

# Jacob Duché: Whig-Loyalist?

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The Rev. Jacob Duché paused in an attempt to compose himself. “Indulge a minister of Jesus,” he asked the soldiers gathered before him, “I cannot close the sentence.” “My soul shrinks back with horror from the tragic scene of fraternal slaughter.” The soldiers sitting in Christ Church that summer day had the dubious distinction of being selected to defend the city of Philadelphia from British attack. Now, in their moment of peril, they anxiously waited for the great religious orator to justify their rebellion in the eyes of God. The words which echoed through Christ Church in those next few moments did just that. “Stand Fast” with the “captain of your salvation,” Duché declared. “Enlist under the Banner of His Cross” and “under this standard thou shalt overcome.”<sup>1</sup>

It was July, 1775, and Philadelphia was in turmoil. The city was in the midst of a turbulent period of frenzied activity highlighted by mass meetings, unruly mob activity, and political intrigue which began in 1773 during the opposition to the Tea Act and steadily increased in intensity until reaching a violent crescendo in the aftermath of the British occupation of 1777. During this period, the city’s clergymen, particularly the Anglicans, were under intense pressure to support the rebellion and, in effect, to convince the many deeply religious persons in the city that God was on their side. Duché boldly supported the American resistance movement through sermons, letters, and as chaplain to both the First and Second Continental Congress.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding this courageous support of American resistance, Duché’s principles, both religious and political, simply would not allow him to lend his wholehearted support to the Revolution as it evolved after the Declaration of Independence. In 1777, alarmed by the volatile political situation in Philadelphia, in particular the intolerance of radicals whose primary desire was independence, and dismayed over the apparent futility of the war effort, Duché drafted a letter to General George Washington encouraging him to make peace with the British and spare the colonies further destruction. The letter brought a groundswell of indignation down upon Duché, forcing him to flee to England where he remained until after the war.<sup>3</sup>

Historian William Benton called the distinctive behavior of men such as Duché Whig-Loyalism. According to Benton, the conservative political principles of Whig-Loyalists allowed them to support American resistance vigorously, but to oppose, on principle, the radicalization of the American Revolution which resulted in the Declaration of Independence. The Whig-Loyalists, because of their apparent vacillation, were branded as Tories and traitors. Caught somewhere between patriotic Whigs and loyal Tories, these thoughtful, resolute individuals, Benton asserted, bold-



*Duché's house, south Third Street*

ly and unashamedly maintained their principles throughout the Revolution. In the end, they displayed that their loyalties were with the British Empire.

Does Benton's description of the Whig-Loyalists explain the behavior of Jacob Duché? Duché's background, theology, political activities, and exile, demonstrate that while his experience paralleled the Whig-Loyalists in many respects, the term Whig-Loyalist does not adequately describe his position. Duché's loyalties were not with the British; indeed, in spiritual affairs they were to his faith in God and in temporal affairs they were to a British colonial system which, in Duché's view, had allowed the development of a society with religious, political, and economic institutions unparalleled in the western world.<sup>4</sup>

This world of optimism, opportunity, and progress was the world of Jacob Duché's youth, a childhood conducive to the development of Whig political principles. Jacob's father, Jacob Duché, Sr., was a prominent and influential Philadelphian who steered young Jacob into the elite circles of Philadelphia society.<sup>5</sup> A brilliant and eloquent youth, Jacob was in the first graduating class of the College of Philadelphia where, under the tutelage of Provost William Smith, he "distinguished himself as an orator."<sup>6</sup> After graduation Duché moved to England to complete his education.<sup>7</sup> He remained there until 1762 when he was called as an assistant minister to Christ Church.<sup>8</sup>

The Anglican church which Duché returned to serve had become a powerful religious institution in Philadelphia. The presence of many of the city's wealthy and influential non-Quakers, and the Friends' decreasing political power, made Christ

Church prominent in Philadelphia affairs.<sup>9</sup> Amiable, devoted, handsome, and eloquent, Duché quickly became an admired and respected figure among his parishioners and throughout Philadelphia's religious community.<sup>10</sup>

The main influences on Duché's religious thought during these formative years were George Whitefield and William Law. From Whitefield, the famous revivalist, Duché acquired his emphasis on personal salvation, his tolerance of other denominations, his belief in ecumenical cooperation, and his bent toward millennialism.<sup>11</sup> The devotional writings of the semi-mystical thinker William Law, however, most profoundly influenced Duché. Law's emphasis on Christian perfection, duty, devotion, and service convinced Duché of the necessity of a real and vital Christianity. Duché wrote the following description of Law's overwhelming impact on his life:

My mind which had hitherto been unsettled, dark, and doubting, and yet anxious to find the Truth, became serene, calm and sweetly composed. It seemed as if I had got into another world, with a new set of objects, a new set of ideas, . . . Since the blessed period all my doubts and difficulties have left me.<sup>12</sup>

Duché was also heavily involved in Philadelphia's intellectual, social, and political affairs. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society. He wrote articles for various newspapers; he taught oratory at the college; he served on the college's board of trustees; and he counted among his friends intellectuals such as Benjamin Rush, Francis Hopkinson, and Benjamin Franklin.<sup>13</sup> Duché's chief contribution to the secular realm was his *Casapina's Letters* which described Philadelphia's prosperity in terms of its unique blend of religious and political freedom, the catholic spirit among the city's various denominations, and government centered on liberty, responsibility, and personal virtue.<sup>14</sup>

As the Revolution approached, two important events shaped Duché's response to the crisis. In 1764, the Anglican hierarchy issued a charter to Christ Church which empowered it to make rules and by-laws "provided they are not contrary or repugnant to the Laws of Great Britain or Pennsylvania," a provision which independence made impossible to honor.<sup>15</sup> In 1773, a serious illness afflicted Richard Peters, the rector of Christ Church, which made Duché the chief decision-maker in the city's Anglican churches.<sup>16</sup>

On the eve of the American Revolution, Duché was clearly an influential and respected member of Philadelphia's ruling class. An important leader in the city's religious affairs, he made significant contributions to the city's secular affairs as well. He was well-educated and a wealthy Whig. His family and religious background were conducive to such a position; his actions confirmed this belief. Indeed, Duché's Whig political belief in virtuous, responsible government emanated from two fundamental beliefs formulated during his youth: the centrality of religious experience in history, and the significance of the British colonial system as a safeguard for the grandest religious experiment ever.

Duché's religious beliefs were founded upon principles held by early colonists and strongly influenced by the profound and prolonged effects of the Great Awakening. Duché believed that America had a special religious destiny; thus, he agreed with colonial religious forefathers who argued that Pennsylvania was a "Holy Experiment," and Massachusetts was a "City on a Hill." The concepts developed to sustain the grand religious experiment of the colonies included thrift, frugality, calling, and industry, which he incorporated into his own doctrines. Then too, ideas such as Calvinism and millennialism postulated during the Great Awakening also found their place consistently in his theology.<sup>17</sup>

Lest such ideas be deemed foreign to Anglicanism, it should be remembered that the great evangelist George Whitefield practiced this faith. This theology Duché believed rested on six principles. First, mankind is inherently evil. Second, evil is present in the world through the person of Satan. Third, history is the story of mankind's rejection of Jesus Christ and God's continuing attempt to win back the hearts of his creatures. Fourth, a personal acceptance of Jesus Christ's sacrificial gift is the only salvation for mankind from the penalty of sin. Fifth, the Christian life involves complete dependence on God, personal submission to the example of Christ's life, and a commitment to a life of love. And sixth, Christians should expect and look forward to the return of Christ and the establishment of His kingdom on earth. These principles were much more than rhetoric for Duché; they were the underpinnings of virtually every decision he made.<sup>18</sup>

On September 6, 1774, Duché's reputation for holy boldness, his esteemed position in Philadelphia society, and his Whig political beliefs thrust him into the very center of American political action. The First Continental Congress decided, after some argument over its appropriateness, to request that Duché open its next day's session in prayer. On September 7, Duché arrived at the hall in his robes and delivered an extemporaneous prayer that stirred the emotions of those present and etched his place in revolutionary activities in Philadelphia for the next three years. An obviously moved John Adams wrote to his wife Abigail that the prayer was "as pertinent, as affectionate, as sublime, as devout, as I ever heard offered up to heaven. He filled every bosom present." The next day Adams, Duché, and other revolutionaries dined together. Suddenly, Duché was accepted into the inner circle of American revolutionaries.<sup>19</sup>

By June 1775, war had broken out just outside Boston. Because of the Anglican clergy's ambiguous position as representatives of the Church of England, the Philadelphia Anglicans, led by Duché, drafted a letter to the Bishop of London clarifying their position. The clergy described themselves as moderates endeavoring to bring a peaceful solution to the crisis. The ministers made clear, though, that "the time is now come . . . when even our silence would be misconstrued, and when we are all called upon to take a more public part."<sup>20</sup> The time for decision had indeed arrived; Duché, whose sentiments were clearly with the rebels, etched them publicly in the minds of the colonists with two profound political sermons in 1775.

As the conflict intensified in the Boston area, the rebels needed and sought a religious stamp of approval for their resistance to England. Duché's sermons, delivered from the pulpit of Christ Church in July, 1775, did just that. They had tremendous religious and political significance for the American colonies. On the first occasion, he presented to the First Battalion of Philadelphia a sermon on "The Duty of Standing Fast in our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties."<sup>21</sup> Two weeks later, he was once again called upon, this time by the Continental Congress, to preach the main sermon on a day set aside for fasting, humiliation, and prayer throughout the colonies. The audience included the Congress and other prominent Philadelphians; the subject that Duché chose was the renewing of the religious tradition of "The American Vine."<sup>22</sup> These stirring patriotic sermons were printed and distributed in seven different cities throughout the colonies.<sup>23</sup>

Duché's discourses contained four principal characteristics. First, they were drawn from his own theological thoughts which resembled the traditional beliefs of the colonists. He emphasized God's omnipotent dominion over history, portrayed mankind as predominantly evil, and stressed the presence and work of Satan in the world. He asserted the principle of divine retribution: those who followed God's laws were rewarded, those who disobeyed were chastened. He proposed that the colonists follow a spiritual course of action including national humiliation before God, the banishment of luxury, condemnation of evil, and the demonstration of Christian love.<sup>24</sup>

Second, Duché's sermons argued that both spiritual and temporal liberty were ordained and bestowed by God, not by men. He argued that liberty was the gift of God; therefore, only God had the power to withdraw it. Good government, approved by God, protected this God-given liberty.<sup>25</sup>

Third, because the British had violated the colonists' liberty, the mother country's cause was not righteous, and it no longer received the blessing of God. The British were corrupt; jealousy, luxury, and greed had overwhelmed them and made their colonial policies to become unfair and unrighteous. Indeed, Britain had cut off a branch of her own vine; therefore, God could not require the colonists to submit to these unrighteous ordinances of unrighteous men.<sup>26</sup>

Fourth, the American colonists had important spiritual responsibilities to fulfill in order to secure God's favor and support of their cause. They had to return to their religious tradition, recognize that God had established these colonies, protected them, and blessed them with prosperity, that the colonists might lead virtuous, godly lives, and be an example to all nations of a better world. Yet, the colonists were forgetting or ignoring God's blessings, and turning to the pursuit of wealth and luxury. Only the re-establishment of these traditional religious principles in the hearts of the colonists would assure America's success.<sup>27</sup>

In essence, the conflict between Britain and her colonies would not be settled by the size of armies or the shrewdness of political leaders. The outcome would depend solely on the establishment of these traditional spiritual principles in the hearts of America's leaders and people. If Americans would simply acknowledge their

special place in God's plan as the "American Vine" of God's vineyard, if they would reaffirm their religious traditions, if they would "stand fast" and maintain their spiritual ground, then America's righteous cause would become God's own. America's soldiers would become God's soldiers; America's battles would become God's battles; and America's victories would become God's victories. As America fought to preserve its God-given liberties it would fulfill its millennial mission as a nation planted by God to lead the world toward the kingdom of God.

Along with these important sermons, two other events of 1775 further complicated Duché's prominence with regard to the Revolution. First, his position in Philadelphia was solidified in September when the Rev. Mr. Peters died, and he was unanimously chosen his successor.<sup>28</sup> In his acceptance Duché displayed his respect and admiration for Peters and pledged to preserve the church as Peters had done. Second, as the most significant and turbulent year of the minister's career neared its end, Duché was once again called upon by the Continental Congress. This time, however, he was to preside over a purely religious ceremony, the funeral of the Congress's deceased President Peyton Randolph. Randolph was one of the men in Congress Duché respected most; he saw Randolph as a virtuous moderate attempting to lead the colonies on their proper course. Randolph's leadership was, for him, the epitome of well-tempered government. Duché would later allude to the passing of Randolph and others, and the subsequent rise in Congress of a new breed of radicals, as prominent in his decision to resign his chaplaincy.<sup>29</sup>

The year of America's independence brought for Duché his most difficult decisions as a religious leader. In the summer of 1776, a state constitutional convention in Pennsylvania vested nearly all power in a unicameral legislature. Some have argued that the colony was in "a state of civil war." The combination of the legislature's demands for a loyalty oath, rampant vigilantism, and widespread arrests and confiscation of property signaled to Duché that his beloved homeland was crumbling under the weight of excessive liberty. Many political moderates in the colony "grew increasingly fearful and disillusioned."<sup>30</sup>

On July 4, 1776, as political leaders were guiding the colonies toward independence in Philadelphia, Duché met just a few blocks away with the vestry of Christ Church to determine whether America's new position in the world demanded that prayers for the king be eliminated from the Anglican liturgy. Upon the vestry's advice, Duché decided to omit the prayers.<sup>31</sup> The following Sunday at Christ Church, for one of the first times in an Anglican church in America, prayers were not offered for the king.<sup>32</sup> The enormity of this decision, which simultaneously lent support for the colonists and defied the king, prompted John Hancock, President of Congress, to invite Duché to become the first chaplain of the newly independent American Congress. On July 8, Hancock wrote, the Congress has decided "from a consideration of your piety, as well as your uniform and zealous attachment to the rights of Americans to appoint you their chaplain."<sup>33</sup>

Duché accepted the chaplaincy. His first prayer once again moved the congressmen present. "Defeat the malicious designs of our cruel adversaries," he exhort-

ed, "convince them of the unrighteousness of their cause, and if they still persist in their sanguinary purposes, O! let the voice of Thine own unerring justice sounding in their hearts, constrain them to drop the weapons of war from their unnerved hands in the day of battle." He closed with the hope "that the scenes of blood may be speedily closed, that order, honor, and peace may be effectually restored, and pure religion and piety prevail among Thy people!" Duché's sentiments clearly remained with the patriots, but as radicalism increased in the colonies the cautious, moderate pastor's belief in the righteousness of America's cause began to waver.<sup>34</sup>

On October 17, after a summer of radicalism, independence, and military defeat, Duché resigned as chaplain. Two weeks later he returned the £150 allocated to him for his services to the Congress, claiming that he had not accepted the position for monetary reward. He requested that the money be used to relieve the widows and children of fallen colonial soldiers. Clearly the brutal consequences of rebellion were on his mind, and its cost had become too great. He was no longer willing to associate with those who pursued this hopeless revolution.<sup>35</sup>

Throughout the next year, Duché continued as rector of Christ Church but steered clear of political involvement. In the fall of 1777, though, circumstances once again thrust the unwilling minister into the spotlight. General Washington's attempt to defend Philadelphia failed. On September 26, 1777, the British, under General William Howe, occupied the city. Many Philadelphians left as the British approached, but Duché remained to continue his duties in the church he had served for nearly two decades. As an Anglican who had verbally attacked the king and encouraged both soldiers and politicians to resist the encroachments of the British Empire, Duché faced severe penalties at the hands of the British. Yet by now, discontented with the colonial leadership, concerned for the destruction war had wrought on his homeland, and convinced of the futility of the struggle, he remained to face the British.<sup>36</sup>

The Sunday following the British occupation of Philadelphia, Duché presided over the worship service in Christ Church. After the service, Duché was arrested by British soldiers and taken into custody.<sup>37</sup> His friends in Philadelphia procured Duché's release the next morning, but events of that summer and the night in jail had a profound effect on Duché. His beloved country was crumbling around him, the happiness of his congregation was in jeopardy, and the safety of his own family was threatened. Duché sat down to write the letter which destroyed his career in America.

On October 8, 1777, just a week after his arrest, Duché drafted a letter to General Washington pleading for him to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the British. Duché explained his seemingly contradictory conduct to Washington. "I wished to follow my countrymen," he wrote, "as far only as virtue and the righteousness of their cause would permit me."<sup>38</sup> The decision to omit prayers for the king from the liturgy, the obviously distraught Duché claimed, was rashly undertaken upon the vestry's recommendation before he could confer with his superiors in England.<sup>39</sup> His appointment as chaplain afterward both "surprised and distressed" him. Thus, he accepted the chaplaincy in a rash attempt to save the

church from danger.<sup>40</sup> Duché's resignation several months later thus evidenced his discontent with the Revolution a year earlier. It is also important to note that he only regretted his actions of 1776, and that neither his prayers nor sermons of 1775 were mentioned in the Washington letter.

After explaining his own actions, Duché discussed his discontent with the new political leaders in the colonies. One point of contention was his belief that the committee of Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, sent to negotiate with General William Howe in September, 1775, never intended to do so fairly. Instead, they sought to provoke the British to promote independence. Duché wrote, "independency was the idol, which they had long wished to set up, and that rather than sacrifice this they would deluge the country in blood."<sup>41</sup> Discontented with the patriots' behavior, Duché resigned his chaplaincy and from that point became "opposed to all their measures."<sup>42</sup> The members of Congress were no longer the well-tempered leaders of 1775: "The most respectable characters have withdrawn themselves," Duché lamented, "and are succeeded by a great majority of illiberal and violent men."<sup>43</sup> Aside from the venerable Washington, the colonies' leaders were now "bankrupts, attorneys and men of desperate fortunes."<sup>44</sup>

In conjunction with these personal and political concerns, Duché also viewed the military struggle as hopeless. The undisciplined army, the crumbling navy, the British capture of Philadelphia, and information from a close friend that France would never risk war with Britain to aid the colonies convinced Duché that further resistance was useless. Both the righteousness and the practicality of the cause was now in doubt.<sup>45</sup> With the political situation in the hands of political warmongers and the military situation hopeless, Duché pleaded for Washington to "negotiate for America at the head of your army."<sup>46</sup> Washington was the only hope to save America from itself and the British army.

Unfortunately for Duché, Washington did not see himself in the same light. On October 16, he sent a copy of the letter to Congress along with a note stating that "I should have returned it unopened, if I had any idea of the contents."<sup>47</sup> The confidential letter to Congress was leaked to the public almost immediately. The scorn and outrage of political leaders and personal friends fell on the minister. Declaration of Independence signer Francis Hopkins wrote of his "grief and consternation" over the letter and urged Duché to recant his statements.<sup>48</sup>

By December 9, the pressure from patriots in the colonies forced Duché to resign his rectorship. With little hope of making restitution at home, and steadfast in his previous beliefs about the Revolution, Duché announced to his congregation his planned trip to England to explain his actions to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Three days later Duché departed for England, leaving his homeland, his congregation, and his family behind. It would be three long years before he would again see his beloved family; he would never again deliver a sermon from the pulpit of Christ Church; his country would prohibit his return for sixteen years. Yet with consummate and resolute courage Duché departed to carry out his duties as a servant of God.



His congregation bade him an affectionate farewell as he set out on his long, lonely journey in search of vindication.<sup>49</sup>

In England, Duché resided in Hampstead until 1782 when he became chaplain of an asylum for orphan girls in Lambeth.<sup>50</sup> For the remainder of the war, Duché lived in relative obscurity in England, refusing to associate with circles of Loyalists from America. Instead, he concentrated on rebuilding his family's life, strengthening himself spiritually, and regaining his ministry.<sup>51</sup>

After the war ended, Duché's thoughts once again turned toward America. In 1783, he wrote several letters to prominent Americans such as Washington and Franklin requesting their assistance in his return to Pennsylvania. Both reacted warmly to his request but cordially admitted, as Washington wrote, that this was a matter purely for Pennsylvania politicians to decide.<sup>52</sup>

In his second letter to Washington, Duché displayed some remorse for the harshness of his previous letter but held fast to his claim that under the circumstances he fully believed his actions were in the best interest of the country. "Circumstances," he wrote, "comprised to make me deem it my duty to write you." He reiterated his feeling in 1777 that all was lost—indeed the Revolution had failed. Combined with the apprehension he felt for his friends and family, he honestly believed that only rescinding the Declaration of Independence could have saved the colonies from complete destruction.<sup>53</sup> He clarified that he wanted Washington simply "to negotiate with Britain for our constitutional rights." Surrender or betrayal was not his intention.<sup>54</sup>

With little hope of securing his return to America, in 1784 Duché summoned his father to join him in England, which he did. Admitting his lack of "political foresight and worldly wisdom," a despondent Duché wrote in a letter to a friend that perhaps in time Americans will see my "good intentions."<sup>55</sup> "My heart tells me," he wrote, "that I have done my duty."<sup>56</sup>

Finally, in 1793, the Pennsylvania legislature opened the door for the Duchés to return. Benjamin Rush wrote that Duché returned to Philadelphia and "was kindly received by all his old friends."<sup>57</sup> He spent the last five years of his life renewing these old friendships and healing old wounds. A visit to President Washington was one such event. In 1797, Elizabeth Duché died in a household accident. The long series of personal tragedies and his own history of illness began to wear on Duché. The minister had been plagued with diabetes, pleurisy, and, late in life, the palsy. To remedy these illnesses, Rush wrote, he "took quack medicines constantly."<sup>58</sup> The combination of trying emotional loss and physical illness caused Duché to have bouts of hysteria in his last year in which "he laughed and cried alternately all day."<sup>59</sup> On January 2, 1798, the beleaguered and lonely former rector of Christ Church died.

In conclusion, Duché possessed a strong belief in Whig political principles. His background, including his wealthy family and his position in Philadelphia society, was conducive to such ideas. His theology, particularly the aspect which focused on the inherent evil of mankind, provided their justification. His political involvement confirmed these beliefs.

The key question, then, is whether Duché was a Whig-Loyalist. According to historian Benton's description of Whig-Loyalism, Duché was a member of that select group. Duché did support resistance based on Whig principles, and he opposed independence on similar grounds. However, such a broad description, in Duché's case, ignores the complex nature of an individual's reaction to the convulsive events of the revolutionary period. In particular, the term Loyalist confuses those who opposed independence for various reasons with those whose loyalties were clearly with the British. Indeed, Duché's loyalties, as they had always been, were to his God and his belief in the colonial system which existed prior to 1763.

Duché's powerful belief in a well-defined set of religious principles convinced him of the intrinsic value of the colonial system. The political, religious, and economic freedoms which this system provided the colonies created the perfect atmosphere for the religious experiment which, Duché believed, would usher in the millennium of Christ's reign. When the British attempted to place restrictions on this system, Duché boldly opposed their measures with letters and sermons which questioned the British government's authority to change the colonial system and encouraged colonial resistance. Likewise, when the colonies declared their independence from Britain and the colonial system began to crumble under the weight of excessive radicalism, Duché attempted to save the system from destruction by writing to Washington.

In essence, Duché was a colonial traditionalist, not a Whig-Loyalist. Although Benton accurately identified the existence of the Whig-Loyalist phenomenon, he failed to recognize the complexity of responses to the American Revolution by equating opposition to independence with British loyalism. Men such as Daniel Dulany, William Samuel Johnson, Peter van Schaak, and Duché were Whigs who opposed independence, but Duché was not a Loyalist. No doubt, a significant number of Americans faced this same dilemma and either removed themselves from the political scene, tacitly supported the inevitable, or, like Duché, attempted to preserve the traditional colonial system. By 1777, the two possible outcomes of the American Revolution, British military victory or colonial independence, would both destroy the colonial system. This circumstance left colonial traditionalists to languish in the abyss between rebel and Loyalist and to be misinterpreted, mislabeled, and misunderstood.

In the end, the destruction of the colonial system destroyed Duché's faith in this world. Although he still clung tenaciously to his belief in God, independence and exile left him disillusioned and pessimistic about the temporal world. Events beyond Duché's control had forced him into a world of uncertainty. After Duché's death, Benjamin Rush, his lifelong friend, was able to look beyond the tragic aspect of his life and focus on the essence of the man who had served his country and his God with such courage and devotion. Rush wrote of his friend that Duché was "a pleasing speaker, his voice was musical, and his actions very graceful." But above all he was a man "truly amiable, pious, and just." Indeed, Jacob Duché searched for the truth and constantly endeavored to do what was right in accordance with that truth. For

him this included courageously exhorting soldiers to resist the British with force and asking Washington to make peace and save the colonies.

Jacob Duché's experience demonstrates that the American Revolution was complex, volatile, and multifaceted. While Loyalists attempted to stop the Revolution and radicals sought to extend it, a significant number of moderates contributed critical leadership and support to the movement while endeavoring to temper its more radical elements. Despite the efforts of these moderates, the Revolution became much more radical than some of its original proponents intended. Some moderates, like Duché, refused to compromise, while others acquiesced to this radical spirit, accepted the inevitable, and adjusted to the new realities. The strongest evidence that many moderates had serious reservations about the radical course of the Revolution was the formulation of a new, more centralized, and less democratic, government in 1787 supported by men like John Dickinson who had originally held reservations about the Declaration of Independence. Duché's return to Philadelphia in the 1790s further demonstrated that his principles were ultimately compatible with those of the republic which finally emerged.

## Notes

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23. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July, 1775.
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47. *Ibid.*, 8.
48. *Ibid.*, 30.
49. Dorr, *Historical Account of Christ Church, I Philadelphia*, 185.
50. Albert F. Gegenheimer, "Artist in Exile: The Story of Thomas Spence Duché," *Pennsylvania*

- Magazine of History of Biography*, 79 (1955), 5.
51. *Ibid.*, 8.
52. *The Washington-Duché Letters*, 38.
53. *Ibid.*, 35.
54. *Ibid.*, 36.
55. Jacob Duché to Mrs. Mary Morgan, 1 August 1783, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Redwood Collection, 35.
56. *Ibid.*, 35.
57. Rush, *Autobiography*, 240.
58. *Ibid.*, 240.
59. *Ibid.*, 240.
60. *Ibid.*, 240.