisons extending to several continents, but although he had acquired land for speculative purposes, he also hoped to one day generate the flour, grain, and other products which his own ships would then carry to the worldwide marketplace.<sup>6</sup>

The two sons of Frederick Philipse and Margaret Hardenbroeck would have inherited the Philipse fortune upon their father's death in 1702. However, Philip, the elder son, and a merchant living in the West Indies, possessed a weak constitution and died there in 1700. Therefore, Philip's legacy was left to his son, Frederick II, who was only seven years old when his grandfather died in 1702.

Adolph (1665-1750), the younger son of Frederick I, his father's business partner and a wealthy merchant, large landholder, and powerful politician in his own right, represented New York City in the colonial Assembly and was a principal figure in its pro-British political faction for almost fifty years. Adolph Philipse had inherited his father's faculty for integrating politics and economic advancement. As formidable a politician as anyone in the colonies, his political and economic prowess was so obvious that it prompted an adversary to observe that Adolph Philipse was "the head" of the merchant party in New York. He had inherited the 205,000 acre "Highland Patent" in what was then Dutchess County, and also the northern part of the Philipsburg Manor in Sleepy Hollow known as "Castle Philipse." Upon Adolph's death without heirs in 1750, the entire Philipse estate would be reunited under the control of Frederick Philipse II.<sup>7</sup>

Frederick Philipse II succeeded to the title of Lord of the Manor in 1716. Prior to that time he had received a legal education in England which qualified him for subsequent appointments to the provincial judicial positions of justice of the Court of the Exchequer and as Second Judge of the New York Supreme Court. In 1735, he sat at the



Mrs. Frederick Philipse II (Joanna Brockholls), by John Wollaston. Colby College Art Museum, on permanent loan from Mr. and Mrs. Ellerton M. Jetté.



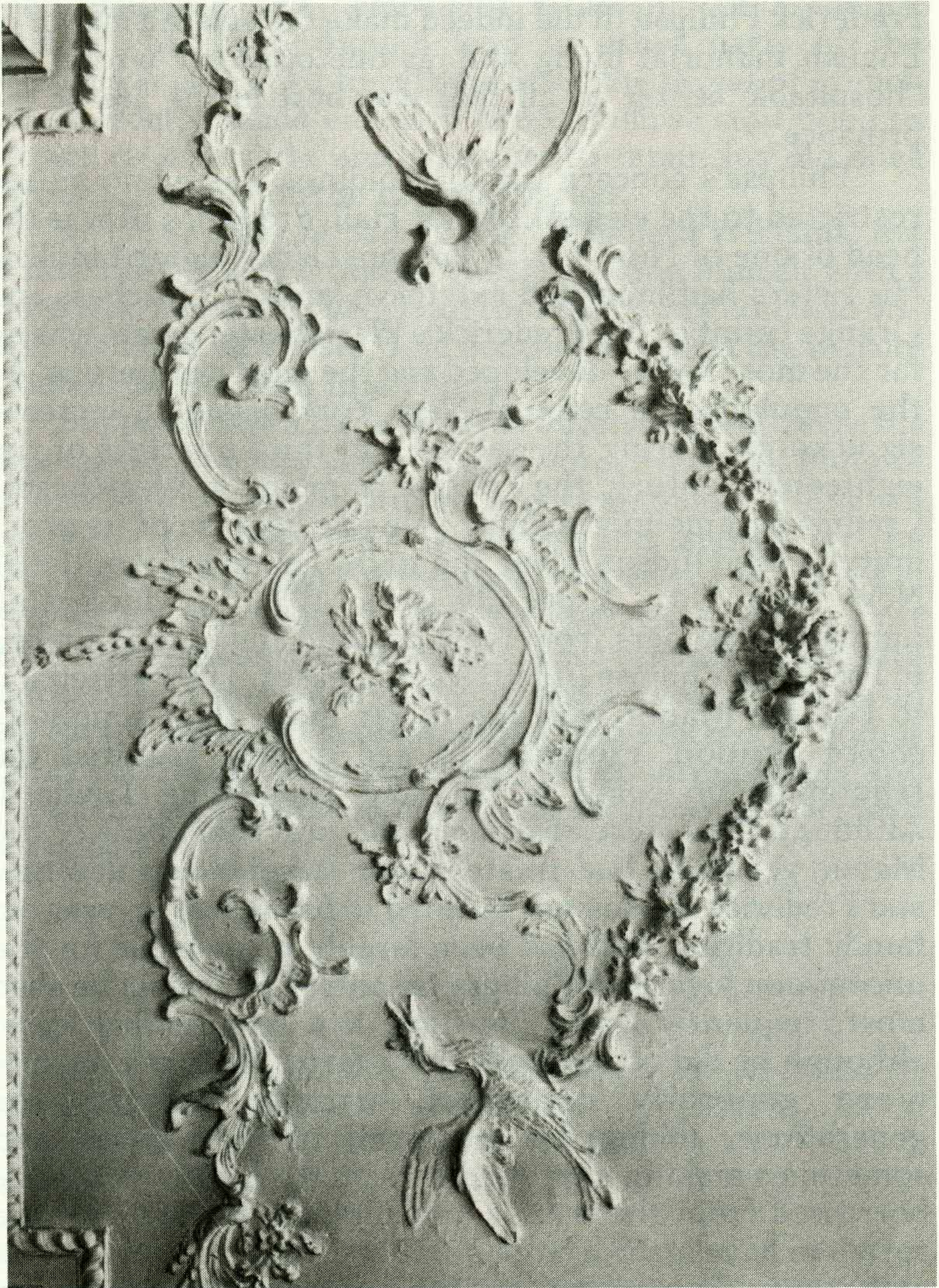
Frederick Philipse II, by John Wollaston. Colby College Art Museum, on permanent loan from Mr. and Mrs. Ellerton M. Jetté.

historic trial of New York City editor John Peter Zenger. He also represented Westchester County in the provincial Assembly from 1726 to 1751. Frederick II, known as "Judge Philipse," married Joanna, the daughter of former provincial lieutenant governor Anthony Brockholls.<sup>8</sup>

Although proprietors of one of the largest estates in the province, the Philipses elected to raise their ten children in New York City. Their eldest son, Frederick III, was born in 1720, heir apparent to the family legacy of political, social, and economic leadership in the colony. Tuberculosis had claimed Adolph's life in 1750—his estate reverting to Frederick II, whose death less than two years later made Frederick III Lord of the Manor at age 30. However, by that time, Frederick III's tastes and personal inclinations already had become well defined. He seems to have had little professional interest in either the mercantile, political, or legal endeavors of his forebears and was instead inclined toward the aesthetic and toward the land.

Rather than residing at his father's town house in New York, Frederick III moved into the family's summer retreat, the "Manor Hall," located at the mouth of the Nepperhan or Saw Mill River in present-day Yonkers. Construction of this impressive mansion was begun by the first Frederick Philipse in the early 1680s with new wings and other improvements added throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. Located in the heart of the southern part of Philipse Manor, the Manor Hall was a perfect base from which Frederick III could attend to his principal ambition of administering his estate, called Philipsburg, as it never had been done before.

A man of refined tastes, the third Lord of the Manor was determined to make the Manor Hall a showcase of English gentility. Philipse enlarged the building, added lavish interior embellishments such as ornate woodwork and the plaster ceiling in the downstairs living room, and maintained an extremely large household which included gardeners imported from Europe to beautify the landscape. Philipse was quite interested in landscape gardening, certainly a proper pastime for a gentleman of that era. He added trees, plants, ornaments, and also a picket-fenced deer park which was located between the garden and the river. The Manor Hall's formal gardens were notable in their day. The transformation effected under the auspices of



*Detail of plaster and papier-mâché ceiling in the first floor, southeast room of Philipse Manor Hall, Yonkers. Photo by Jack E. Boucher.*

Frederick Philipse III did indeed make the estate a mirror of English manorial living and, as one observer wrote, the "hospitable center of all that was best in the life of the province."<sup>9</sup>

Philipse's concern for his holdings was by no means restricted to the elegant Manor Hall. Frederick III was the head of one of New York's foremost landholding families. His sisters had inherited extensive lands in Dutchess and Orange counties but Frederick's Westchester estate was by far the most highly developed and the most prosperous. As the population of colonial New York began to increase significantly during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century, the Philipse farmland in Westchester County became increasingly valuable because of its proximity to the Hudson River and to the commercial outlet of New York City. Especially after 1751, an increasing number of farmers from New England and abroad applied to Frederick Philipse III for tenancy leases. Their attraction to Philipse Manor was due to far more than simply its choice location. Frederick III had quickly acquired the reputation of being a fair and easy-going landlord. Although they were absentees, the first two Lords of the Manor generally had treated their leaseholders decently and Frederick III was not inclined to break a sixty-year old family tradition that had been largely responsible for the uncommon loyalty of Philipse tenants. The format he used most frequently was a life-time, low rent, verbal lease, although he did occasionally sell a farm. Philipse's tenants were generally contented—usually staying for generations, abiding by the terms of their leases, and sometimes making improvements on the land with money borrowed from the manor lord himself. In fact, Philipse seems to have made a large number of loans between 1751 and 1776. Exemplary of the amiable conditions on Philipsburg Manor is the fact that during the tenant uprisings of 1766, Philipse's Westchester tenantry did not revolt, while a major part of the rioting took place on other manors and especially on the Dutchess County "Philipse Highlands Patent" belonging to Frederick's sisters.<sup>10</sup>

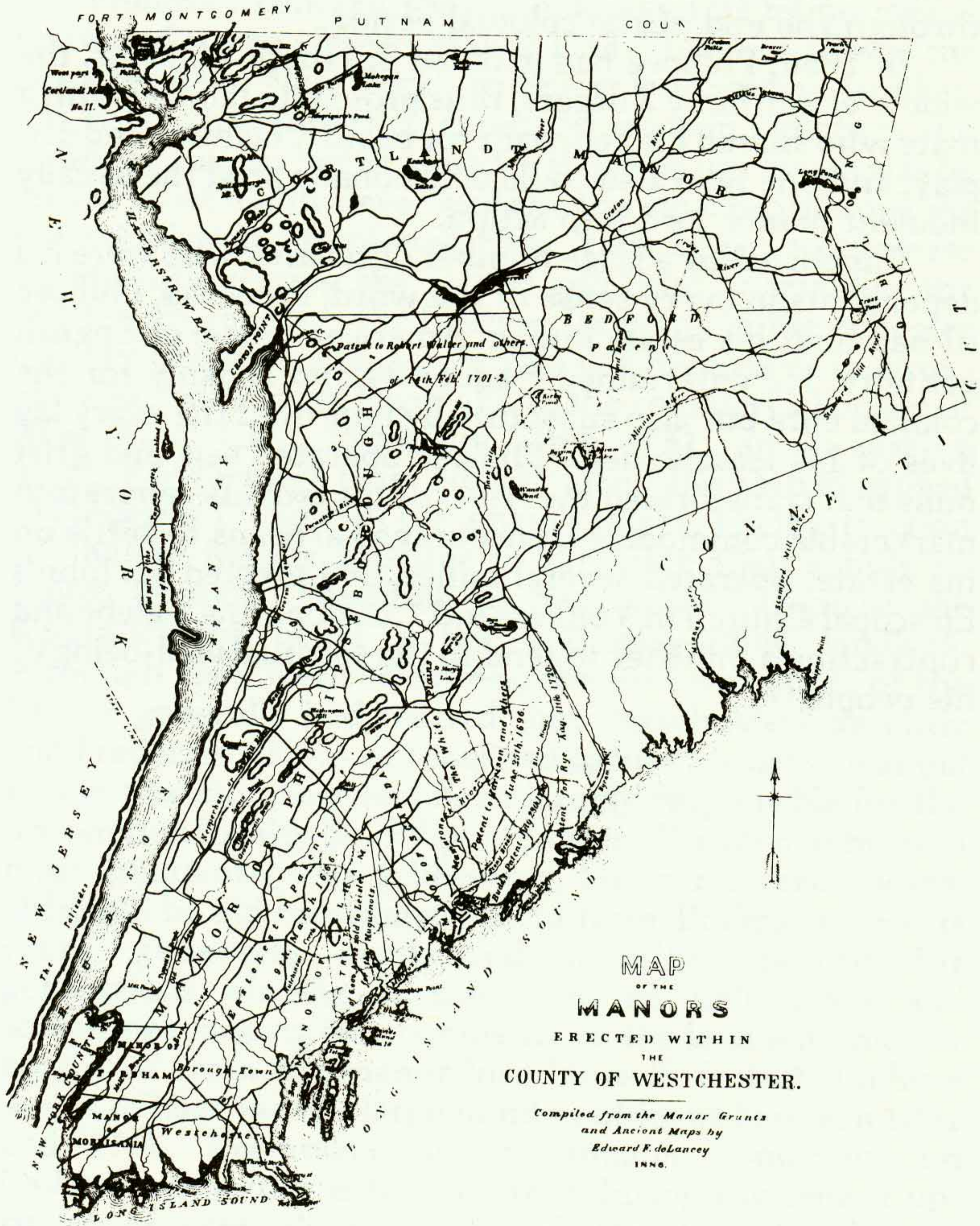
Administered for the first time by a full-time Lord of the Manor, Philipsburg prospered and even flourished in the third quarter of the eighteenth century under the



even-tempered and benevolent leadership of Frederick Philipse, III. Even though land in other parts of the province was opened to settlers after the threat of French attack from Canada ended in 1763, Philipse continued to attract new tenants and was able to retain his old ones through the end of the colonial period.

In 1756, Philipse had married Elizabeth Williams, the widow of Anthony Rutgers, thus providing himself with a mate who shared his penchant for beauty, fashion, and display, and one who also could occasionally prod the usually indolent manor lord into action.

Supported by a large number of tenants who were his dependents in every sense of the word, Frederick Philipse III had built his estate into an American model of English gentility. He entertained frequently and lavishly for the colonial elite but also substantially improved the everyday lives of his leaseholders. Philipse operated saw and grist mills that transformed the fruits of his tenants' labors into marketable commodities, encouraged artisans to settle on his estate, operated several mines, and erected St. John's Episcopal Church in Yonkers in 1752, donating a glebe and contracting a minister to tend to the spiritual well-being of his people.<sup>11</sup>



Prepared in 1886, this map appears in Scharf's History of Westchester County. New York State Library.

## The Road to Loyalism

On the eve of the American Revolution, Philipse Manor extended for about twenty-four miles along the east bank of the Hudson from the Croton River south to Spuyten Duyvil Creek and included the northern part of New York City, today's city of Yonkers, and the Westchester County towns of Greenburgh, Mount Pleasant, and Ossining.

By virtue of such substantial holdings, the manor lord was looked to for leadership in provincial affairs. Judge Philipse, for example, had represented Westchester County in the New York Assembly for twenty-five years, and, upon his death in 1751, his seat was filled by his son, Frederick III, the third Lord of the Manor. In deference to his wealth and position, Frederick III (also called "Colonel" because of an unexercised commission he held in the colonial militia), was elected to the colonial Assembly five times and served until that body adjourned for the last time in the spring of 1775.

His birthright had entitled Frederick to positions of leadership and responsibility in New York's colonial government, but the rotund and usually lethargic manor lord was only incidentally interested in politics and attended the Assembly sessions irregularly. Consequently, he was appointed to trivial and more or less honorary committees such as the one to consider the governor's address or to draft bills continuing laws already in force. Until the 1770s, Philipse was conspicuously absent from critical committees on finance, defense, and diplomatic relations with the mother country. That he commanded a certain amount of respect without inspiring a great deal of personal confidence also might be inferred from the fact that he was often called on to make committee reports to the House and to preside over committees of the whole in the absence of the Assembly speaker. Such considerations paid tribute to the Philipse name. But by consistently excluding him from important projects and committees, the Assembly leadership expressed its skepticism, if not its real doubt, as to Frederick III's own abilities.<sup>12</sup>

The decade before the signing of the Declaration of Independence witnessed the polarization of New York's political factions: the supporters of the royal prerogative,

and their opponents who thought New York should exercise control of its internal affairs. Perhaps the only thing more consistent than the frequency with which Frederick Philipse had been overlooked in the selection of critical committees was his almost perfect record of voting with the supporters of the royalist administration. James De Lancey, Jr., one of the leading partisans of that faction, later testified to Philipse's support of the royal prerogative by stating that Colonel Philipse "always voted with the party who favored the Measures of Government."

By his own admission, Philipse claimed that "he uniformly opposed every measure . . . inconsistent with the rights of the crown and parliament." Philipse's voting record and the nature of the legislation which he infrequently chose to introduce in the assembly clearly identify him as a royal adherent from the early 1760s. For example, in November 1763, he presented the government support bill, an honor generally reserved for firm friends of the royal government. In January 1770, he voted against a proposed ballot bill that future revolutionaries almost unanimously supported and that future Loyalists opposed. In 1773 and 1774, Philipse served on Assembly committees to raise money to quarter a standing British army in the province. By that time, only an ardent supporter of the British ministry would have seriously exerted himself for such a purpose.<sup>13</sup>

During the final years of New York's colonial era, the pro-administration Assembly leadership began to call on Frederick Philipse for support. For him, the decision to support the royal government had not been difficult because he had good reason to believe that his own best interests and those of the king were coincidental. Although not the most perceptive of individuals, Frederick Philipse III was well aware that the privileged position this descendant of a once-lowly Dutch carpenter held in colonial society had resulted more from the abundant opportunities available under the British colonial system than from anything else. To have expected Philipse to have been less than a staunch supporter of the crown would have been expecting him to be less than self-interested. And, Frederick Philipse had always been self-interested.

## The Revolution Comes to Frederick Philipse

In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of violence, Frederick Philipse probably did not comprehend the increasing seriousness of the disagreement between the king and his American subjects. Certainly he never considered that one day soon he would have to choose between royalism and revolution. In fact, he occasionally appeared to be oblivious to the important issues and events which surrounded and later enveloped him. On the eve of the passage of the Tea Act in 1773, Colonel Philipse interrupted the Assembly proceedings to introduce a bill "to prevent the killing and destroying of partridges and quails on the manor of Philipsborough." This inconsequential and ill-timed intrusion was the epitome of his inability to understand the more portentous issues at stake during his twenty-five year Assembly career.<sup>14</sup>

Although he preferred to concentrate on the development of his estate and on religious and social affairs, by the 1770s, Frederick Philipse found himself beginning to play a more active if somewhat uninspired part in the provincial government of New York. Philipse's claim that he "possessed a considerable share of influence" is justified, for his position made him one of the most influential men in Westchester County. Therefore, it is not surprising that Philipse was selected to preside over the county-wide caucus that assembled in White Plains on August 22, 1774. This *ad hoc* gathering had been convened by request of the New York City Committee of Correspondence to consider the question of whether or not to send delegates to a "continental congress" to be held in Philadelphia during September. Philipse attended, but his contribution to the White Plains meeting remains unclear. However, after some debate, the county convention did authorize Isaac Low, Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Alsop, and John Jay, the delegates from New York City, to represent Westchester as well.<sup>15</sup>

Frederick Philipse's personal sentiments on the American Revolution have long been debated. Assertions run the gamut from the claim that he was one of the "principal loyalist leaders" in the New York Assembly, to the statement that he was "not hostile to the new government;" from "absolutely nothing against him except the

conjecture that he preferred the triumph of England," to "at the commencement of the Revolution, he inclined to the side of the Whigs, but was afterward persuaded to favor the Tories."<sup>16</sup> In truth, however, his loyalty to the crown was never in doubt. He was both a royalist and an aristocrat. His principal concerns were not of ethics or ideology, for on both counts his very nature had precluded his support of the Revolution.

The Philipse family fortune was founded on and nurtured by the British colonial system and, like most other colonial land and office holders, the Philipses had helped shape provincial society within the framework of the British empire. The third Lord of Philipsburg Manor had patterned his personal life style after that of the English gentry and was preoccupied with implementing the English manorial system in the Hudson Valley under the aegis of the royal government. As an individual with a substantial stake in the necessity for the continuance of the existing system, Frederick Philipse could have been expected to look with alarm upon the activities of certain "rowdy bands" masquerading under the banners of "Sons of Liberty" who pillaged private property during the Stamp Act riots in 1765; clashed with British soldiers on Golden Hill in 1770; dumped tea in New York harbor in 1774; and most recently, took the lead in the selection of delegates to a general congress to protest the latest set of British restrictions.

The New York General Assembly did not take part in the selection of those delegates and thus could be expected to ignore the resolutions of the First Continental Congress. However, in January 1775, Abraham Ten Broeck of Albany surprised his Assembly colleagues by moving to consider the Philadelphia resolves. Frederick Philipse interrupted, questioning whether it was proper for such a motion to be introduced at all. Philipse's point of order led to a vote by which the Assembly decided 11 to 10 not to consider the proceedings of the Continental Congress.<sup>17</sup>

Unlike some of the other New York Tories, Colonel Philipse was opposed to the coercive measures directed against the colony of Massachusetts as punishment for the Boston Tea Party. But like many New Yorkers who would soon become revolutionaries, he preferred more peaceful and constitutionally correct means of redressing American

grievances. On April 4, 1775, Philipse and twelve other Assemblymen (most of whom became Loyalists), were chosen as a committee to obtain intelligence of parliamentary legislation relating to America and to maintain a correspondence with the governments of the other colonies. As could be expected, that committee communicated only with the official organs of government—within the imperial system—excluding altogether any assistance from the “Sons of Liberty” who had taken it upon themselves to defend American rights in the face of what they claimed was ministerial oppression. This Assembly group was, in effect, a “Tory Committee of Correspondence.”<sup>18</sup>

Like most royal adherents, Philipse was shocked and appalled by the bloodshed that had taken place in the Massachusetts towns of Lexington and Concord. On May 5, 1775, he joined thirteen loyal members of the Assembly in a petition to General Thomas Gage, the military governor and British Commander in Chief in Boston. Lamenting the “unhappy occurrence of violence in Massachusetts,” they asked Gage to cease further hostilities until the king could be apprised of the American situation and assured of the loyalty of his American subjects. What these petitioners feared was that a standing British army would be sent to New York. Philipse and the others sincerely believed that George III would “permit a negotiation to take place[,]. . . prevent the further effusion of blood, and open a door for a lasting accommodation of present disputes.” However, their confidence in the king was misplaced and redcoats were soon quartered on Manhattan.<sup>19</sup>

On March 28, 1775, a large number of Westchester County freeholders assembled at White Plains to select representatives to a provincial convention which, in turn, would choose New York delegates to the Second Continental Congress then scheduled for May. However, a second group arrived on the scene headed by Frederick Philipse and his assembly colleague, Isaac Wilkins. Composed largely of Philipsburg tenants, this group took exception to the selection of representatives, standing behind Wilkins’s statement to “not join in the business of the day or have anything to do with Deputies or Congresses,” and saying that they came there “for the sole purpose of protesting such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings.” Having made clear their position, Wilkins and Philipse then

led their charges away from the county caucus. Before summer, Isaac Wilkins had boarded a ship bound for England never to return. But for Frederick Philipse, whose life and livelihood were centered in Westchester County, there was no escape.<sup>20</sup>

On that March day, Philipse had been a central figure in a public display of loyalty to the crown. He later said that his only reason for appearing at the meeting was to be on record as opposed to what Wilkins had termed the "illegal and unconstitutional proceedings." However, his detractors spread rumors that the manor lord's allegiance had been bought with gold. About that time, Samuel Adams, the Massachusetts patriot leader, was publicizing a letter he had received from London revealing that the British ministry "now openly boast of their having last year sent large sums to New York to bribe members of the assembly and the names of De Lancey, Phillips and Rappalje are frequently mentioned as having each . . . received 1,000 guineas for their conduct in the Assembly respecting the late Continental Congress and for refusing to send delegates to the May Congress." But that was unlikely and also unnecessary because it was well known that the Philipse family loyalty had been developed over the past hundred years.<sup>21</sup>

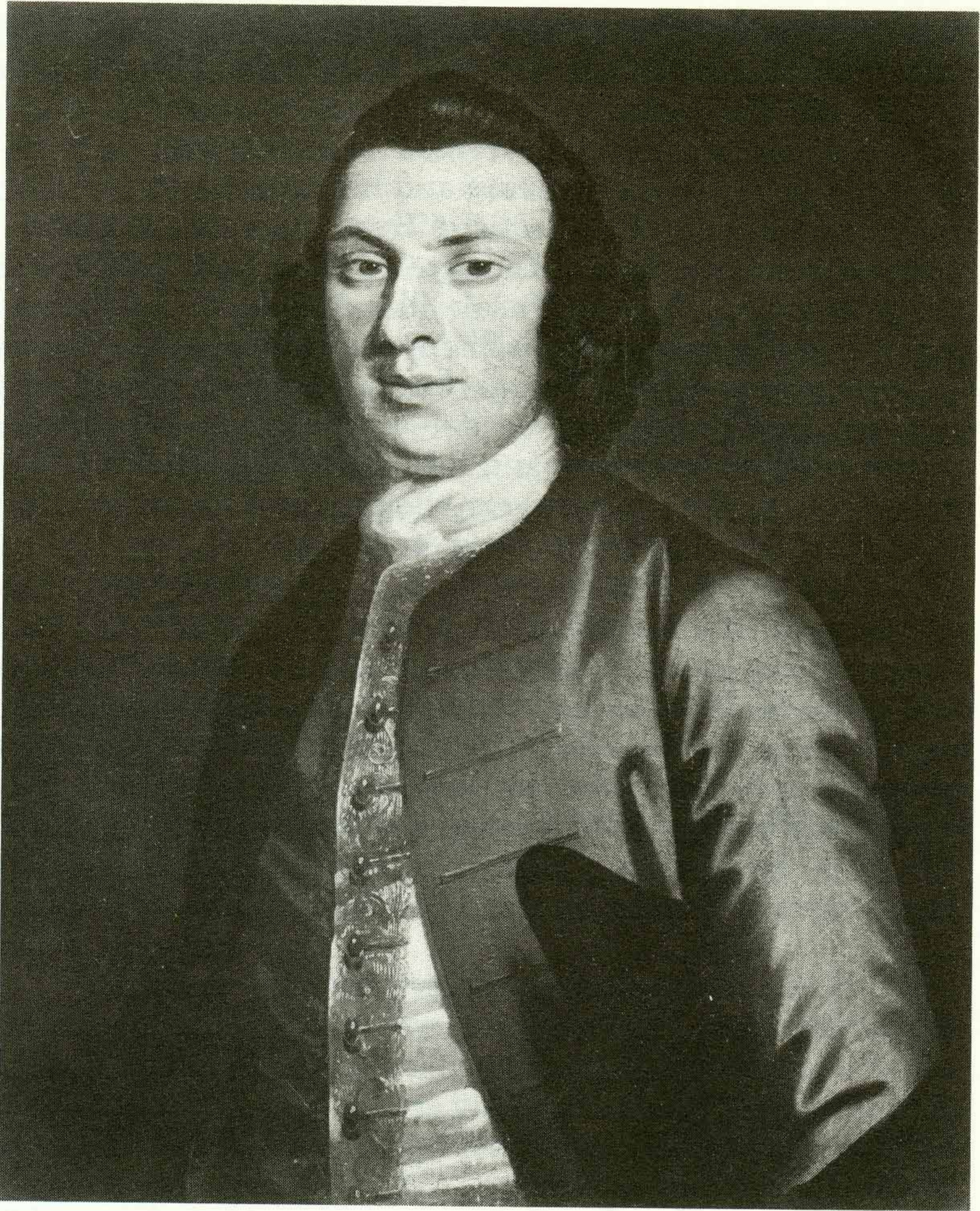
When the colonial Assembly adjourned for the last time in April of 1775, Frederick Philipse returned to the Manor Hall and to the management of his estate. His attachment to the crown was well known and his presence in an area inhabited by a large number of patriots, as well as Tories, could be expected to cause some problems. Philipse did not help his own cause in the factious land of Westchester County when he allowed his name to head a long list of Westchester inhabitants who professed their support of the "King and Constitution" in an advertisement appearing in James Rivington's *New-York Gazetteer* on April 20. Apparently the manor lord did not comprehend what was to come.<sup>22</sup>

The news of bloodshed at Lexington and Concord and of the organization of an extra-legal Provincial Congress in New York had disturbed Philipse. Even more disconcerting were the activities of the members of the Westchester County Committee of Safety which had placed his name at the top of a list of "Westchester County Tories" they had



prepared late in 1775. By the end of the year, many loyalist New Yorkers, including Wilkins and Roger Morris, had already left the country. The Reverend Samuel Seabury, author of the pro-British "Westchester Farmer" letters, had been seized by Isaac Sears and his rebel band and had been imprisoned in Connecticut. Sears was also responsible for the destruction of Rivington's New York City press and print shop. Royal officials like Abraham C. Cuyler, mayor of Albany, and Philip Skene, lieutenant governor of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, had been arrested and were confined in Connecticut as dangerous royal adherents. Governor William Tryon and his Council had fled the city and were attempting to govern the province from the safety of a British warship in New York harbor.

In the midst of such turmoil, Frederick Philipse was attending to the operation of his estate, collecting rents, making loans, and engaging new tenants much as he did in days gone by. Philipse had apparently resolved to go about his business, not to antagonize the rebels, and to wait for a reconciliation with the mother country. At least for Frederick Philipse, 1775 passed without incident.<sup>23</sup>



*Gentleman of the Philipse Family, believed to be Frederick Philipse III, by John Wollaston. Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society.*

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Fred. Philipse." The signature is written in dark ink on a light-colored background.

*Signature of Frederick Philipse III, private collection.*

## A Prisoner in His Native Land

The events of the beginning of 1776 brought about a crystallization of positions on both sides of the Anglo-American disputes. Whig polemicists like Thomas Paine had begun to point out the advantages of separation from Great Britain and the whispered word on the lips of every patriot leader was independence. The British army had left Boston and most Americans were convinced that it was only a matter of time until the king's troops would return to invade New York. Patriot military units on the local, county, and provincial levels were mobilized for action.

It was in this climate of stress and turbulence that Frederick Philipse assembled a large number of his tenants in the spring of 1776 and implored them to "preserve the peace and to support the legal government." Until then, Philipse had managed to avoid the wrath of the various rebel organizations. But by this assembly of his tenants, Philipse left himself open to charges that, in addition to being well-known and personally "inimical to the liberties of America," he was also disaffecting the large number of inhabitants who were his tenants.<sup>24</sup>

He subsequently came under the scrutiny of the newly-created Committee on Conspiracies of the New York Provincial Congress. Its purpose was to summon and examine those who were suspected of being enemies of American liberties. On June 15, 1776, the Committee published its "List of Suspected Persons." Twenty-one Westchester County Tories were named, including Frederick Philipse who was ordered to be summoned *and* arrested. A subpoena was sent to Philipse on June 27. That directive commanding him to appear before the committee in New York City on July 3 at 10:00 in the morning reached him at the Manor Hall on Saturday evening, June 29. Philipse pondered the order, and on July 2, penned the following reply:

Gentlemen—I was served on Saturday evening last with a paper signed by you, in which you suggest that you are authorized by the Congress to summon certain persons to appear before you whose conduct had been represented as inimical to the rights of America, of which number, you

say I am one. Who it is that has made such a representation, or upon what particular facts it is founded, (as you have not stated them) it is impossible for me to imagine. But considering my situation, and the near and intimate ties and connections which I have in this country, which can be secured and rendered happy to me only by the real and permanent prosperity of America, I should have hoped that suspicions of this nature would not be easily harboured. However, as they have been thought of weight sufficient to attract the notice of the Congress, I can only observe, that conscious of the uprightness of my intentions and the integrity of my conduct, I would most readily comply with your summons, but the situation of my health is such, as would render it very unadvisable for me to take a journey to New York at this time. I have had the misfortune, gentlemen, of being deprived totally of the sight of my left eye, and the other is so much affected and inflamed as to make me very cautious how I expose it, for fear of a total loss of sight. This being my real situation, I must request the favour of you to excuse my attendance tomorrow; but you may rest assured gentlemen, that I shall punctually attend, as soon as I can consistent with health, flattering myself in the meantime, that upon further consideration, you will think that my being a friend to the rights and interests of my native country is a fact so strongly implied, as to require no evidence on my part to prove it, until something more substantial than mere suspicion or vague surmises are proved to the contrary.<sup>25</sup>

Even if Philipse had traveled to New York City on July 3, he would have found no committee there to receive him. In immediate expectation of a British invasion, on June 30 the Provincial Congress had resolved to move to White Plains, but it did not re-convene there until July 9. However, Philipse did agree to appear at a later date although a severe visual handicap combined with his extraordinary obesity would appear to have all but confined him to the Manor Hall.<sup>26</sup>

Adoption of the Declaration of Independence had turned rebellion into revolution and the appearance of the large British invasion fleet and army in New York harbor made it absolutely clear that this was a full scale war. The summer of 1776 also marked the beginning of a three-year campaign by the revolutionary leadership of New York State to identify, separate, and then expel those who would not support the new order. Even those who sought to remain neutral were eventually singled out. A man of well-known pro-royalist sentiments, Frederick Philipse was among those branded as "disaffected," although his continued residence in Westchester County represented only the slightest threat to the American cause. Nevertheless, on August 9, 1776, the manor lord was arrested at his home on orders of George Washington. He was taken to New Rochelle where he was held "under guard" for eleven days. While in confinement he wrote a series of letters to his wife.

On August 14, he sent Elizabeth Philipse a tender note expressing his love and cautioning their children "not to open their lipps about the times" because the Continental soldiers then encamped on the estate might be listening. He instructed Elizabeth to write any "news . . . [on the] Inside of the Cover of Your letters not with ink but the Juice of a Lemon." Shortly thereafter Philipse was transferred to New Haven in Connecticut, a place to which many New York Loyalists had been exiled. Philipse had arrived there by August 22 when he wrote that he was well and that, even after an exacting interrogation by his captors, he was confident that he had "done nothing Inimical to the Liberty's of My Country." Evidently, Philipse was unaware that at almost the same moment he was being branded as a traitor before a special sub-committee of the Convention of Representatives of the State of New York.<sup>27</sup>

Philipse was upset over his arrest and confinement under guard without specific charges or a hearing and sought to discuss the matter with Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut. Shortly thereafter, on August 28, Trumbull allowed Philipse to sign a parole. By the terms of this agreement with the state of Connecticut, Philipse was permitted freedom of movement within the town borders of Middletown, Durham, and Wethersfield in return for his promise not to correspond with the enemies of the American states.

Abiding by those terms, Philipse continued in that situation until November 29. Longing for home and family, on that day he drafted a petition to the New York State Convention. His memorial recounted the particulars of his seizure and confinement and begged that he be permitted to return home in order to tend to the "superintendency of his own affairs, particularly the education of his children." A sub-committee considered Philipse's request and, on December 13, 1776, reported that the manor lord had "exerted himself in promoting an association . . . highly injurious to the American Cause[,] that his great estate . . . has necessarily created a vast number of dependents on his pleasure [,]" and, "that the Shameful Defection of the Inhabitants of that [Westchester] County is in a great measure owing to his influence." Philipse's request was then denied with the notation that his release "would put it in the power of a professed Enemy of the American cause not only further to disaffect the inhabitants of Westchester County, but to put many of them in Arms against the United States of North America."

However, Philipse had been credited with power and initiative far beyond his actual ability. He never attempted to mobilize his "dependents" to fight for the king, being perhaps the only loyalist landlord who failed to do so. Nevertheless, he remained in confinement until December 23, 1776, when he was one of seven Tories released by order of Governor Trumbull. In return for his freedom, Philipse agreed not to "bear arms, nor excite, nor encourage others to bear Arms against this or any of the United States of America[,] . . . not [to] do or say anything in prejudice of the interest or measures of the said United States[, and to] . . . give no intelligence to the Enemies of the said States of any of the Councils[,] Operations of War of this [Connecticut] or any of the said states." After six months of captivity, Frederick Philipse returned home.<sup>28</sup>

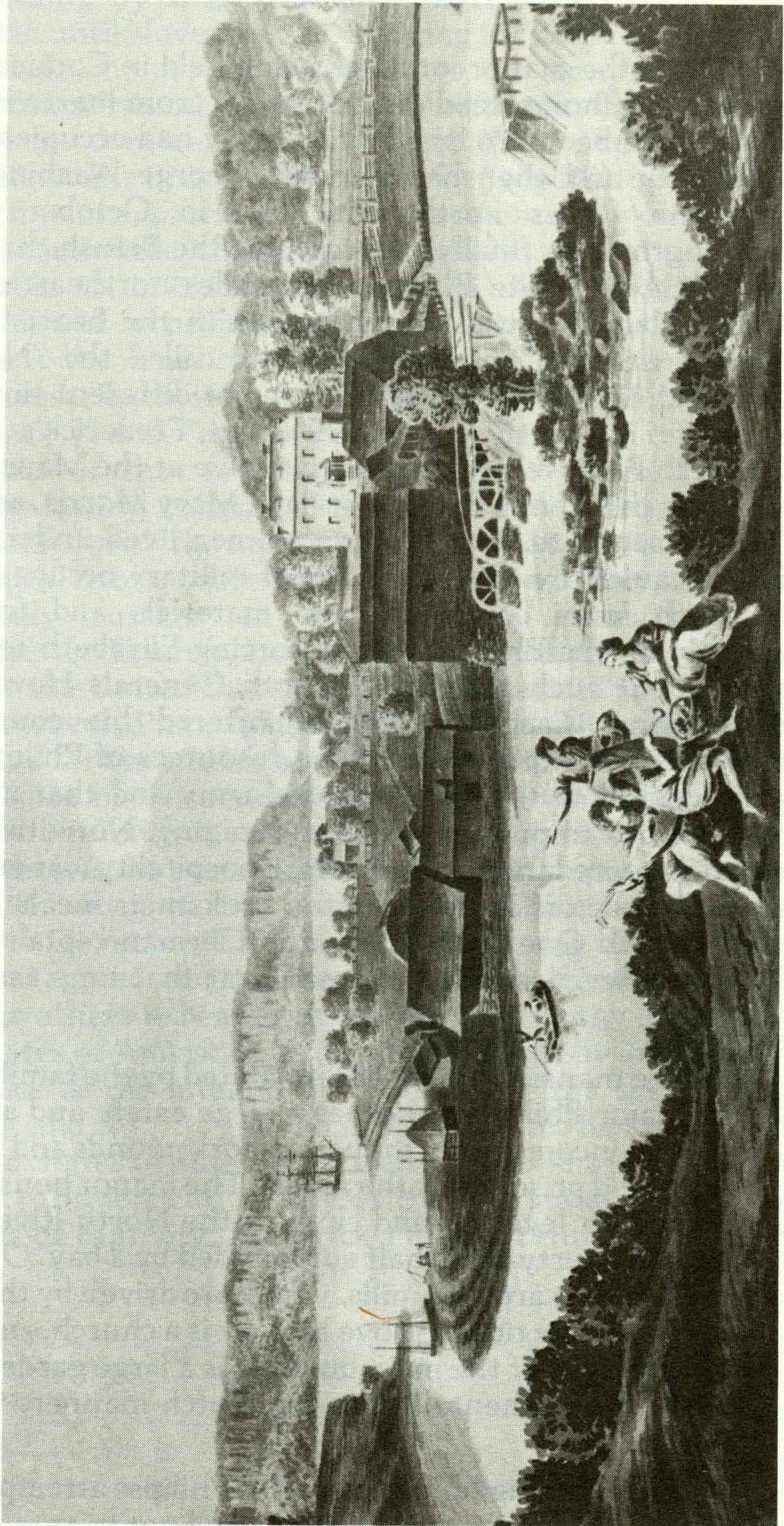
## Frederick Philipse—Fugitive

While the manor lord was being held in Connecticut, his Yonkers homestead did not suffer from inactivity. By mid-September 1776, the British army had occupied New York City and then had pursued George Washington's American forces north until late in October when Washington was finally able to blunt the British thrust at the battle of White Plains a few miles northeast of the Manor Hall. Because it was located in the heart of the Westchester County no-man's land called the "Neutral Ground," Philipsburg was occupied at different times by elements of both armies. During Frederick's exile, Elizabeth Philipse had continued to live at the Manor Hall with her children, her sister-in-law, Mary Morris, and the Philipse servants. The Philipse women lived under great duress caused by the exigencies of military occupation.

Both sides commandeered materials and foraged severely on the Philipse estate, forcing Elizabeth to complain about such activities to both Generals Howe and Washington. Each commander offered his courteous apologies but explained that the resources of Philipsburg were critical to the supply of his army and that neither could afford to put a stop to the foraging. Notwithstanding such depredations, the Philipse hospitality was extended to British officers who often took their meals at the Manor Hall. One such guest, the German captain, Carl Bauermeister, described the manor at that time as

a large mansion at present inhabited by the family of Major Philipse, who has a large estate and an annual income of six thousand York pounds and is now held prisoner by the rebels. The manor house stands on level ground close to the North River and its courtyard is half surrounded by a bay. On the left of it are two mills, which are driven by the high and low tides. Above the bay is a church, and on the right of the main building is a large garden with all ornamentation in the Dutch manner.<sup>29</sup>

After returning home, Frederick Philipse attempted to abide by the conditions of his parole and not to antagonize



*Watercolor of Philipse Manor Hall, Yonkers, made on June 18, 1784. The view is from the south, with the Saw Mill River in the foreground. Sleepy Hollow Restorations.*



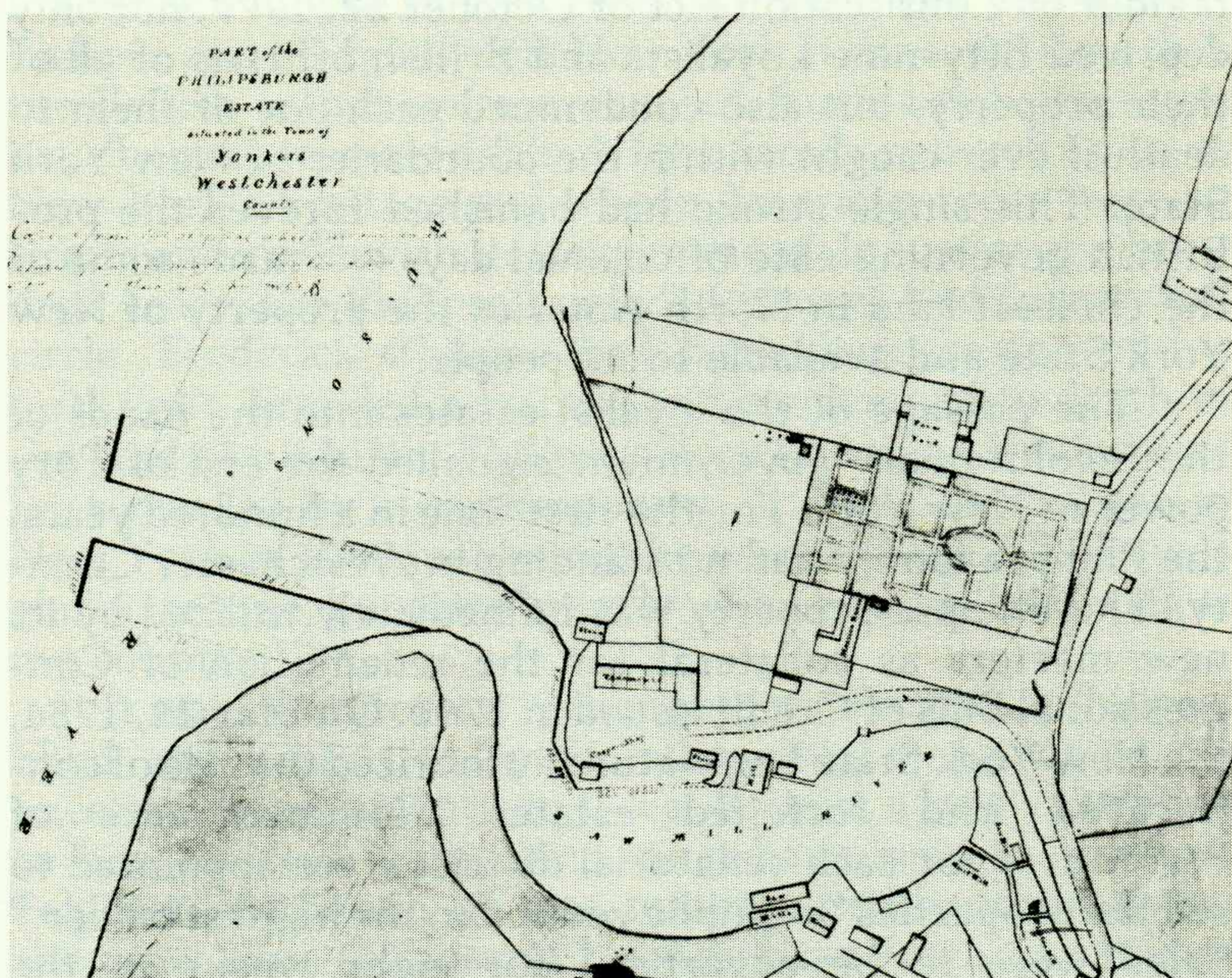
the combatants. He remained at the Manor Hall until the spring of 1777. At that time, his single known aggressive action of the war occurred. Philipse spotted a column of American troops under Lieutenant Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs of Connecticut moving south past the Manor Hall along the Saw Mill River Road. He learned that they were on their way to attack the British camp at Morrisania near the southern end of Westchester County. Philipse took the initiative and sent a note to the British at Kingsbridge warning them of the impending raid. However, his courier was captured by the Americans and the letter intercepted. Philipse apparently panicked, loaded his family on a river vessel, and, leaving the estate in the care of his steward, John Williams, fled to the British in New York. He never saw the Manor Hall again.

Why Philipse would choose to breach his neutrality at that time, and because of such a comparatively unimportant event, is open to speculation. Several contemporary observers suggested that the manor lord was a man dominated by his wife, "an English woman of strong Royalist sentiments," and that Elizabeth and other family members had influenced his decision to send the warning note to the British and then to evacuate. More plausible, however, was Philipse's certain realization that any hope of reconciliation with Great Britain had passed. His countrymen were now enemies of the king and he understood that the Americans were quite capable of violent reactions against those who did not support the Revolution. Philipse Manor's location in the midst of a war zone made his continued residence at Yonkers particularly hazardous. Philipse undoubtedly sensed the danger and perhaps used the Meigs incident as an excuse to flee.<sup>30</sup>

After entering the British lines, the Philipse family moved into Frederick's large house on the northeast corner of Whitehall and Stone Streets and there they spent the rest of the war. The family was quickly assimilated into the wartime society of New York City. Shortly after arriving, Frederick purchased commissions in the British army for his five sons and the girls were often the talk of New York's winter balls as they had been in pre-war days. By that time, Philipse was almost totally blind and found it very difficult to move about. Nevertheless, he busied himself with various social endeavors and in religious service as a

vestryman of Trinity Episcopal Church.<sup>31</sup>

Although cut off from their estate, the Philipses apparently did not want for material comforts. During this period, Frederick Philipse derived his income from at least three principal sources. Not residing on his estate for the first time in his life, Philipse was an absentee landlord who nonetheless fully expected his tenants to continue to pay rent. Philipse's expectations were at least partially fulfilled. As a testimony to their extraordinary loyalty to him, as late as December 1778, seventy-three tenants paid their annual rents to Philipse in New York City. Many of the notes on loans Philipse had made fell due while he was living in New York, and most probably he had some success in collecting them. In addition, because he had been "obliged to leave his estate and property on account of his attachment to his majesty's government," Philipse was awarded a royal pension. By 1782, this annual stipend had reached two hundred pounds.<sup>32</sup>



Detail from "Part of the Philipsburg Estate Situated in the Town of Yonkers" showing extent of gardens remaining in 1831. New York State Library.

## End of an Era

Various means of repressing New York's large loyalist population had been implemented since the beginning of the war. But in 1778, the state's revolutionary leadership, and especially John Jay, sought to break the backbone of Tory power in New York. Jay proposed to deprive the Tory leaders, the Philipse, Johnsons, De Lanceys, Coldens, Skenes, and others, of an important traditional source of power—their land. Hence, what became the Act of Attainder or Confiscation Act of October 22, 1779, not only deprived fifty-nine Loyalists and British officials of all of their property, but also condemned each one of them to death if ever caught within the boundaries of New York State. This single stroke had banished forever the pro-British governing elite of colonial days *and* made some of the choicest land in North America the property of New York State and available to its people.<sup>33</sup>

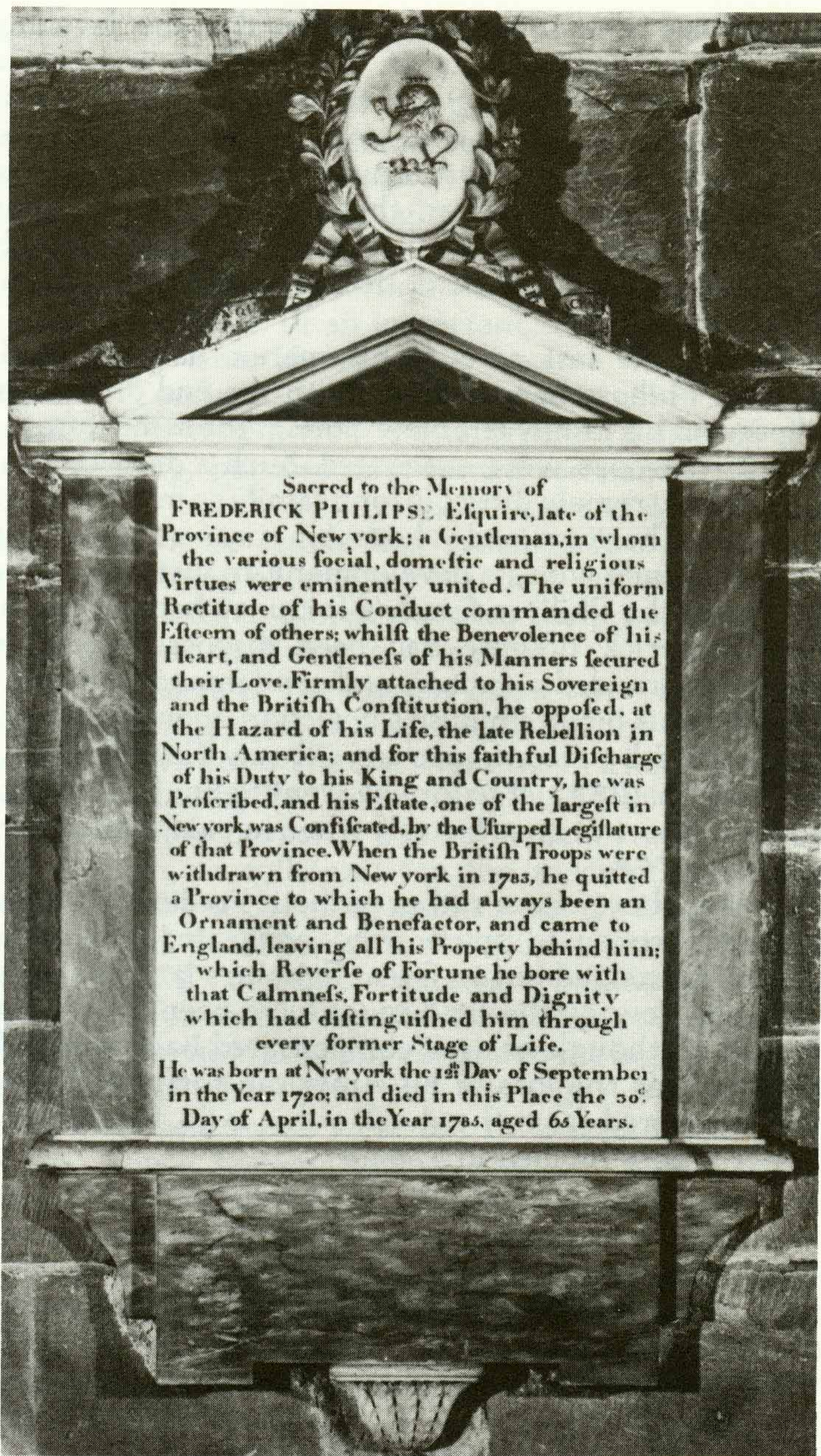
The passage of the loyalist estates into the hands of the revolutionary government signalled the end of Tory power in New York. For the first time in a hundred years, the Philipse family had no standing in Westchester County. The Philipse property was immediately utilized by its new masters as collateral for the redemption of Congressional Bills of Credit issued in 1780. On May 12, 1784, the New York State Legislature authorized the sale of confiscated and forfeited estates. Commissioners of Forfeitures for each senatorial district were appointed to sell the properties "at public vendue to the highest bidder." Sales were to be advertised for eight weeks in the newspapers and tracts were not to exceed 500 acres per person. Those former tenants who had supported the revolution were allowed to preempt (have first choice of) their former leaseholds for an appraised price. Beginning in 1785, what had been the Manor of Philipsburg for almost a century was sold in 311 separate conveyances at a total benefit to the state of over 220,000 New York pounds. This was over twice as much as the sum obtained from the next largest estate.

Almost 200 former Philipse tenants immediately exercised their preemption rights. Former tenants accounted for about eighty percent of the new owners and their average farm was 170 acres, a size about equal to the state-

wide average farm. Initially, it appeared that the "levelling" or "democratizing" effects of the breakup and sale of Philipse Manor were great. Of the 287 new owners, only eighteen were outsiders who could legitimately be called speculators. These speculators purchased only 6 per cent of the total acreage; however, the Manor Hall and Upper Mills, the choicest individual parcels, were purchased by Cornelius Low and Gerard Beekman, two of the outsiders.<sup>34</sup>

Before the last acre of his manor had been sold, Frederick Philipse III was dead. With the end of the war, Philipse and his family left New York at the same time that the British troops were evacuated. Such a decision must have been extremely difficult for a family so much a part of New York's heritage and whose American roots were so firmly entwined with its development. In just over a hundred years, the Philipse family's fortunes had turned full circle. Frederick Philipse had been dispossessed of his birthright, branded a traitor, and condemned to death in the land of his birth. Philipse's dejection upon leaving was later recalled by a contemporary: "I saw Col. Philipse in New York in 1783 just before he went to England. He was glad to see me, but cried bitterly when he said, 'I must leave my country.'"<sup>35</sup>

It was, therefore, a rather pathetic Frederick Philipse, blind and broken in spirit, who emigrated, not to his ancestral homeland but to Great Britain, a land as strange to him as New Netherland must have been to Vrederic Felypsen. Although he was compensated handsomely by the crown for the loss of his American fortune, Philipse never recovered from the shock of his exile. He settled at Chester where he died in 1786.<sup>36</sup>



*Memorial tablet to Frederick Philipse III at Chester Cathedral, England. The year of death on the tablet is inaccurate. The Parish register shows that he died in 1786, not 1785. Sleepy Hollow Restorations.*

## Footnotes

1. A summary of demographic data for colonial New York can be found in Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), 7, 91, 102-4. For estimates of New York's loyalist population see Alexander C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution* (New York, 1901), 181-82; Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, R.I., 1966), 77-78. A somewhat different estimate is offered by Paul H. Smith in "The American Loyalists: Notes on Their Organization and Numerical Strength," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, XXV (1968), 269.

2. Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, ch. IV; Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York, 1969), 231-32; John Shy, "The Loyalist Problem in the Lower Hudson Valley: The British Perspective," in *The Loyalist Americans: A Focus on Greater New York*, Robert A. East and Jacob Judd, eds. (Tarrytown, N.Y., 1975), 3-13. Loyalists or British sympathizers in predominantly Whig families included Robert Cambridge Livingston, Staats Long Morris, Johan Jost Herkimer, and Nicholas Schuyler, to name only a few.

3. The general historiography of American Loyalism is ably summarized by Wallace Brown in "The View at Two Hundred Years: The Loyalists of the American Revolution," in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, LXXX (1970), 25-48; and, since then, William A. Benton, *Whig-Loyalism: An Aspect of Political Ideology in the American Revolutionary Era* (Rutherford, N.J., 1969); Mary Beth Norton, *The British Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789* (Boston, 1972); Robert M. Calhoon, *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781* (New York, 1973); Catherine S. Crary, *The Price of Loyalty: Tory Writings from the Revolutionary Era* (New York, 1973); and Rick J. Ashton, "The Loyalist Experience: New York, 1763-1789" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1973). On Jay's temperament and qualifications for Loyalism see the reprint of Carl L. Becker's 1919 article titled "John Jay and Peter Van Schaack," in *New York History*, L (1969), 442-53, and also Richard B. Morris, "The American Revolution Comes to John Jay," in *Aspects of Early New York Society and Politics*, Jacob Judd and Irwin H. Polishook, eds., (Tarrytown, N.Y., 1974), 96-117.

4. Biographical treatments of individual New York Loyalists include Leslie F.S. Upton, *The Loyal Whig: William Smith of New York & Quebec* (Toronto, 1969); Benton on Peter Van Schaack, in *Whig-Loyalism*, and in "Peter Van Schaack: The Conscience of a Loyalist," in East and Judd, eds., *The Loyalist Americans*, 44-55; Crary on James De Lancey in *ibid.*, 14-24; Howard Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers* (New York, 1933), which is badly dated but still interesting; and Crary's, "The American Dream: John Tabor Kempe's Rise from Poverty to Riches," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, XIV (1957), 176-95. Ashton's dissertation, "The Loyalist Experience," treats the Cadwallader Coldens (father and son), Isaac Low, John Alsop, and Peter and Henry Van Schaack with a biographical approach.

5. *New York Laws, 1778-1805* (Albany, 1886-87), Third Session, ch. XXV. Those attainted are listed in Harry B. Yoshpe, *The Disposition of*

*Loyalist Estates in the Southern District of the State of New York* (New York, 1939), 17n-18n. See also Thomas Jones, *History of New York During the Revolutionary War*, Edward F. De Lancey, ed. (New York, 1879), II, 269; Flick, *Loyalism*, 146-49.

6. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., (Albany, 1853), II, 699-700. His holdings were valued at 80,000 florins. Biographical information on Frederick Philipse I can be found in Patricia U. Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (New York, 1971), 60-61, and the sources cited therein. See especially Sleepy Hollow Restorations, *Philipsburg Manor* (Tarrytown, N.Y., 1969), 8-25. See also Mary L. Booth, *History of the City of New York* (New York, 1859), 829-30; Jacob Judd, "Frederic Philipse and the Madagascar Trade," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, LV (1971), 354-74. O'Callaghan, ed., *New York Colonial Documents*, III, 75. Philipse owned land in New York City, Westchester, Dutchess, and Ulster Counties, and also in what is now Bergen County, New Jersey. See also Stephen L. Mershon, *The Power of the Crown in the Valley of the Hudson* (Montclair, N.J., 1925), 98-99.

7. For Philip Philipse, see the research file, "Philip Philipse," at the Sleepy Hollow Restorations Library, Irvington, N.Y. For Adolph Philipse, see Bonomi, *Factious People*, esp. 98-99, and the sources cited therein; Judd, "Frederic Philipse," *ibid.*; Edward H. Hall, *Philipse Manor Hall* (New York, 1912), *passim*; Sleepy Hollow Restorations, *Philipsburg Manor*, 30-36.

8. For Frederick Philipse II, see Hall, *Manor Hall*, 101-5, and the sources previously cited for Frederick I and Adolph.

9. Hall, *Manor Hall*, 110; Robert Bolton, Jr., *History of the County of Westchester* (New York, 1848), II, 469; "Evidence on the Foregoing Memorial of Fredk. Philips Esq.," 25 October 1784, from the "Philipse Papers" discovered at Rhyl, Wales, in 1957, now at the Sleepy Hollow Restorations Library in Irvington, N.Y., and hereafter cited as Philipse Papers—SHR. The Philipse "birthright" is discussed in Paul Wiltstach, *Hudson River Landings* (New York, 1933), 209. For Frederick III's attachment to and renovation of the Manor Hall, see Hall, *Manor Hall*, ch. XIV; *The Memorial History of the City of New York*, James G. Wilson, ed., (New York, 1893), IV, 113; Charles E. Allison, *The History of Yonkers* (New York, 1896), 64. Robert Bolton, Jr., *History of the Protestant Church in the County of Westchester* (New York, 1855), 491, describes Frederick III as "a most accomplished gentleman and a person of considerable literary attainments"; Booth, *History of New York*, 829; see Hall, *Manor Hall*, for John Jay's recollection that Philipse "had a taste for gardening, planting . . . and employed much time and money in that way"; *Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals 1776-1784 of Adjutant General Bauermeister of the Hessian Forces*, Bernhard A. Uhlendorf, trans. and ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1957), 372, 15 September 1780; Alice Lockwood, *Gardens of Colony and State* (1931), *passim*; William S. Pelletreau, *Historic Homes and Institutions and Geneological and Family History of New York* (New York, 1907), 152; Harold D. Eberlein, *The Manors and Historic Homes of the Hudson Valley* (Philadelphia, 1924), 94.

10. Eberlein, *Manors and Historic Homes*, 92; Otto Hufeland, *Westchester County During the American Revolution* (White Plains, N.Y., 1926), 4. Accor-



ding to Sung Bok Kim in "A New Look at the Great Landlords of Eighteenth Century New York," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, XXVII (1970), 613, the tenant population of Philipsburg increased from 35 in 1712 to 170 in 1760 and to 272 in 1776. John Watts, a member of the provincial Council, was among those who observed that the Philipses were easy landlords who seldom disturbed their tenants, *Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Philipsburg Manor*, 36; Beatrice G. Reubens, "Pre-Emptive Rights in the Disposition of a Confiscated Estate—Philipsburgh Manor, New York," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, XXII (1965), 439; Yoshpe, *Disposition of Loyalist Estates*, 51; William S. Pelletreau, *Early Wills of Westchester County, New York 1664 to 1784* (New York, 1898), 222, 262, reveals that Philipse permitted the bequest of leaseholds to tenant heirs; Hall, *Manor Hall*, 115, notes that the annual rent for a 200 acre farm was seven pounds. Some of Philipse's leases, however, were written: see for example P249, and other indentures, P450, P821, Philipse Papers—SHR. On 17 January 1756, Frederick Philipse sold a farm of ten acres to Elnathan Taylor, Westchester County Clerk's Office, White Plains, "Deeds," 507. The Philipsburg Manor rent role with rents totalling over 1588 pounds sterling have been printed in "A Loyalist Claim: The Philipse Estate," Jacob Judd, ed., in East and Judd, eds., *The Loyalist Americans*, 105-111; "A copy of a List of Bonds and Notes due to Frederick Philipse . . . to the 25th day of December 1784," from the Philipse Papers—SHR, is printed in *ibid.*, 112-22. Philipse did not hesitate to prosecute negligent creditors, see P209-C-4, P183-C-3, P96-C-2, P25-G-3, Philipse Papers—SHR. For the rioting in Dutchess County, see Henry Noble Mac Cracken, *Old Dutchess Forever: The Story of an American County* (New York, 1956), 300-15; Irving Mark, *Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775* (New York, 1940), ch. V.

11. The marriage notice appeared in the *New York Mercury*, 13 September 1756. For Elizabeth Philipse see Hall, *Manor Hall*, 117-18; Frank L. Walton, *Pillars of Yonkers* (New York, 1951), 65. Her dowry included a large Manhattan farm located near City Hall. For her dominance of him, see the series of interviews in the *Tarrytown Argus*, 25 March 1905, under the heading, "Revolutionary Sketches: Col. Frederick Philipse." For the value of his estate see "Evidence on the Foregoing Memorial . . .," Philipse Papers—SHR; for the mines, see P821, *ibid.*; for Philipse's concern for the church see Bolton, *Church*, 491; Hall, *Manor Hall*, 114; Walton, *Pillars of Yonkers*, 64; Samuel Johnson to Archbishop Seeker, 25 July 1759, in O'Callaghan, ed., *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 398; for "A True Account of the Salary Promised, but now disputed by Mr. Phillips," see the statement of Dr. Henry Munro, June 1764, Munro Papers, Museum of the City of New York.

12. Yoshpe, *Disposition*, 53. For Frederick III's Assembly career see Edgar A. Werner, *Civil List and Constitutional History of the Colony and State of New York* (Albany, 1889), 405; *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, 1691-1765* (New York, 1766), II, 317, 337, 354; *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York from 1766 to 1776, Inclusive* (Albany, 1820), II, 331, 462, 648, 691; *Colonial Laws of New York* (Albany, 1894), II, 640-42; *New York State Library Bulletin #58, "Calendar of Council Minutes 1668-1783"* (Albany, 1902), 477.

13. The most comprehensive recent statements on pre-Revolutionary New York politics can be found in Bonomi, *Factional People*, esp. ch. VII; Roger J. Champagne, *Alexander Mc Dougall and the American Revolution in New York* (Schenectady, N.Y., 1975), ch. II-IV; Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York, 1975), ch. XII-XIII. De Lancey's testimony, 4 December 1784, from the Philipse Papers—SHR, is printed in East and Judd, eds., *Loyalist Americans*, 131; "The Memorial of F. Philips Esq.," Philipse Papers—SHR; *Assembly Journal*, (29 November 1763), 732; the Ballot Bill is discussed in Bonomi, *Factional People*, 277; *Assembly Journal*, (25 January 1772), 35; (10 February 1773), 70; (25 February 1774), 66.

14. *Assembly Journal*, (9 January 1773), 11.

15. *Ibid.*, (12 April 1769), 24; (25 January 1773), 29; (1 December 1762), 711; (10 January 1771), 27; (12 December 1770), 5; (24 November 1768), 33. For the selection of delegates to the First Continental Congress see Hugh M. Flick, "The Rise of the Revolutionary Committee System," in *History of the State of New York*, Alexander C. Flick, ed. (New York, 1933), III, 228-32; *American Archives*, Peter Force, comp. (Washington, D.C., 1839-43), Fourth Series, I, 300, 322, 1188-89. For the opposition to the selection of delegates see *New-York Gazetteer* (Rivington), 20 October 1774, 10 November 1774.

16. Carl L. Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-76* (Madison, Wisc., 1909), 175; Pelletreau, *Historic Homes*, 152; Frederic Shonnard and W.W. Spooner, *History of Westchester County* (New York, 1900), 329; Booth, *History of New York*, 829.

17. *Assembly Journal*, 26 January 1775.

18. *Ibid.*, 106. The members of the committee were Philipse, John Cruger, James De Lancey, James Jauncey, Jacob Walton, Benjamin Seaman, Isaac Wilkins, David Kissam, Zebulon Seaman, John Rapalje, Simon Boerum, Samuel Gale, and George Clinton.

19. Printed in "The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden, 1765-75," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (New York, 1923), (5 May 1775), 291-93.

20. *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution* (Albany, 1868), I, 20. Henry B. Dawson, *Westchester County During the American Revolution* (Morrisania, N.Y., 1886).

21. *Ibid.* William Lee to Samuel Adams, 4 and 10 April 1775, Samuel Adams Papers (Bancroft Transcripts), New York Public Library.

22. *New-York Gazetteer* (Rivington), 20 April 1775. The list is printed in *Rivington's New York Newspaper: Excerpts from a Loyalist Press, 1773-1783*, Kenneth Scott, comp. (New York, 1973), 110-12.

23. *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, I, 188, lists the Westchester County Tories. Bolton, *Westchester*, II, 468; Hall, *Manor Hall*, 138; "Memorial of F. Philips Esq.," Philipse Papers—SHR.

24. *Ibid.*; quoted in Jacob Judd, "Frederick Philipse III of Westchester County: A Reluctant Loyalist," in East and Judd, eds., *Loyalist Americans*, 31-32.

25. "Minutes of the Committee and of the First Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York," *New-York Historical Society Collections* (New York, 1924), I, xi-xii; *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, I, 341, 369; by June 15, the determination had been

made to arrest Philipse. Dawson, *Westchester in the Revolution*, 194; *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New York* (Albany, 1842), II, 116-17.

26. *Ibid.*, and also I, 512, 515; Shonnard, *Westchester County*, 328-29; Dawson, *Westchester in the Revolution*, 204n.

27. Anti-Loyalist measures are reviewed by Alexander C. Flick, "The Loyalists," in Flick, ed., *History of New York*, III, ch. X. Interview with Sara Corsa in *Tarrytown Argus*, 25 May 1905. Dawson, *Westchester in the Revolution*, 204n. "The Memorial of Frederick Phillips," Middletown, Conn., November 1776, Philipse Papers—SHR. Frederick Philipse to Elizabeth Williams Philipse, 14, 18, 20, 22 August 1776, *ibid.*

28. Parole dated 28 August 1776, printed in Hall, *Manor Hall*, 151-52, and in *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, I, 540. "Petition of Frederick Philips," Middletown, Conn., 29 November 1776, *ibid.*, 540, 555-56. "Parole of Frederic Philipse," Middletown, Conn., 23 December 1776," Trumbull Papers, Connecticut State Library, PX2318, punctuation and parentheses supplied.

29. For Revolutionary War events in Westchester County, see the articles by Shy and Crary in East and Judd, eds., *The Loyalist Americans*, 3-13, 14-24; Hall, *Manor Hall*, ch. X. "Journals of Lieut. Col. Stephen Kemble," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (New York, 1883), I, 98-99. George Washington to Mrs. Philipse, 28 October 1776, in *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1932), VI, 222-23. Uhlendorf, ed., *Revolution in America*, 11 November 1776, 69.

30. Discussion of the Meigs incident is based on a series of interviews which appeared in the *Tarrytown Argus*, 25 March 1905. See especially the testimonies of Isaac Vermille, General Pierre Van Cortlandt, Rebecca Odell, Joseph Leviness, and Susanna Vredenburg. Bolton, *Westchester County*, II, 468.

31. Isaac N. P. Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1909), I, 442; Bolton, *Church*, 491; Philipse held the vestry position from 1779 to 1782; "The Memorial of F. Philips Esq.," Philipse Papers—SHR. *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe*, Edward H. Tatum, Jr., ed. (San Marino, Calif., 1940), 201.

32. "List of tenants that have paid their rents to me at N.Y. due 22 December 1778," Philipse Papers—SHR. "A copy of a List of Bonds and Notes . . .," Philipse Papers—SHR, printed in East and Judd, eds., *Loyalist Americans*, 112-21; "Warrant for Extraordinaries granted by Sir Guy Carleton," 23 December 1782, Public Records Office, London, Treasury Office 1, 648, SHR copy.

33. Flick, "The Loyalists," in Flick, ed., *History*, II, 350-58; Alexander C. Flick, *The American Revolution in New York* (Albany, 1926), 219-21.

34. *Ibid.*, Yoshpe, *Disposition*, 54-56, *passim*; Reubens, "Pre-Emptive Rights," *passim*.

35. Interview with General Pierre Van Cortlandt, dated 19 October 1846, printed in *Tarrytown Argus*, 25 March 1905.

36. Hall, *Manor Hall*, 157-159.

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