

Frontier Vengeance: Connecticut Yankees vs. Pennamites in the Wyoming Valley

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Elsewhere,¹ I have argued that the word "loyalist" is a misnomer when used to indicate Pennsylvanians who did not support the American Revolution. It implies that their opposition to the Whigs was motivated by an emotional and ideological commitment to England and its government. But my study of over 2,000 Pennsylvanians who opposed the Revolution found little, if any, commitment to the mother country. Their motivation was very difficult to determine, given the paucity of documents explaining rationale, but where determinable, it was more a negative rejection of something in their Pennsylvania experience than a positive attraction to something about England. This was true not only in the areas more densely settled by Europeans but also on the frontier where the disaffected, both white and Indian, took a terrible toll of property and life from those they considered enemies.

The word loyalist did not receive widespread usage until the end of the war. Its application grew out of the need of colonial refugees to prove to the British government that it should give them support in New York City, transportation elsewhere, and ultimately pensions, reimbursement for losses, and land grants in Canada. Any hint of an applicant's wavering loyalty during the war could cause a denial of or reduction in benefits. Furthermore, the British did not reward action motivated by expediency or accident. Therefore, the émigrés emphasized what the British wanted to hear—loyalty—and, in turn, were called loyalists. The Revolutionaries, however, called their American opponents tories or, more often, "the disaffected," a much more accurate word than "loyalist."

To determine precisely why certain Pennsylvanians opposed, or appeared to oppose, the Revolutionary movement is extremely difficult. Generalizations about large numbers of individuals are challenged by too many exceptions to be valid. What is needed are detailed biographies of suspected individuals in order to identify all the forces acting on each person and their relative importance. Such details, of course, are impossible to find. Records are incomplete, inaccurate, or even contradictory. Often motivations are so complex and so intertwined that they cannot be unraveled satisfactorily. Perhaps the individuals themselves did not fully understand what prompted them to act. Even when there is a document stating the writer's motivation, the modern researcher has to be careful about taking it at face value. The statement may have been false, made only to secure some desired end. That same person may have turned around and said something very different to the other side. In addition, we cannot ignore the importance of chance, of a person happening to be at a significant place at a decisive time when a choice was required that committed that individual to an irreversible position.

Alexander Hamilton wrote in his "Second Letter from Phocion": "The number of the disaffected, who are so from speculative notions of government, is small. The great majority of those who took part against us did it from accident, from the dread of the British power, and from the influence of others to whom they had been accustomed to look up."² To Hamilton's reasons for toryism could be added opportunism, religious beliefs and loyalties, the influence of kinship and other networks, prewar enmities and friendships, and reliance upon British power to protect the colonies from external attack and internal disorders. In any event, no one motive accounted for an individual's final decision, and no generalization about motivation applied to all the disaffected. Each person must be studied individually. All we can do is identify the main influences that helped determine a person's choice, while acknowledging that there may have been other very personal and unique influences that we will never discover.³

Edward Blakeney and his wife were examples of how hard it is to determine rationale. The war offered unusual opportunities not available to people in peacetime. The British gave colonial exiles support allowances and pensions, transportation to England or other colonies, and land in Canada. These were tempting enticements for people who had had only marginal success in Pennsylvania and who needed or wanted help for reasons often unrelated to the imperial crisis. They, therefore, suited their words to their perceived needs and wrote what they thought would produce the desired end. Blakeney and his wife were poor and aged with no family support in Pennsylvania. Born in Ireland, Blakeney had served twelve years in one of the king's regiments. After his discharge at the end of the French and Indian War, he had lived near Philadelphia for almost twenty years. In 1781, Blakeney applied to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania for a pass to go to Ireland via New York City. According to his petition, he and his wife were old and had no support other than that earned by their labor, which they feared would soon be insufficient. He thought friends and relatives in Ireland would care for them, and they wanted to go to New York, from whence they hoped to find a ready passage to his native country. A colonel in the Pennsylvania Line supported Blakeney's petition, reporting that Blakeney had been an Associator in his battalion and had turned out several times with the militia. The Blakeney's received their pass. But, in April 1782, they filed another petition, this time with British General Carleton in New York City. Persecution by the rebels had driven them out of Pennsylvania, they now claimed, so that they were without provisions, dwelling, or livelihood. As a result of his sad story, Blakeney was placed on the British pension list for £7.10 per quarter.⁴ What were the Blakeney's true motivations? Were they really devoted Pennsylvania citizens who found themselves in economic difficulties that forced them reluctantly to leave the state? Or had they been British supporters all along, surrounded by Whigs and hence unable to express their disaffection? Or, finally, were they just an old couple worried about their declining years, who had heard that the British were giving their American supporters pensions and free transportation back "home" to England

where relatives would care for them? Explanations written by individuals about themselves to persons of authority must be treated with a great deal of skepticism.

Other Pennsylvanians decided, after an initial flush of enthusiastic patriotism, that waging war against the well-trained and properly equipped British redcoats was not what they wanted to do. A substantial number of American civilians and soldiers joined the British in Philadelphia during the city's occupation. Thomas Badge, who was born in England and raised in Ireland and had settled in Philadelphia in 1767, deserted the American army after about three months' service. He explained candidly that he had become a spy for the British "because he thought the British Army would conquer."⁵

Many other "summer soldiers" joined Badge in his flight from the apparently sinking cause. A record in the William Clements Library at the University of Michigan, supposedly in the handwriting of Joseph Galloway, reports that 2,003 American civilians, 1,289 soldiers, 61 waggoners, 391 galley-men, and 603 militiamen deserted to Philadelphia during the British occupation of the city and took the oath of allegiance to the king.⁶ Since the oaths have not been found, presumably destroyed by the departing Galloway to protect the identities of the defectors, it is not known how many of them eventually switched back to American allegiance, and how many left the continent.

Some, unable to decide what was best for them to do, may have switched sides several times, as did James Pottenger. A native of England, Pottenger had come to Pennsylvania when he was about five years old and had been indentured in his teens for a period of seven years. When the British army passed through Chester County, he was persuaded to enlist in order to escape his servitude. He stayed in Philadelphia for a few months but for some unknown reason returned to his mistress. Fearing the American treason laws, however, Pottenger returned to Philadelphia to avoid punishment by the Americans for his earlier apostasy. There he enlisted with Captain Jacob James's Chester County Light Dragoons, but there, too, he was uneasy, especially after the British left Philadelphia. On the march to New York, he deserted the British army, reported to General Washington, who gave him a pass, and returned to his mistress in Chester County, where he remained until arrested in December 1779. A number of citizens signed his petition for clemency, and he was discharged the following April.⁷ From his record, it appears that Pottenger was apolitical, entirely moved by expediency and opportunism. There may have been many such others. A man's military participation did not *ipso facto* mean loyalty to the side that furnished the ammunition.

In addition to opportunism and fear of retaliation by the seemingly unconquerable British, toryism was also caused by ethnic, religious, or group loyalties. The first two were more likely to influence persons leaning toward neutralism or having only a weak, or weakened, attachment to the Revolutionary movement, as was the case with the Blakeneys, Badge, and Pottenger. Their choices were made, therefore, according to the immediate vicissitudes or opportunities of the war. Ethnic, religious, or group loyalties, however, tended to be of longer standing.⁸ Each involved a

network of people who shared friendships and dependencies and also a strong antipathy toward an opposing network. Even though within groups there were minorities who made independent choices, the majority of each network tended to take the same stand about the Revolutionary movement.

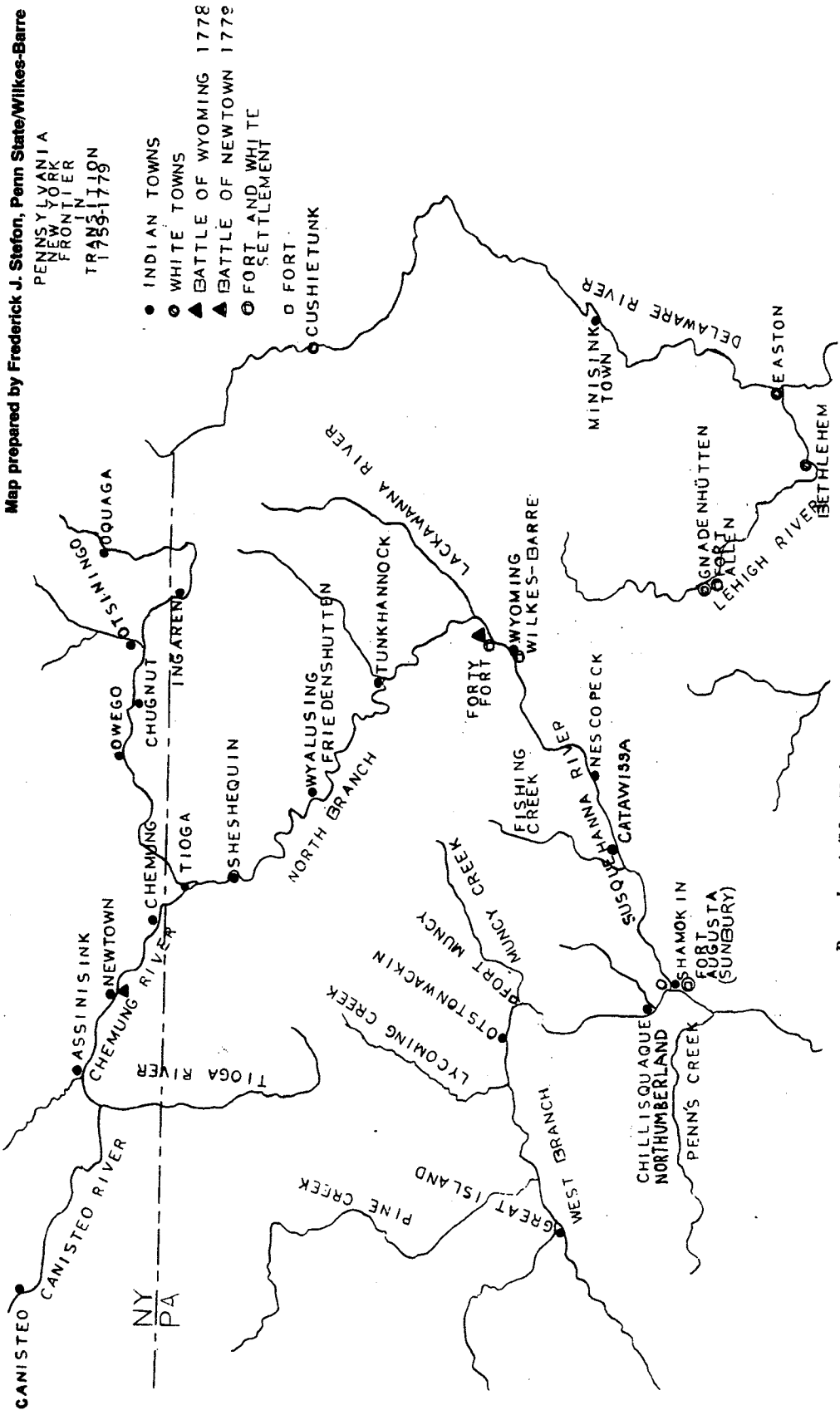
Although there were many Pennsylvanians in the eastern part of the colony who opposed independence, at no time were the disaffected there a serious threat to the new government in Philadelphia. The strongest of those who opposed independence left Pennsylvania by June 1778 when the British army evacuated the state. The many tories who remained behind were mainly passive in their opposition. A few became highwaymen, some circulated counterfeit American paper money, others acted as spies, but most confined their activities to civil disobedience, refusing to recognize the new governments and their laws. Periodically the rebels paid an inordinate amount of attention to them, but this attention was largely for political purposes.

On the frontier, however, the situation was very different. There, many disaffected colonists joined the Indians, who were angered by encroaching white settlements, land fraud, unjust treatment, and broken treaties, to destroy frontier homesteads, to plunder livestock and other property, and to torture and kill settlers. Whole townships were evacuated, counties were threatened with a similar fate, and lines of westward settlement were temporarily pushed back. The Indians and the frontier disaffected threatened the outlying areas for the better part of five years, causing more distress than the large British army of occupation.

One area that suffered particular devastation from the Indians and their tory allies was the frontier section of Pennsylvania known as Wyoming. It also provides an example of the difficulties in determining motivation and of the importance of pre-war associations and events. This region was located along the east branch of the Susquehanna River, which flows north-south approximately one-third of the way across the width of the state. In the northern half of Pennsylvania, two tributaries come together near the towns of Northumberland and Sunbury to form the Susquehanna, which then flows south through Pennsylvania and across the northeast corner of Maryland to empty into Chesapeake Bay. The eastern branch of the river originates in New York state and flows southeast into Pennsylvania toward modern Scranton. Near the town of Pittston, it bends back southwest, ultimately to join the other branch, which flows from the western part of the state. The Wyoming area extended from the bend in the eastern branch along the tributary toward Northumberland.

Connecticut and Pennsylvania both claimed this area, citing charter grants and Indian treaties to support their contentions. The Susquehannah Company of Connecticut, organized in 1753 to settle the area, argued that the 1662 charter of Connecticut had granted to that colony land from sea to sea nineteen years before William Penn had secured his charter granting him land overlapping the area previously given to Connecticut. The company recognized the intervening land of New York, whose eastern border Connecticut had accepted in 1664, but contended that Connecticut could overjump New York territory and continue its old charter claims

Map prepared by Frederick J. Stefon, Penn State/Wilkes-Barre



Pennsylvania/New York Frontier in Transition, 1759-1779

to the "South Seas." In addition, both sides made questionable land purchases from various Indian groups, which they maintained gave them further rights to the disputed region. As a result of conflicts over land ownership, Wyoming suffered an early history of violent controversy between settlers from these states over control of the land. From 1772 to late 1782, however, the more numerous Connecticut settlers controlled the Wyoming Valley, although their presence and jurisdiction were protested vigorously first by the Penns and later by the Pennsylvania state government.

At the time of the American Revolution, this area and much of the rest of Pennsylvania was still frontier. The white population was concentrated in the southeast corner of the province, with the Appalachians forming a natural stockade diagonally across the colony from the northern bend in the Delaware River to halfway across Pennsylvania's southern border with Maryland. The first four counties—Bucks, Chester, Philadelphia, and Lancaster—all had been established southeast of this line. As whites began to move across the mountains, land had been negotiated, often fraudulently, from the Indians and new counties formed. It was not until 1768 at Fort Stanwix that the Penns acquired from the Iroquois the area between that line and another rough diagonal running from where the northeastern branch of the Susquehanna River enters Pennsylvania to the point where the Ohio River leaves the state. The northwestern section, the last to be occupied by whites and organized into a county, was not completely secured from the Indians until January 1785. That these territories were Indian possessions up to 1768 and 1785 did not deter illegal white settlements, which neither the British nor the Pennsylvania government was able to prevent, in spite of frequent Indian complaints. By the Revolution, much of the middle section was still wilderness, although legal settlement was possible by then and whites were rapidly spreading into it.

When war broke out between Great Britain and her North American colonies, both sides worked very hard to gain the friendship of the Indians and to secure at least their neutrality, if not their active support. The Americans, particularly anxious to avoid an Indian war, appointed commissioners for Indian affairs and held conferences with the Indians in 1775, 1776, and 1777. In the long run, however, they were unable to overcome Indian resentment of past ill-treatment, although they did manage to postpone warfare until 1777.

Especially damaging for the Americans was the influence of several white colonists who had been friendly with the Indians in the past, who now opposed the rebels, and who worked to hold tribal allegiance for England. Significant among these disaffected persons were the family and associates of Sir William Johnson of New York, trusted friend of the Iroquois. Sir William died in 1774, but early in the conflict both his nephew Colonel Guy Johnson, who succeeded him as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and his son Sir John Johnson left their homes on the Mohawk River and, with retinues of Indian and tory friends, fled to Canada, Colonel Johnson in July 1775 and his cousin the next year. In August 1775, and again the following October, Colonel Johnson urged Canada's Governor Guy Carleton to let him lead a

body of Indians against the Americans, but Carleton refused, and Colonel Johnson departed for England.

In his absence, John Butler, who had accompanied Guy Johnson to Canada, was appointed as Johnson's deputy in the management of Indian affairs. In November 1775, Carleton sent Butler to Niagara with instructions to preserve the goodwill and neutrality of the Indians.⁹ Butler was tireless in his efforts to win tribal friendship for the British. As Johnson's deputy, he settled agents in the principal Indian towns in New York and Pennsylvania to gather intelligence and keep the Indians happy, and he collected an Indian force to fight with the British against the Americans at Montreal and at Oriskany in August 1777.¹⁰

Before the preceding May, Carleton had refused to condone Indian raids against the American frontiers, but that month his superiors in England ordered him to change his policy. A letter from Lord George Germain, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, commanded Carleton to use the Indians "*in making a diversion and exciting an alarm* on the frontiers."¹¹ By summer, British solicitations were accomplishing the desired result, and many of the Indian peoples were leaning toward war against the Americans. At a conference the end of July, the Indians present were given gifts in exchange for their help, and Colonel Johnson, by then returned from England, promised them a bounty for every scalp brought in.¹² From then on, most of the Indian peoples were generally allied with the British, although Indian support was not consistent and the British had to give them food, ammunition, and other supplies to hold their loyalty. Indian violence against the Pennsylvania frontier began with scattered attacks in 1777, erupted in full force the following spring, and lasted intermittently for the next five years.

Butler also encouraged a steadily growing stream of disaffected white colonists to leave their frontier homes and flee to Canada. In March 1777, Butler requested permission to form these refugees into a tory battalion to fight with the Indians, but Carleton continued to refuse. Then, that spring, the governor received Germain's letter, which told him to encourage tory defections by promising land as a bounty to colonists who would fight with the British. Accordingly, in June, a proclamation was issued offering lodging and food to colonists who would withdraw to Canada and two hundred acres of land to every man who served in the British army throughout the war. Finally, in September 1777, Carleton gave John Butler permission to enlist a corps of rangers to serve with the Indians. By mid-December 1777, the first company of Butler's Rangers was completed, by the following December six full companies were at Niagara to receive their clothing, and by September 1781, ten companies had been mustered. This corps, acting with the Indians on the New York-Pennsylvania frontier down into Pennsylvania east to the northern bend in the Delaware and west as far as the Ohio, brought guerilla-style warfare to the wilderness edge.¹³

On July 3, 1778, Lt. Colonel Butler led a large number of Indians and Rangers to attack the Connecticut settlement at Wyoming. This Battle of Wyoming, known as the Wyoming Massacre, was the single bloodiest Revolutionary engagement on the

Pennsylvania frontier. Approximately 150 settlers under Connecticut's jurisdiction were killed, and those remaining were forced to surrender the forts they had built for protection. After capitulation and contrary to the articles signed by both parties, the victors plundered and burned the houses and destroyed the crops. The people who had not been killed or captured left their possessions and fled the area southwest to Sunbury or east toward the Delaware River. A letter of July 12, 1778, to Pennsylvania's Vice President George Bryan reported that "the Wioming people are undoubtedly . . . entirely Defeated; Northumberland county is Evacuated, not more than one hundred men with Col. Hunter, at Sunbury; the Blue Mountains is now the frontier, & I am afraid Lancaster county shortly will follow the Example of the other county."¹⁴ After this battle and for the rest of the war, the Indians and tories periodically attacked the remaining or returning inhabitants, killing or taking captives in isolated areas.

The participation in this battle by disaffected inhabitants who had fled to the British has been chronicled by all the historians of the area. The vengefulness of these tories and the cruelties they practiced during the attack also have been well documented.¹⁵ What makes these tories especially interesting is that the great majority of them came from a particular section of the Wyoming area. Many of them may be identified through a combination of sources, such as the reports and accusations of patriot survivors of the Battle of Wyoming, muster rolls of Butler's Rangers, and compensation claims filed with the British after the war.¹⁶ When these names are checked against the 1776 and 1777 Connecticut tax lists for the area, it is seen that the section identified in the lists as "Up the River," referring to the region lying between Tunkhannock and Wyalusing, northwest of the bend in the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, contained a very high percentage of active tories. Of the 60 names on the 1776 tax list of persons "Up the River," 37 or more were disaffected persons who went to Canada. Of these 37, at least 34 fought with Butler's Rangers or other British military units.¹⁷ Since only 9 of the remaining 23 persons on the 1776 tax list were still enrolled by 1777, the number of disaffected men from the tax list who actually left the area may have been as high as 51. When residents not included on the tax lists who also left are counted, the number is more than trebled. Among all the remaining 490 settlers on the 1776 Connecticut Westmoreland County tax lists, less than 10 have been identified as active tories. The question immediately arises why such a large number of the people living up the river were tory activists while practically all of the remaining settlers on the Connecticut tax lists were not.

A close examination of the area's history reveals that local political and social divisions of the prewar period had separated the disaffected from the main settlements in the Wyoming area and made them outcasts before the troubles with Great Britain had begun. The antagonism between the future tories and the other settlers was rooted not in disagreement over independence but largely in arguments over land ownership and other differences that had arisen in the late 1760s and early 1770s. Those disaffected from the mainstream society were the ones who became tory warriors; the

Revolution gave them the opportunity to exact revenge for perceived past mistreatment.

Both Pennsylvania and Connecticut had applied first to the British and then to the Continental Congress to have their claims validated. Great Britain had refused to become involved, however, and after the troubles between mother country and colonies had begun, Congress had found other matters more pressing, procrastinated, and did not reach a decision until the end of 1782. As a consequence of these failures to reconcile the conflicting claims, the Wyoming Valley suffered an early history of violent struggle between settlers from the two colonies.¹⁸

Conflict began in earnest between the claimants after the Indian treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 opened this area to legal white settlement. Several Connecticut groups moved into the region under the auspices of the Susquehannah Company, but the settlers were driven off by representatives of the Penns. In February 1770, the Paxton Boys from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who had already had their own conflicts with the Pennsylvania authorities, joined the New Englanders and, in exchange for land, provided that group with the military muscle needed to displace the Pennsylvanians. Control over the area changed hands several times. Each time, a few settlers were injured or killed, the belongings of those evicted were confiscated by those victorious, and, when Pennsylvanians won, the Connecticut leaders were jailed. Each exchange meant increased anger against the other side. Finally, in the summer of 1771, Pennsylvania's support for its settlers was so weak and disorganized that Susquehannah Company settlers were able to capture the Pennsylvania fort and once more take charge of the region. By the following spring, Connecticut people were moving into the Wyoming Valley in substantial numbers, and this time they were there to stay. Lands were surveyed and assigned, blockhouses were built for protection, and districts were drawn. On two occasions, the Yankees, as the Connecticut people were called, attempted to expand to the west branch of the Susquehanna, but each time the newcomers were driven out by determined Pennsylvania sympathizers, or Pennamites, who managed thereafter to confine Connecticut settlement to the east branch.

In January 1774, the Connecticut government decided to assert its jurisdiction over the contested area and created the large town of Westmoreland extending from the Delaware River in the east to fifteen miles west of Wilkes-Barre, south as far as the forty-first parallel or just north of the forks of the Susquehanna, and north into modern New York state. This town was made part of the Connecticut county of Litchfield. In May 1775, the Connecticut Assembly extended the western boundary of Westmoreland to the Stanwix line, retracted it again the following December, and then, in October 1776, made the area of the town into the county of Westmoreland with its own courts. This Connecticut county included the northern part of Pennsylvania's Northampton and Northumberland counties, which had been established in 1752 and 1772, respectively.

During this same period, the Pennsylvania government also took measures to organize and settle the identical land being claimed and settled under the authoriza-

tion of the Susquehannah Company. Both sides had had surveyors working in the Wyoming Valley as early as 1769, and by 1771 Governor Penn had begun selling lots in proprietary manors laid out in the area. In March 1772, the Pennsylvania Assembly created Northumberland County, which included the forks and the east branch of the Susquehanna. The town of Sunbury, near the forks, was made the county seat, and the first county court was held in April at Fort Augusta. This court divided the county into seven townships, one of which was Wyoming. From then on, many land warrants were issued from the Pennsylvania land office. Surveyors were particularly active in the summer of 1774, even though by that time Connecticut settlers were flocking there to claim land under the auspices of that colony. In December 1775, one last Pennsylvania expedition, led by William Plunket, justice of the peace for Northumberland County, failed to dislodge the New Englanders or to persuade them to obey Pennsylvania's laws. The Penns continued to protest the Connecticut settlements on their land, but it was not until December 1782, at Trenton, that congressional commissioners heard the respective claims and decided in favor of Pennsylvania.¹⁹

For the preceding ten years, however, the New Englanders had controlled the Wyoming Valley, and had been determined to prevent any more people they called Pennamites from moving into the area, to expel those already there, and, in general, to enforce Connecticut's laws. To avoid Yankee harassment, some of their opponents began to move out of the immediate area of the Susquehannah Company territory to a section north of the bend in the eastern branch of the Susquehanna River, which had long been occupied by Indians.

There had been a Moravian Indian town near Wyalusing from the spring of 1765 to June 1772, when its occupants had left to join another group of Moravians west by the Ohio River. In a petition to the Pennsylvania Assembly asking for help with their move, the Christian Indians reminded the legislature of their history of frequent displacement. Originally, they had lived in Northampton County on a Moravian mission at Wechquetane. When murders had occurred in that county, white frontiersmen blamed the nearby mission Indians. They had then been moved to Province Island near Philadelphia in November 1763, to protect them from threats against them and also to watch their behavior, in case the accusations had been correct.²⁰

This was just the beginning of their odyssey. The next month the Paxton Boys murdered a group of Christian Indians who lived under the protection of the Pennsylvania government on the Conestoga Manor in Lancaster County. Not satisfied, they threatened to march on Philadelphia and do the same to the Moravian Indians on Province Island. To protect the Indians, the government sent them to New York colony on January 5, 1764. The people of New York refused to accept them, however, so they arrived back in Philadelphia on January 24 after walking through hostile New Jersey on their return. The Indians remained on Province Island until March 20, 1765, although they must have been terribly frightened when the Paxton Boys did march toward Philadelphia as far as Germantown.²¹ In 1765, they

moved, once again, to Wyalusing where they settled with the approval of the Pennsylvania government. After the Stanwix treaty, which included Wyalusing, Governor Penn assured the Indians that he would not sell the land of their village or within five miles of it. Nevertheless, their safety was threatened again when those same Paxton Boys moved sixty miles south of their village in 1770. By September 1771, whites had settled above and below the Indian village, and the Moravian Indians feared that they might be blamed for "any Outrages" committed by "savage Indians of the North, who travel into this [Pennsylvania] and neighbouring Provinces . . . by way of Wyalusing." Therefore they decided to leave Pennsylvania and move west to the Ohio River in June 1772. Before they left, the Pennsylvania Assembly voted them £125 for their use.²²

In 1772, John Depue and several other proprietors in the Susquehannah Company were given permission to locate and lay out tracts of land for themselves at various points outside the five settling towns created by the company in 1768; shortly thereafter, Depue moved north onto the land vacated by the Indians. It is not known why Depue and the others left at that time, although the Indians' land must have been a big attraction. The Indians had built many "huts or cabins" and about thirty log houses "not inferior to many that [had] been built by wealthy Farmers" in the province. They had also "cleared considerable Quantities of Upland and Meadow, all in Fences, some of the Fences being two Miles in Length." The Indians had tried to persuade the Pennsylvania legislature to buy this property and sell it to promising settlers, but there is no indication that this was done. Instead, the chapel and other buildings were locked and Job Chillaway and his wife were charged with their supervision.²³ Therefore, Depue and others could move onto the improved lands as the Indians left them, purchasing the already cleared land from Pennsylvania or Chillaway or simply settling in as squatters. This was quite an inducement to move north.

Their move could also have had something to do with the lack of a formal government in the area controlled by the Susquehannah Company. Connecticut made no moves to establish governmental control over the land claimed by the Susquehannah Company until 1774. Therefore, the New Englanders made their own rules and ran their society as they wished, punishing those who did not perform according to certified behavior. Anyone who violated these restrictions could lose his settling right. For example, at a meeting of the proprietors of the Connecticut settlement on February 27, 1772, the settling rights of James Biggers, Peter Dorees, Capt. Eliphalet Whittelse, Barzela Sealy, and William Satterlee had all been forfeited without a reason being given in the minutes. A few weeks later on March 12, 1772, the minutes record that

It was then Put to vote by this Company that those People called ye Dutch People to whom ye township down at ye Fishing Creek so Called was Laid out for, Have forfeited their Rights to this Company by their unfaithfullness, &c.: it was then voted in ye affirmative by this Company.

Voted__That ye six-mile township that was Granted to ye Paxton Boys so called shall now be Laid out in Lieu of Nantecook which ye Paxton took in Lieu of ye six-mile township shall be Laid out at or Near ye fishen creek so Called, for ye Benefitt of ye two Hundred & Forty first Settlers.²⁴

Before adjourning, the meeting appointed five men to "Go Down to ye fishing Creek to view and Look out a township of six miles Square for ye Benefitt of ye two Hundred and forty settlers &c."

The reason for this action or even a clear understanding of what happened is not given, but it sounds as if a group of Dutch (German?) persons had joined the Connecticut settlers and had been given permission to settle in the Fishing Creek area. Some time later, they had somehow proved "unfaithful" and their land grants retracted. DePue is not a Dutch or German name, but it is conceivable, nevertheless, that he had been part of such a group. In any case, it is clear that there was friction between some settlers and the Connecticut government in early 1772, around the time the movement north began. The "unfaithfulness" the Dutch settlers were accused of undoubtedly had something to do with the New Englanders' controversy with Pennsylvania.

On May 1, 1772, another meeting voted that the two hundred and forty settlers to be admitted must be "Good wholsom Inhabitants." Enforcement was by a committee headed by Zebulon Butler [no relation to John Butler], which frequently aggravated other people who began to complain that the committee of settlers had no authority to revoke settling rights.²⁵

Not until June 1773, however, did the Susquehannah Company respond to complaints and establish a system of town government for its area of Wyoming. Still, there was room for arbitrary decisions. Each town was to be run by three men who were to enforce the laws of Connecticut, as much as possible, keep order, collect taxes, raise a militia, and in general provide a local government. Violators could have their settling rights taken away and their property confiscated, a very harsh punishment, especially as the towns were surrounded by wilderness. The only appeal was to a gathering of all of these "directors."²⁶

Meanwhile, in spite of many pleas from its settlers in Wyoming and from the Susquehannah Company that the area be formally incorporated into the colony, the Connecticut Assembly procrastinated, hoping that its representatives in England would secure a favorable decision there. When the Assembly finally did act, in January 1774, it made Wyoming a town part of Litchfield County instead of an independent county. Town authorities could be elected locally, and there would be justices of the peace, but criminal and probate courts still were located back in Connecticut proper.²⁷

In contrast, Pennsylvania had formed the county of Northumberland on March 21, 1772, and established a formal government for it with its own courts in the county seat of Sunbury.²⁸ Court business could be conducted much more conveniently and laws enforced less arbitrarily for settlers under Pennsylvania than under

Connecticut. Thus, those who lost their settling rights under the Yankees would be likely to turn to Pennsylvania's jurisdiction.

For whatever reason, by the summer of 1774, Depue was located near Wyalusing, met with Pennsylvania surveyors in the area, and offered to buy land from the Pennsylvania claimants. But holding land under Pennsylvania title was considered "unfaithfulness" by the Yankees and punishable by exclusion from their society. At a town meeting held at Wilkes-Barre November 22, 1774,

Augustin Hunt and Frederick Vanderlip, now residing on the Susquehannah Purchase, being men that have and now do so conduct themselves by spreading reports about ye town of Westmoreland, much to ye disturbance of ye good and wholesome inhabitants of this town, and by their taking up and holding land under ye pretension of ye title of Pennsylvania . . . *It is now voted* That ye said Hunt be expelled this Purchase, and he be, as soon as may be, removed out of ye Purchase and out of ye town of Westmoreland . . .

Voted That . . . a committee . . . make inquiry into and search after all persons that are suspected to have been taking land under the title of Pennsylvania, etc.; and that they have full power to expel any person or persons from this Purchase and town whom they or ye major part of them judge unwholesome inhabitants, on account of their taking land under the title of Pennsylvania.²⁹

The Yankees were determined to rid themselves of all those who did not recognize Connecticut's jurisdiction over the area.

Throughout 1772, 1773, and 1774, the antagonism grew as the Wyoming society divided into two groups: the Yankees, as the settlers under Connecticut land grants were called, and the people the Yankees called Pennamites, or those who recognized Pennsylvania's jurisdiction. The documents in the *Susquehannah Company Papers* for this period demonstrate quite clearly the building tensions and hatred. Each side described the other as thieves and blackguards and themselves as honest law-abiding citizens being threatened by the other. Relations between these two groups became increasingly bitter, and rumors flourished. The Pennamites worried that the Yankees were going to fill up all the land as quickly as possible and win the controversy by sheer numbers. The Yankees, on the other hand, warned each other over and over of Pennamite plans to attack and drive them out, of the need to strengthen forts and arm themselves. "The towns along the river were, or were supposed to be, virtually armed camps," has written historian Robert J. Taylor.³⁰

The Pennamites lived mainly in two areas: the Up the River settlement and another area around Fishing Creek and the town of Catawissa. By 1774, the settlement upriver had become a magnet for Pennamites and anyone else who was discontented with the Yankee regime. Some settlers had supported Pennsylvania in earlier violence. Others had supported Connecticut's claim originally, such as Nicholas Phillips, Frederick Smith, Parshall Terry, and Henry Windecker, but for some reason they had switched sides. Some even had participated in the Pennamite-Yankee war on the side of the Yankees, for example Parshall Terry and Jacob Anguish.³¹ Some had no feel-

ings about either state's claim but still did not want to be located near the Yankees, or perhaps the New Englanders did not want them, or perhaps the land was more attractive and more easily obtained farther north. Since many of the last names of up the river settlers are also found in upper New York records, some of these settlers may have moved down from New York, beginning their arrivals around the same time as Depue's. The manors in upper New York had a history of riots by discontented squatters and others.³² All of these persons up the river were referred to as "Pennamites" by the Yankees who tagged them all as enemies to Connecticut's claim and supporters of Pennsylvania's.

The other pocket of Pennamite concentration in the Wyoming region was located downriver to the west of the Connecticut settlers, in the area around Fishing Creek and the town of Catawissa. The people who lived in this area were also Pennamites settled on land claimed by the Susquehannah Company. Some of the most active tories had bought their land from Governor Penn in April 1771, a period of Pennsylvania dominance on the east branch. George Field, who owned land near Fishing Creek and who with his two sons would join Butler's Rangers, was one of nine Pennsylvanians who filed a petition in January 1772 asking the Pennsylvania Assembly to grant them relief for the losses they had incurred to the New Englanders. They complained that for the previous three years, the Yankees and the "people from the township of Hanover in Pennsylvania [i.e. the Paxton Boys]" had "robbed them of their Horses, Cattle, and other Effects, burnt their Houses, destroyed their Grain, and abused their Persons." They begged the Pennsylvania government to remove the Yankees and "the Hanover people" from the province. The Assemblymen voted £60 for the relief of these families but could not decide how to get rid of the Connecticut settlers, the harder problem. Field also helped Pennsylvania surveyors in the summer of 1774. A year later, the Pennamite concentration at Fishing Creek was large enough to prevent Yankees from spreading onto vacant land there.³³

The Yankees, in turn, were determined that no more Pennamites would move onto land claimed by them, while at the same time, they were equally determined to expand their own control over more and more of the disputed territory. During the summer of 1774, Pennsylvania surveyor Jesse Lukens, who was aided by George Field and visited with John Depue, described in his diary contacts with the Yankees who refused to sell supplies to his party and came upriver to chase them away. He also recorded that Charles Stewart, another Pennsylvania surveyor, had been "*ill treated at Wyoming*." The following November, the previously reported meeting of the New Englanders at Wilkes-Barre censored two inhabitants and expelled one from the town because they had met with Lukens the preceding summer and were accused of holding their land under Pennsylvania titles. The committee appointed to discover all persons suspected of holding land titles from Pennsylvania directed a letter in June 1775, to Pennsylvania surveyor Samuel Harris, "Somewhere Skulked in the woods," warning Harris to leave the area and refusing to sell him provisions.³⁴

Although delegates from Connecticut to the Continental Congress wrote that

summer to Yankee leaders urging them to make peace and direct their combined efforts against the greater enemy,³⁵ the congressmen might have saved their energy. Feelings were so strong in the Wyoming area by then that neither side could tolerate the other, and rumors constantly predicted an attack by one side upon the other. In this increasingly threatening and insecure environment, the faraway struggle against Great Britain, while of interest, was not uppermost among the concerns of Pennamites and Yankees. When it was considered, it was usually as it affected the immediate local quarrel.

Even the Connecticut Assemblymen were not willing to abstain from inflammatory steps in order to concentrate all energy on the struggle against Great Britain. In May 1775, they passed an act enlarging the bounds of the town of Westmoreland to the Stanwix line.³⁶ This, of course, increased both the concerns of the Pennamites living on the west branch of the Susquehanna and the determination of the Yankees to appropriate that land. When the assemblymen's action led to violence in the fall and criticism in the Continental Congress, they retracted the line in December 1775.

The Yankees in Wyoming did at least give lip service to the request of their representatives. On August 1, a Westmoreland town meeting voted to observe strictly the regulations of Congress. They further resolved that for the "good of ye whole" they were willing to make "accommodations with ye Pennsylvania party" and would ask them to participate in joint defense measures.³⁷ But such reasonable assurances were for public relations purposes only and never could materialize under the conditions in the region.

A week later, the Westmoreland town meeting voted its approval of the measures taken by Congress and appointed Committees of Correspondence and of Inspection.³⁸ These committees, in conjunction with the militia, gave the Yankees the means to continue their drive to force the Pennamites away from the disputed lands. In fact, one of the five members of the Committee of Correspondence and three of the fourteen members of the Committee of Inspection were members of the committee appointed the previous November to drive out Pennamites. The Yankee defense for their actions against the Pennamites became the claim that their enemies actually were tories; hence anti-Pennamite activity conformed with Congress's resolves against internal enemies.

Pennsylvanians, however, saw the New Englanders' intentions as different from their words. The sheriff, coroner, and magistrates of Pennsylvania's Northumberland County wrote Governor Penn in the summer of 1775 spelling out their fears about the large numbers of Connecticut citizens flooding into the area and the possibility of that colony providing them with troops ostensibly for defense against the Indians. "Five hundred of the troops of that Colony are apply'd for," they wrote, "and expected under the disingenuous artifice of being a guard against the Indians; we have such repeated and reiterated accounts of their firm intentions to dispossess the people settled under Pennsylvania that to disbelieve it, would be arrant incredulity."³⁹

The actions of both sides demonstrated the futility of urging them to take joint measures against the British. In June 1775, Ellis Hughes, a Northumberland County

quarter sessions court magistrate, wrote from Catawissa to Connecticut leader Zebulon Butler that he was distressed by reports of Connecticut crowds mistreating "the People under Pennsylv^{la}." He had also heard that Yankees were planning to extend their settlements downriver, and he recommended against it. On August 21, Butler replied to Hughes very sharply, accusing him of wanting to keep the Yankees out so Pennsylvanians could fill up the land. Three days later, on August 24, Butler wrote Hughes complaining that the Pennamites at Fishing Creek had refused to allow Connecticut people to settle on vacant lands in that neighborhood. Butler said that the Yankees were determined to settle the land claimed by the Susquehannah Company. "We wish Peace and a good understanding Between us & you. But you must not Expect we will give up Our right or Relinquish Our Claim, or by any means stop Our Settlements to make room for you and your People to fill up the Vacant Lands upon Our Purchase."⁴⁰

Putting his words into action, in September Zebulon Butler sent a large party of men to reinforce a small Connecticut beachhead on the west branch, thirteen miles north of Sunbury, the county seat of the Pennsylvania county of Northumberland. The Connecticut Assembly in May had enlarged Westmoreland to the Stanwix line, and the Wyoming Yankees were determined to settle on all land claimed by Connecticut. The intruders were intercepted by local Pennsylvanians from Sunbury; one Yankee was killed, seventy-two taken prisoners, and all their possessions were confiscated.

This attempted expansion of Connecticut control worried Eliphalet Dyer, Connecticut's representative to the First Continental Congress, who wrote Butler saying that he was "Alarmed" by this action. He wrote that "it is better to make friends by every Conciliatory method than drive or use force." He recommended that the Yankees in Wyoming "let the people on the West branch See & feel the benefit of being under Connecticutt." The attempted move so worried Pennsylvania land speculators in Philadelphia that they met in October and agreed to subscribe money to help the Pennamites defend their claims.⁴¹

This attempted expansion by the Yankees led in December 1775, to the last Pennamite attempt to force the Yankees to obey Pennsylvania's laws, the so-called Plunket expedition. In early December, an anonymous informant warned Zebulon Butler that the Pennamites were mustering men at Sunbury and that they planned to meet other volunteers from Northampton County at Fishing Creek for the purpose of "plundering" the Yankees. He called the Pennamites "as inhuman as the Devil" and warned Butler to "Take special care of your enemies up ye river. There is letters sent down almost every day. . . . The Pennamites up the river have engaged to join with these people whenever they shall come." Although there was not much of a battle, the Pennamite losers looted Connecticut homes along their retreat route.⁴² Coming so soon after the arrest of the Yankee immigrants to the west branch and the continued confiscation of their property, this behavior increased the prevailing animosity and made an amicable relationship between the two sides, for whatever purpose, impossible.

When the controversy with Great Britain arrived in the Wyoming Valley, it did not create a new division of popular support. Instead, it was superimposed on the existing division in the society. The Connecticut settlers moved first to support the Revolutionaries, but the Pennamites were unable to put aside their hatreds and join their enemies in a common cause. Instead, they continued to resist the Yankees as they had for years. The New Englanders then began to argue that, because the Pennamites were opposing people who supported the Revolutionary measures, the Pennamites must be against the Revolution itself and hence were tories.

By early 1776, the Yankees were equating the terms Pennamite and tory. A deposition taken after the Plunket expedition was repulsed stated that a "tory" had told the witness that Plunket's force was allied with "all the Torrys far and Near." The Pennamites planned to conquer the Connecticut settlement, he reported, so that after the British troops took the seacoast, the tories could "fall on the Backs of the Continental troops." Even the *Connecticut Courant* in February ran an article describing the Plunket expedition and calling the Pennsylvanians tories. A rebuttal objected to this term being used, but another correspondent asked, "if they are not tories, in the name of wonder what are they?" The attempt had been designed to drive a wedge between two colonies "united to vindicate the rights of America"; obviously, therefore, the attackers were tories, the writer argued.⁴³

After the expedition failed, most of its volunteers marched back to their homes many miles away in territory controlled by Pennsylvania, but the settlers up the river were separated from the rest by the Connecticut settlements and exposed to Yankee wrath. The Yankees identified all of the settlers upriver as Pennamites, whether they really supported Pennsylvania's claim to the area or just opposed the Yankees, and hence also called them tories. Word that the people upriver feared a retaliatory attack reached the Yankees, and the Westmoreland town meeting in early January resolved to send a committee up north to reassure the settlers there "that the inhabitants of Westmoreland [were] not about to kill and destroy them and take any of their effects as [had been] reported." The Yankee resolution, however, was not as conciliatory as this first part sounded. It continued that the Pennamites could "keep their effects, and continue in peace on reasonable terms—*provided* they conform[ed] to the laws of the Colony of Connecticut and the Resolves of the Honorable Continental Congress, and confirm[ed] their intentions by signing the subscription paper for that purpose that said committee [would] produce." The threat of what could happen if they did not obey Connecticut's laws and sign the paper surely was not lost on the Pennamites. This trip, nevertheless, was a peaceful one. Solomon Secord wrote to his father, James, on January 20, 1776, that the "New England People Came up but has not meddled with any thing amongst us up the River."⁴⁴ This may have been the last non-violent contact between the Yankees and the Pennamites up the river.

On August 1, 1775, the Westmoreland town meeting had expressed willingness to join "amicably" with the Pennamites in anti-British measures, but that was before the repulsed Connecticut immigration to the west branch and the attempted Plunket invasion. The military association formed by the New Englanders in early March

1776, reflected those two events and the resultant heightened antagonism. The articles of association began not with a statement about the troubles with Great Britain but with a reference to Pennamites: "Whereas the Inhabitants of this Town Have of Late bin Invaded by a Large Number of Toryes, which by The blessing of God we Have Repulsed . . ." ⁴⁵ The main reason for the Connecticut association, therefore, was not to fight against the British but to fend off future raids by Pennamites, whom the Yankees by then were calling tories. After the war, patriot Pennamite Alexander Patterson filed a petition with the Pennsylvania legislature in which he claimed that the Yankees had not "amicably" invited the "Pennsylvania Settlers" to participate in a joint effort, but instead had demanded that the Pennamites, some living as far away as sixty miles, go to Wilkes-Barre to associate under Connecticut officers and under these articles. This, not surprisingly, the "Pennsylvania People" had refused, saying that they preferred to form their own association. This refusal gave the New Englanders a further excuse to call the Pennamites tories and to punish them for non-cooperation. Patterson reported that the Yankees "went in force, and tied the Pennsylvania Settlers, and brought them to Wyoming with all their moveables, and confined them in a log house." The captives won their release only when friendly upriver Indians came to Wyoming and threatened to complain to Congress. Patterson said that even when released, the Pennamites "were ambushed and fired upon by the Yankees." He blamed this treatment for the Pennamites' subsequent defection to the British and their return to Wyoming with Butler's Rangers to exact revenge. ⁴⁶

Throughout 1776, enmity grew. The Connecticut settlers were particularly incensed by the refusal of the Pennsylvanians at Sunbury to return the property taken from the Yankees who had tried to settle on the west branch. Clothing, ammunition, hatchets, over seventy-five guns, and twenty horses had been taken and continued to be held. A group wrote to Roger Sherman, one of Connecticut's congressmen, complaining of this refusal and asking Congress to disarm the Pennamites and force them to make restitution. In August, the Yankees again expressed their concern to Connecticut's congressmen about the confiscated possessions, especially about the guns and ammunition that would be needed in the event of an Indian war. They wanted permission to form a number of companies of continental soldiers to prevent "any insults or hostilities from the Indians or tories on the frontiers." Again, action taken against the Pennsylvania settlers was justified by associating them with Great Britain. ⁴⁷

By then, the apprehensions of each group about the other ran unchecked. The Connecticut settlers dreaded another invasion of their area by the Pennamites, who they feared would plunder and burn all Yankee property. And if the Pennsylvanians did not invade, the Yankees anticipated that their enemies would incite the Indians to do the job. The Pennamites up the river, on the other hand, feared the Connecticut people and their laws and committees.

By equating tory and Pennamite, the Yankees used laws against treason to harass the Pennamites. For example, John Secord and some others were arrested in March

1776. Secord, accused of spying, of giving intelligence to the enemy and of aiding escaped British officers to make their way to Niagara, petitioned both the Pennsylvania Assembly and Congress complaining of the infringement of his rights. Congress referred his case to the governor of Connecticut, and Secord was released. Philip and Abraham VanGorder were arrested and sent to Litchfield, Connecticut, and eight or ten others to Hartford for trial, but their cases were dismissed. Even if the Connecticut government dismissed charges of disaffection against Pennsylvanians, the accused were subject to the arduous trip to the courts in Litchfield or Hartford in order to prove their innocence because Westmoreland did not become a county with its own courts until October 1776. While they were gone, of course, their families were unprotected and their farms untended. In addition, unpaid fines for nonobedience of Connecticut laws gave the New Englanders an excuse to take Pennsylvanians' property. That the committees were used to harass Pennamites was demonstrated by the case of Adonijah Stanburrough, a Pennamite mill owner and outspoken supporter of the American cause, who was called before the committee to answer a charge of "toryism." The outcome of the interrogation is unknown, but subsequently he disposed of his mill and left the area. In June 1777, Jacob Anguish's wife complained about the Yankees taking their cattle, and said that "they were no more Torys than the Yankeys were." Her response was disingenuous, however, because by then her husband had fled to the British.⁴⁸

By the winter of 1776-77, the Pennamites upriver believed their only recourse to escape Yankee hostilities was to join the British. John Butler had sent representatives to all the Indian towns, and there were several important ones near Wyalusing. In that area, the whites were very friendly with the Indians and must have talked with Butler's men. One of the first settlers upriver to leave was John Depue, who arrived that winter at Niagara bringing letters from seventy neighbors on the Susquehanna indicating their willingness to enlist in the British service. By the end of March, John Butler had sent them word to come on and wrote to Governor Carleton for permission to form them into a battalion. On April 8, Butler reported that several people had arrived from the Susquehanna and that more were on the way. By the end of the month, refugees were straggling into Niagara every day "for protection." It was reported that they were without adequate clothing and had been hiding in the woods so long they were starving. Fifty more were supposedly on their way, "so weak they can scarcely crawl."⁴⁹ Although Carleton refused Butler's requested permission, some of these tories joined the campaign in the summer of 1777 in New York and fought under Butler in the Battle of Oriskany.

Alexander Patterson claimed that "the Pennsylvania People were so harrassed [sic] by the Intruders, that they were driven to seek an asylum with the Indians, and at length retire to Niagara for protection." This claim of harassment is reinforced by the various memorials filed by the refugees with the British claims commissioners after the war. For example, George Field's petition claimed that he and his family could no longer live in their homes because of the persecution and that they had to leave in a great hurry or they would have been sent to jail. This is also supported by

the pitiable condition of the émigrés when they arrived at Niagara. Only persons who had felt harried would have left their homes in late winter to travel through Indian country with inadequate supplies. In March 1777, Yankee militia went upriver "to take and secure all the Tories," and it was fear of this group that had driven the Pennamites to leave their homes so precipitously.⁵⁰

While the defectors made their way through Indian territory to Niagara, Pennsylvanian as well as Yankee patriots grew concerned about the possibility of a tory-Indian attack. The Committee of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, received reports in April 1777, of a tory plot to incite an Indian war. A letter was intercepted written by Nicholas Pickard from Wyoming to his cousin John Pickard, farther downriver at the time, warning John to move out of the way of a forthcoming Indian raid. In response to committee questioning, John admitted that the previous Christmas he had gone up to Wyoming to meet Nicholas, and the two Pickards had traveled north of the bend to Tunkhannock. There they had visited Nicholas Phillips, who had been warned by John Depue and who now urged the two Pickards and several others to move with their families to a place in Indian territory where they would be safe. Nicholas Pickard confessed that he had communicated with the British at Niagara and that he had taken an oath of allegiance to the king. Yankee settlers in the Wyoming Valley, isolated from Connecticut help yet exposed to Indian attack, were hearing the same rumors and worrying about their safety. To defend the region, Congress in August 1776, had ordered two companies to be recruited and stationed in Westmoreland, but in December, Congress had ordered the two companies to join Washington's army, thus depriving the valley of these able-bodied men. To protect themselves, throughout 1777 the people worked on several forts.⁵¹

Periodically, they also sent scouts up the river to try and find out what the Indians and disaffected whites were doing. After Oriskany in August 1777, many of the Pennamite refugees who had enlisted with Butler for temporary service in St. Leger's army were ordered to march overland to the Susquehanna River under the command of James Secord to drive cattle from the Connecticut settlement to Niagara for the use of the British garrison there. When news reached Wilkes-Barre in September that the Pennamites had returned to their homes, a force was sent up north to seize them. But the Pennamites, warned that the Yankees were coming, hid in the mountains or sought refuge with the Indians, heightening Yankee fears of an Indian-Pennamite attack. The party killed one tory and took two prisoners, who said that about 140 or 150 Indians had returned to their homes upriver from the battle at Fort Stanwix.

Throughout the fall and winter, other scouting parties sent up north returned with captives and more rumors that the refugees were stirring up the Indians for an impending attack. This caused the people to bring scattered families into the settlements in March. In April and May, small groups of Indians and tories began to attack isolated settlers near Wyoming, a forewarning of what was to come in the summer.⁵² In early July, the worst fears of the New Englanders were realized when Butler and his forces fell on their settlement in the Battle of Wyoming.

Not all of the disaffected persons along the east branch joined the British in Canada, however; some remained in the isolated valleys, where they were accused of helping other tories and the British. In April 1779, Thomond Ball reported from Sunbury to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania that a ring of disaffected people who were corresponding with the British had been discovered. They had sent information to the enemy regarding the weakness of the colonial forces on the frontier, and they had persuaded some of the American soldiers to desert to the enemy. A year later, in August, Thomas Hewitt wrote to President Joseph Reed complaining of "the Dismal situation of this County from the Number of Disaffected persons in it," especially in the Fishing Creek-Catawissa area. Because they were isolated by the mountains, the inhabitants could correspond with the enemy without detection. Hewitt pointed out that even in the most dangerous times the disaffected in that area never had been troubled, and, furthermore, whenever the Indians made an incursion into the county all the disaffected families congregated there, unmolested, while the patriots were forced either to leave the county or to shut themselves in a fort for protection. Several settlers from that area confessed to Hewitt that they had corresponded with the British or had been to Niagara.⁵³

In order to relieve the pressure on the frontiers, a punitive expedition under the command of General John Sullivan was sent that summer up the east branch of the Susquehanna to take the war to the Indians' own territory in New York state. This army marched from Easton, Pennsylvania, to the Wyoming settlement, waiting there for the arrival of needed provisions and of another force from New York before proceeding farther.

During the delay, reports frequently arrived of attacks by the Indians on frontier families, and these were recorded in his journal by the Reverend William Rogers, the chaplain of one of the brigades. Thus, on June 29, word was received of three women from one family living between Wyoming and Easton being carried off and a boy being scalped and tomahawked; the rest of "the few principal scattered inhabitants were in great distress moving for safety to Sullivan's Stores, leaving the principal part of their property behind them." On July 5, an express arrived from Sunbury announcing the destruction by the Indians of nine persons out of twelve working in a field at Munsey. July 17 brought news from the western branch of the Susquehanna of Indian attacks there. By the end of that same month, the Indians and tories had captured a fort about twenty-five miles from Sunbury, and the nearby town of Northumberland was expecting an assault momentarily. According to Rogers, there were only 150 men to protect the women and children against a reported enemy force of 250 with reserves of 100 men.⁵⁴ Every few days, news arrived of further raids on settlers, all blamed on tories and Indians.

Sullivan's expedition was joined by another army from New York state commanded by General James Clinton, and the combined forces marched up into the Finger Lakes territory of the Iroquois, laying waste Indian farms and villages and destroying crops needed for winter survival. At the site of modern Elmira, the army defeated an enemy force estimated by a contemporary to have contained about four hun-

dred Indians and three hundred tories. After this battle, the Indians retreated before the expedition, evacuating their towns and attacking only small parties, but avoiding another large confrontation.⁵⁵ Sullivan's army went as far as Geneseo, New York, before returning to Pennsylvania.

In spite of this and other punitive expeditions, however, the frontier remained distressed, with hostile Indians and tories attacking isolated settlers, picking them off in small numbers, and then fading back into the forests when military units were sent against them. To the Indians, the encroaching settlers were the enemy, an overwhelming tide of land-hungry, treaty-breaking white people who must be stopped if the Indian way of life was to continue. That was the real war for them, not the British colonies versus the mother country. As late as the summer of 1782 when the war was over for white Americans, the Indians were still attacking in Northumberland County. It was reported that from July 23 to August 8, twenty-one inhabitants were killed or captured. All those who lived above Northumberland on both branches were planning to move into the towns and had given up all thoughts of putting in fall crops.⁵⁶

The ill will of the Indians toward the white settlers who had intruded upon their lands was so profound that they probably would have warred against the pioneers without British encouragement and tory participation; certainly they had done so in the past. In fact, Indian raids began early in the spring of 1777, before Carleton was ordered to incite them, and during the war, the tribes carried out many independent raids. British supplies, however, and the help of the disaffected émigrés increased their fighting effectiveness and helped keep them on the British side.

Alexander Patterson claimed that the disaffected participated in the Battle of Wyoming because they had been "cruelly robbed of their property" by the Yankees and that they persuaded Lt. Colonel Butler to attack Wyoming "for the recovery of their goods and chattels." This may distort Butler's motive, but the tories themselves had some such motivation, even if Butler did not. Otherwise, the terms of the capitulation worked out between Butler and the survivors of the Battle of Wyoming would not have included the following sixth article: "That the properties taken from the people called *Tories* up the River be made good and they to remain in peaceable possession of their Farms and unmolested in a free Trade throughout this state as far as lies in my power."⁵⁷ Thus the tories hoped to return to their homes, but of course this was impossible.

Historian Charles Miner has implied that the disaffected moved into the Wyalusing area after the outbreak of the conflict with the British, thus bringing their politics with them and developing their hatred of the Connecticut settlers out of their dislike for the American cause, rather than the other way around as this study argues. This may have been true for some of the people upriver, especially those who arrived after 1776, but this argument cannot be applied to men such as John Depue, George Field, the Secords, and others who had been there before 1776 and who were barely concerned with troubles between the colonies and the mother country before that year. After the war, 26 of the Wyoming disaffected who went to Canada filed claims

with the British describing their lives. Of the 26, the latest dates by which 21 had settled in the Wyoming area are known:

1769: 1	1772: 5	1775: 2
1770: 3	1773: 2	1776: 1
1771: 5	1774: 2	

These are the earliest years when I found their names as settlers in Wyoming; they may have arrived earlier, of course, but records either do not remain or have not been uncovered. The 5 for whom I found no records of their arrivals in Wyoming were also there by 1776, if not before, because their names appeared on that year's tax list. Therefore, of these 26 active Tories a minimum of 20 (or 77 percent) had lived in the area before the troubles with Great Britain became an issue there at the end of 1775 after the Plunket expedition.⁵⁸ Furthermore, there is no mention in the Susquehannah Company papers of the British-American troubles in connection with the early antagonism between the upriver or Fishing Creek Pennamites and the Yankees. These people thoroughly disliked each other long before the imperial conflict troubled their lives. When the Connecticut settlers finally took note of the problems with the British, it was to use the authority that the recommendations of the Continental Congress gave them to justify further harassment of the Pennamites living on land claimed by the Susquehannah Company.

Appended to this article is a list of persons who were settled in the Wyoming area before the war and who either joined a British military unit, immigrated to Canada during the war, or in a few cases were accused by Pennsylvania law. This list does not claim to be complete. It contains the names of the disaffected Wyoming inhabitants that were uncovered in the research for my earlier work. A more thorough search of the pertinent records than I have made to this date would probably turn up other names and more information about those I already have identified.⁵⁹ More names, however, would not change the fact that pre-war antagonisms largely determined the war-time politics of many of the disaffected.

Miner was correct when he said that between the Pennamite Tories and the Yankees "there was neither sympathy in feeling, nor community of interests." Not only did the two groups differ over colony jurisdiction, they also differed in racial and colonial origins. The Connecticut group contained settlers predominantly of English derivation, and the Paxton people who joined them were Scots-Irish. The up the river group, in contrast, had a large number of members of German or Dutch lineage, some of whom may have moved into the area from New York manors, where there were many discontented squatters and where German immigrants were numerous. Of the claimants mentioned above, nine were born in Germany, two in Holland, ten in the colonies, one in England, and the birthplaces of four are unknown. Of those who did not file claims, many had German names. Fifteen of the twenty-six claimants specified their losses in New York money, indicating that its value was most familiar to them. Among the others one claimed in sterling, one in Halifax money, one in both New York and Pennsylvania currency, six did not indicate a currency, and the claims of two were not located. None claimed in Connecticut money.⁶⁰

When immigrants arrived in Westmoreland, they found that the Connecticut town contained a very exclusive population. William Maclay, a contemporary, described New Englanders as "an unmixed people. . . used only to see neighbors like themselves." This commonality of background gave the people a cohesion that was superior for settling the frontier but, at the same time, made it difficult for others to join their communities. "The Congregational mind of Connecticut frowned upon the intrusion of strangers," Julian Boyd has written.⁶¹

In addition, the Connecticut method of settlement contributed to the Yankees' clannishness. In the Wyoming Valley, the Susquehannah Company used the system of settling by towns that had prevailed throughout New England in the seventeenth century before Connecticut and Massachusetts began to use land "commercially." A number of persons owning Susquehannah Company shares would meet and send a committee to the area of future settlement. The committee would "make a pitch for a township, under survey, and lay out the area in lots." At the next meeting after the committee returned, three lots would be set aside for the Congregational Church, its minister, and the school, and part of the remainder, usually the best, would be distributed to the original proprietors. Second and third divisions of land would be made when needed. Thus, before the people ever left Connecticut, they were formed into a cohesive group, racially and religiously similar, the township had been named and surveyed, and the best portions of land had been distributed to the original settlers or proprietors. Usually land was reserved for future settlement, but in the case of at least one town, Salem, all land was immediately divided among the original proprietors.⁶²

In the first years of settlement of the Wyoming Valley, when the Yankees clung together for protection from Indians and Pennamites, it was difficult for non-Connecticut settlers to join a Susquehannah Company town. The best land had been distributed to New Englanders; there was only one church, the Congregational; and the original proprietors were from the same area in Connecticut or frequently were interrelated. It is clear that German immigrants from the Mohawk Valley or other parts of New York were not welcomed with open arms by Yankees traditionally suspicious of foreigners. Yet the immigrants had to obey Connecticut's laws as interpreted by a small group of Yankees and had to prove themselves "good and wholesome" in behavior. If friction occurred, the Yankees could and often did take away the settling rights of persons whose behavior did not meet their standards. The available Indian land at Wyalusing, already cleared with dwellings erected, was an attractive alternative under such circumstances. So the newcomers settled upriver, twenty to sixty miles above the Connecticut concentration, either as squatters or as Pennsylvania title owners since Pennsylvania surveyors were very active in that area.

At the same time, by the end of 1776, these up the river people had not developed a strong feeling of loyalty toward Pennsylvania either, because that colony had done little to help them. In fact, the Penns' method of land distribution was routinely disliked by all frontiersmen. Pennsylvania land was owned by the Penn family, whose

members took what they wanted first and distributed the rest to others under a quitrent system. The quitrent was very unpopular and frequently not collectible because of resistance. Furthermore, much of the good frontier land not taken by the Penns was engrossed by speculators whose claims were often overlapping or improperly concluded so that land titles were insecure. Individual Pennsylvania settlers in the Wyoming area bought land from the Penns, as had George Field and others around Fishing Creek-Catawissa, or from Pennsylvania land speculators, as Depue tried to do upriver. Or they simply squatted on unoccupied land and hoped that their possession ultimately would be recognized in a title, as it usually had been in Pennsylvania history. This was probably what many of the settlers upriver had done and why the names of many people known to have lived there were not recorded on any tax list. After the failure of the December 1775, Plunket expedition against the New Englanders, the up the river people received no more support from a Pennsylvania government more and more preoccupied with the war against Great Britain.

The up the river people, therefore, were left to their own devices by Pennsylvania during the early years of the war, while the Yankees were in *de facto* control of the region and used accusations of toryism to punish those they called Pennamites and force them to leave. At the same time, the British promised 200 acres of land, free of quitrents and Connecticut harassment, to any man who served in the British army throughout the war. Unfortunately for the Connecticut and other frontier people, the name-calling became self-fulfilling. The up the river people turned to the British "for protection," took their revenge on July 3, 1778, at the battle of Wyoming, and continued their attacks on the frontier for the rest of the war.

Persons from the Wyoming Area Who Were Disaffected

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dis. Id.*</u>	<u>Tax List</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>To Sus. By</u>	<u>Attainted</u>	<u>Loy.Tr. *</u>
Amer, Jacob (Anker?)	BR*					
Anger, Frederick, Sr.(Anker)	BR		Ger.	1772		26:390-94 (N.Y.)
Anger, Augustus	BR					
Anger, Charles	BR					
Anger, Christiana	Can.					
Anger, Frederick, Jr.	Can.					
Anguish, Jacob	BR		Ger.	1/71(C)		
Anguish, Henry	BR					
Beebec, Joshua & Mary	BR	Up River	Am.	1775		25:368-71(Halifax)
Beef, Duncan(Beeth, Damon)	Pa.law	Hanover Dis.				
Bender, Philip	BR	Up River	Ger.	1776(P)		25: 426-30 (nc)
Bowman, Adam (Jr?)	BR	Up River		1773(P)		
Bowman, Henry	BR					
Bowman, Jacob & Eliz.	BR	Up River		1773(P)		
Bowman, Peter	BR					
Brunner, Jacob & Marg't	BR	Up River				
Buck, Philip	BR	Up River				
Buel, Mrs.	Can.	(possibly widow of Ezra Buell in Wyoming 5/1770 C)	Ger.	12/1771(C)		25:405-09(NY)
Carroll, Charles	Pa. law	Hanover Dis.				
Cooper, Hagai	Pa. law			9/1772		
Crowder, William	Can.					
Depue, John (Depui, etc.)	BR, &	Up River	Am.	10/71(C)		25:431-35(NY)
& Mary	Ind. dept.					
Depue, Charles	BR		Am.			
Depue, John, Jr.	Can.		Am.			

* See end of lists for definitions of abbreviations

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dis. Id*</u>	<u>Tax List</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>To Sus. By</u>	<u>Attainted</u>	<u>Loy. Tr. *</u>
Dolson, John (Dalson, Dolston)	Can.			1771(P)		
Dolson, Isaac, Sr. & Mary	BR		Am.	1771(P)	10/30/78	25:476-79(NY & Pa.)
Dolson, Daniel	Can.		Am.			
Dolson, Elizabeth	Can.		Am.			
Dolson, Isaac, Jr.	Can.		Am.		10/30/78	
Dolson, John	Can.		Am.			
Dolson, Mary, Jr.	Can.		Am.			
Dolson, Matthew	BR		Am.	3/1771(P)	10/30/78	
& Hannah						
Dolson, Gilbert (living in Detroit as of Sept. 2, 1784; age and relationship to above not known)						
Dolson, Nathaniel (same as Gilbert) nothing else known about Gilbert and Nathaniel						
Farrington, Stephen	BR	Up River				
Field, George & Rebecca	BR		Am.	4/9/70(P)	10/30/78	25:412-18 by wife(NY)
Field, Daniel	BR		Am.	11/75(P)	10/30/78	
Field, Gilbert	BR		Am.		10/30/78	
& Eleanor						
Field, Nathan[iel]	BR		Am.			
& Amy						
Fowler, David	Pa. law	Wyoming, Pa.		4/9/71(P)		
Frank, Frederick	BR	Up River				
Furner, Edward-see Turner						
Furner, Morris-see Turner	BR		Eng.	1774(P)		25:361-64 by wife (NY)
Harris, John & Jane	BR			2/75(P&C)		25:517-19 by son (NY)
Hicks, Edward, Sr.	BR	Up River				
& Elvina						
Hicks, Benjamin	BR		Am.			
Hicks, Edward, Jr.	BR		Am.			
Hill, Patrick	BR					
Hill, Thomas	Pa. law, Can., KRRNY(?)			9/1772(C)	10/30/78	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dis. Id*</u>	<u>Tax List</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>To Sus. By</u>	<u>Attainted</u>	<u>Loy. Ir. *</u>
Hover, Casper(Hopper, Gosper)	BR	Up River	Holl.	9/1772(P)		25:495-97 by son (NY)
Hover, Henry:	BR					
Hover, Jacob	BR					
Hover, John	BR					
Kentner, George	BR, KRRNY	Up River	Ger.	7/1771(C) & 1776(P)		25:491-94 (NY)
Kentner, John	KRRNY		Am.			4:488-89 (Ster.)
Kirkwood, Hugh	To Eng.1783					
Larraway, Abraham	BR					
Larraway, Isaac (Lorway)	KRRNY	Up River				
Larraway, Jonas	BR					
McNaught, James (McNutt) Can., KRRNY(?)	BR	Up River	Am.	12/73(C)		25:385-87(nc)
Millard, Thomas (Millord)	Can.	Up River	Am.	1776		
Millard, Thomas, Jr.	BR	Up River	Am.	1775(C)		
Pawling, Benjamin (Pauling)	BR					
Pawling, Jesse	BR					
Pawling, William	Can.	Up River	Am.			
Pensil, John, Jr.(Pensell)	BR	Up River(Pensler?)Ger.		5/1772		**Harvey says yes
& Eva						
Phelps, Elijah	BR	Up River		12/1773(C)		
Phillips, Elizabeth	Can.					
Phillips, Nicholas	BR	Up River		1770(C)		**Young says yes
Phillips, Nicholas, Jr.	BR					
Pickard, Nicholas	Pa. law					
Pickard, William	BR	Exeter Dis.	Am.			25:376-79(nc)
Pickard, Benjamin	BR		Am.			
Pickard, James	BR		Am.			
Reemey, Casper(Reaney)	Pa. law			12/1773(P)		
Russell, Matthew	Pa. law	(Pos. son of Isaac Russell, Pa. Wyoming tax list)				10/30/78
Samson, John	Can.					

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dis. Id*</u>	<u>Tax List</u> Dept.	<u>Born</u>	<u>To Sus. By</u>	<u>Attainted</u>	<u>Loy.Tr. *</u>
Secord, James & Madeleine	BR, Ind.		Am.	1773c. bought from Pholder		25:470-75, by son (NY)
Secord, David	BR		Am.			
Secord, Solomon	BR		Am.			
Secord, Stephen	BR		Am.			
Secord, John, Sr.	BR	Up River		8/1775(C)		
Secord, John, Jr.	BR					
Secord, Peter	BR	Up River				
Secord, Silas	BR					
Sept, Mrs. (Syys)	Can.					
Shaat, Oldrak (Shout, Huldrick)	BR	Up River				
Short, Rosamund	Can.					
Showers, Michael & Eleanor	BR	Up River	Am.	1772(P&C)		25:395-99 (NY)
Sills, Conrad (Searls) & Sarah	BR	Up River	Ger.			25:507-09 (NY)
Sills, George	KRRNY		Am.			
Sills, John	KRRNY		Am.			
Sills, Lawrence	KRRNY		Am.			
Simmons, Andrea	Can.					
Simmons, Henry (Symmon)	BR	Up River	Ger.			25:510-12 (NY)
Smith, Frederick	BR	Up River	Ger.	4/1770(C)		25:380-84 (nc)
Smith, Frederick, Jr.	BR					
Szaaks, Henry	Pa. law				10/30/78	
Stephens, John (Stevens)	BR	Up River		2/1770(C)		
Strope, John	Can.					
Strope, Lydia	Can. (either wife of John or his sister-in-law)					
Terry, Parchel, Jr.	BR	Kingston Dis.		12/69(C).		
Turner, Morris & Sarah	BR			(P)		25:419-25 (nc)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dis. Id*</u>	<u>Tax List</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>To Sus. By</u>	<u>Attainted</u>	<u>Loy.Tr. *</u>
Turner, Edward(Furner)	BR		Am.	(P)		
Van Alstine, Isaac	KRRNY	Up River	Am.	1771(C)		25:498-99 (nc)
Van Alstine, James	Can.	Up River				
Van Alstine, Lambert	KRRNY					
Vanderlip, William, Sr. also called Frederick	BR	Up River	Holl.	11/1774(C)(P)		25:485-90 by son(NY)
Vanderlip, John	BR					
Vanderlip, William, Jr.	BR					
Van Vollenburgh, Isaac (Vollenburgh, Falkenburg)	BR	Up River				
Wartman, Abraham	BR	Up River	Ger.	1769 (P)		25:503-06 (NY)
(Workman) & Catherine						
Wartman, Adam	Killed in Pa. by Yankees		Am.			
Wartman, John	Can.		Am.			
Wartman, Peter	Can.		Am.			
Weaver, Mrs.	Can.				10/30/78	
Weitner, George	Pa. law					
Wilcox, Elisha	BR	Up River		10/1772		
Williamson, John	BR	Up River				
Windecker, Henry & Dorothy	BR	Up River	Am.	6/1770 (C)		25:480-84 (NY)
Windecker, Mary	Can.					
Winter, Henry	BR.&KRRNY	Up River				
Winter, Jacob	KRRNY					
Winter, Nicholas						
Wintermute, Philip, Sr.		Exeter Dis.		6/1772 (bought land under C title)		
Wintermute, Abraham BR			Am.			
Wintermute, Benj.	BR		Am.			
Wintermute, Chris	Can.	Exeter Dis.				
Wintermute, John	BR(?)	Exeter Dis.(?)	Am.	1772(C)(?)		see John below

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dis. Id.*</u>	<u>Tax List</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>To Sus. By</u>	<u>Attainted</u>	<u>Loy. Tr. *</u>
Wintermute, Peter	BR		Am.			
Wintermute, Philip, Jr	BR	Exeter Dis.				
Wintermute, John	BR(?)	Exeter Dis.(?)	Am.	1772(C)(?)		25:400-04(NY)
(There were two Johns; it is not clear to whom the sources refer)						

Notes on List

Names: where family units are known, parents' names are given first, followed by children's names in alphabetical order indented. Where relationship between persons with the same last name is not known, names are listed in alphabetical order.
Dolson and Wintermute family relationships were clarified by Stephen C. Young in his masters thesis, Bowling Green University, August 1990, pp. 144-45, 164-65.

Dis. Id.: stands for "disaffection identification" and tells why the names are included in the list.

BR: name found in record of Butler's Rangers.

Can.: name found in list of persons being supported by British government in Canada.

Pa. law: name found in Pennsylvania records as accused of treasonous activity.

Ind. dept.: name found on list of persons in Indian department, Canada

KRRNY: name found enrolled in King's Royal Regiment of New York.

To Sus. By: gives the earliest date found for residence in the Wyoming area. The (P) or (C) indicates whether the earliest mention connects that person with one colony or the other.

Attainted: gives dates of attainder proclamation by state of Pennsylvania against that person.

Loy. Tr.: lists references to Benjamin Stevens 's transcripts of the records of the Loyalist Claims Commission. Transcripts located in the N.Y. C. Public Library. Originals in Audit Office(AO) and Colonial Office(CO) records in Public Record Office(PRO), London.

**Stephen Young, referencing Alexander Fraser, ed., *Second Report of the Bureau of Archives* (Toronto: 1905), p. 964, writes that the Richard Phillips in the Loyalist Transcripts is the same as Nicholas Phillips of Wyoming.

**Oscar Harvey, 2:1022-23, reports a claim was made by John Pensil. Neither claim has been located by me.

There are no footnotes for this list because they would make the article unacceptably long. Individual notes will be provided upon reasonable request.

Notes

1. Anne M. Ousterhout, *A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987).
2. Alexander Hamilton, "A Second Letter from Phocion," in *Alexander Hamilton and the Founding of the Nation*, ed. Richard B. Morris (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1957), p. 465.
3. For other historians who also have questioned the importance of ideology in determining opposition to the Revolutionary movement, see Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), p. xv, and Mary Beth Norton, *The British Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1972), p. 8. Maier writes: "Other factors—economic or political interest, family ties, religious affiliation, temperament and psychology—were crucial to the political destinations of individual colonists." Norton concurs: "A number of the 'loyalists' seem to have assumed that guise for reasons unrelated to ideology or independence. They opportunistically chose what they thought would be the winning side, simply to oppose old enemies who had become rebels, or acted almost solely out of economic or political self-interest." Adele Hast, in her essay "Loyalism and Community: The Lower Chesapeake Pocket of Virginia," writes: "For the majority of pro-British supporters, their most striking characteristic was the non-ideological origin of their political choice." See Richard A. Rutyna and Peter C. Stewart, eds., *Virginia in the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (Norfolk, Va.: Old Dominion University, 1977-83), 2:42. For the influence of factors other than ideological on Philadelphia's merchants, see Thomas M. Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760-1775," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d. ser., 40 (1983): 197-226 (hereafter WMQ).
4. Applications for Passes, 1781 and 1782, Supreme Executive Council (hereafter SEC), RG 27, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (hereafter PHMC); Carleton Papers (or British Headquarters Papers, available on microfilm) 4453.
5. Claim of Thomas Badge, Audit Office 12, vol. 38, Public Record Office, London (hereafter PRO).
6. The record is entitled "An Account of the number of Persons who have taken the Oath of Allegiance at Philadelphia from the 30th of September 1777 to the 17th June 1778, being nearly the time the British Troops were in Possession of Philadelphia, with an Account of the number of Deserters from the Rebel Army and Fleet, that came in during that time properly distinguished."
7. SEC Clemency File 1780, RG 27, PHMC; January 3, 1780, *Colonial Records* 12:219; Chester, April 1780, O & T Docket, Rec. Sup. Ct., RG 33, PHMC.
8. Ousterhout, *A State Divided*, pp. 307-313.
9. Oscar J. Harvey, *A History of Wilkes-Barre*, 2 vols. (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: Raeder Press, 1909), 2:926-32; Ernest A. Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara* (Welland, Ontario: Tribune Printing House, 1893), pp. 23-31.
10. Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:932-35; Cruikshank, *Story*, pp. 27-29.
11. Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:935-36; Walter H. Mohr, *Federal Indian Relations, 1774-1788* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933), p. 50.
12. Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:936.
13. Colonial Office Records, Q ser., 13:131, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC); June 24, 1777, *Pennsylvania Archives* (hereafter *Pa. Arch.*), 1st ser., 5:402; Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:938-45; Cruikshank, *Story*, pp. 51-52, 58, 97; Butler letter from Niagara, September 17, 1778, Haldimand Papers, p. 46, PAC.
14. July 6, 1778, *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., 3:189-90; *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., 6:631-39; Julian P. Boyd and Robert J. Taylor, eds., *The Susquehannah Company Papers*, 11 vols. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962-71) 7:45-48; Charles Miner, *History of Wyoming* (Philadelphia: J. Crissey, 1845) pp. 229-45; Butler letter from Lanuwanack, July 8, 1778, Col. Office Records, Q ser., 15:225-27, PAC.
15. Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:975-92, 1020, 1022-23; "Letter of Elisha Harding to Hon. Charles Miner," Wyoming Historical and Geological Society (hereafter WHGS) *Proceedings and*

- Collections* 7(1901): 87-103; letter, John Butler to Lt. Col. Bolton, July 8, 1778, Col. Office Records, Q ser., 15:225-27, PAC.
16. A. H. Van Deusen, "Butler's Rangers," *WHGS Proceedings and Collections* 5 (1900): 12-18; numerous lists at PAC, e.g. MG21, Add. mss. 21765. pp. 24, 25, 58, 59; Horace Edwin Hayden, *The Massacre of Wyoming* (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: WHGS, 1895); Charles Miner, "Echoes of the Massacre of Wyoming," *WHGS Proceedings and Collections* 7 (1901): 78-105; Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre*, vol. 2.
17. "List of Taxable Inhabitants in the Town and County of Westmoreland, State of Connecticut, 1776-1980," *WHGS Proceedings and Collections* 5 (1900): 205-41. See "Persons from the Wyoming Area Who Were Disaffected" at end of this article for names. A re-examination of my research notes produced a few more names than originally given in *A State Divided*.
18. For a good summary of the history of the Wyoming dispute, see the introductions to *The Susquehannah Company Papers*, ed. Julian P. Boyd (vols. 1-4) and Robert J. Taylor (vols. 5-11) (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962-71). My summary of the early Wyoming dispute comes largely from this source, hereafter cited as *Papers*.
19. Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:687-88, 724-25, 813; also introductions to *Papers*, vols. 3, 4, 5.
20. James H. Hutson, *Pennsylvania Politics 1746-1770* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 84-85.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 107.
22. Evans #12507, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania* (Phila.: Henry Miller, 1772), March 6 and 19, 1772, pp. 362, 378.
23. Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:730, 733, 813-17; *Papers*, 6:363; Rev. David Craft, *History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1878), pp. 50, 52; Evans 12507, *Votes and Proceedings* . . . , March 6, 1772, p. 362. John Depue, born in America, had paid for land in the Susquehannah territory with New York money in March 1772. Francis P. Jennings, "The Scandalous Indian Policy of William Penn's Sons: Deeds and Documents of the Walking Purchase," *Pa. Hist.* 37(1970), pp. 20-21, reports that in 1727 a Nicholas Depui had settled near the Delaware Water Gap.
24. *Papers*, 4:308, 5:xxv.
25. *Papers*, 4:305-06, 319.
26. *Papers*, 5:xxv-xxvi.
27. *Papers*, 5:xxxiv.
28. Evans 12507, *Votes and Proceedings* . . . p.382.
29. *Papers*, 6:292-93..
30. *Papers*, 5:xxii.
31. Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre*, 2:649, 658-9, 682. I am grateful to Steven Young (see note #59) for reminding me of these entries in Harvey.
32. For riots on the New York manors, see Sung Bok Kim, *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York: Manorial Society, 1664-1775* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1978) and Evans #13460 "Act for preventing tumultuous and riotous Assemblies in the Places therein mentioned . . ." March 9, 1774.
33. Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:687, 813, 838; *Papers* 4:205-11; 6:346; Evans 12507, *Votes and Proceedings* . . . , January 31 and February 8, 1772, pp. 337-8 and 342.
34. Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:813-14; *Papers* 6:292-93, 320-21.
35. *Papers*, 6: 330, 332, 337-38, 363.
36. *Papers*, 6:320.
37. *Papers*, 6:336.
38. *Papers*, 6:339-40.
39. *Papers*, 6:334.
40. *Papers*, 6:325-26, 345-46; original letter Ellis Hughes to Zebulon Butler, June 25, 1775, Zebulon Butler Papers, WHGS.
41. *Papers*, 6:353-64, 362-63, 366, 367; original letter Eliphet Dyer to Zebulon Butler, October 1, 1775, Zebulon Butler Papers, WHGS.
42. *Papers*, 6:392, note #1, 394, 396-416, 401, note #1, 425, doc. #248; Harvey, *Wilkes Barre* 2:858-62.
43. *Papers* 6:410-11; 7:8-9.
44. Letter, Solomon Secord to James Secord, Zebulon Butler Papers, WHGS; *Papers*, 7:1.
45. March 6, 1776, *Papers of Continental Congress*, No. 69, 1, fol. 101, no. 105-9, Library of Congress.
46. *A Petition Presented by Capt. Alexander Patterson to the Legislature of Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pa.: Robert Bailey, 1804), pp. 14-15.
47. *Papers* 6:355-59; 7:13, 18-20. Roger Sherman (*Papers*, 7:31) reported that the Pennsylvanians had sold the guns and horses, and no record has been found of these items ever being returned.

48. *Papers* 7:10, 33; Miner, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 190, 197-98; Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:912-13, 922.
49. Butler letters from Niagara, March 31, April 8, 1777, and Capt. Lernoult letter from Niagara, April 28, 1777, Col. Office Records, Q ser., 13:131, PAC.
50. Patterson, *Petition*, p. 15; Loy. Tr. 25:412-18; Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:918.
51. April 17, 1777, *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., 14:364-66; Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:948-50; *Post*, July 30, 1778; Miner, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 199-200.
52. "Corps of Rangers to serve with the Indians Commanded by Major John Butler," PAC; Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:939, 948-50; *Papers* 7:36.
53. April 27, 1779, *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., 3:256; August 29, 1780, *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., 8:528.
54. *Pa. Arch.* 2d ser., 15:261, 263, 267, 271.
55. *Pa. Arch.* 2d ser., 15:219-53.
56. *Gazette*, August 28, 1782.
57. Col. Office Records, Q ser., 15:225-27, PAC; Patterson, *Petition*, p. 15; Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:1033-34.
58. Miner, *History of Wyoming*, p. 189. See "Persons From the Wyoming Area Who Were Disaffected" at end of article.
59. Stephen C. Young has made a promising start on such a search in his master's thesis "Loyalism Along the East Branch of the Upper Susquehanna River, 1769-1784," Bowling Green State University, August 1990. At last communication, he indicated that he intended to write a history of Butler's Rangers..
60. Miner, *History of Wyoming*, p. 189; Harvey, *Wilkes-Barre* 2:1020.
61. *Papers* 1:x-xii.
62. *Papers*, 1: xxxii-xxxv.