Viewpoints of a Pennsylvania Loyalist

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON once longed for a questionnaire which could have been posed in 1640 to English immigrants to New England. Similarly, students of the American Revolution can think of countless queries they would like contemporaries of the event to answer. The document which follows is an approach to such a questionnaire, though not, of course, prepared by a historian. From its title it appears to have been submitted to several American Loyalists, but only one set of answers seems to have survived in the Public Record Office (London). These answers were given about 1782 by an unidentified Alsatian Loyalist who had spent the previous two decades as a merchant in Pennsylvania.

For reasons unexplained, the document is endorsed “Intelligence communicated by Enoch Story.” Story was a native-born American who had been an “Exchange Broker” in Philadelphia when the Revolution broke out. Subsequently, he gave assistance to the British army in various ways, was attainted for treason, and in December, 1778, fled to England. Despite accusations that his loyalty had been “Problematical,” Story was granted a yearly pension and seems to have been used several times by Parliament and the ministry as a source of information. What connection, if any, he had with the questions and answers which follow is unknown.

The chief interest of the Alsatian’s answers is their illustration of Loyalist views. For example, he expressed horror at the use of Indians in the war, amazement at the rebel alliance with France, erstwhile the traditional enemy, hatred of New England (including its

1 Builders of the Bay Colony (Boston and New York, 1930), 341.
religion), the fountainhead of the Revolution, and he firmly believed, erroneously in fact, that the vast majority of Americans were Loyalists.

These sentiments are typical of most articulate Loyalists as are the Alsatian's sharply critical opinions of British policy, which form perhaps the most useful parts of the document. He mentioned the awe of British power, but stressed much disillusionment. Like many Americans, he was shocked by the cruel army discipline, which he correctly believed led to desertion. How Washington and his followers contrived to survive was one of the mysteries of the time. The Alsatian believed that the British commanders should have been "more Active," and he also echoed the fairly common cry that war profiteering partly explained their procrastination.  

More important, the Alsatian criticized British strategy for not avoiding "Timidity" and "Cruelty." Asked about the possible cooperation which might be expected from Loyalists once the rebel army was defeated, he replied, with a touch of sarcasm, that civil government must be established at the same time so that "All the People should experience the Generosity and humanity of an English Governm\textsuperscript{t} & an English Army which has not been the case hitherto." Similarly, he urged that unforced "Kindness and friendship" be used rather than "Violence." The harassment of loyal Americans (often to the point of converting them to rebels) by the British army was proverbial, and many Loyalists may have wondered why after long years of occupation New York City still remained under military rule. To be sure, the Southern campaign of 1780-1781 was indeed predicated on the defeat of the rebel army and the establishment of civil government among the putative majority of loyal citizens, but the plan proved a fiasco.  

\footnote{For examples of this last point see \textit{Pennsylvania Gazette}, Jan. 10, 1777; Frederick Smyth to Charles Blagden, Dec. 5, 1781, Blagden Collection, Royal Society, London.}  

\footnote{Wallace Brown, \textit{The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants} (Providence, 1966), 89-90, 138, and passim.}  

\footnote{Paul H. Smith, \textit{Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy} (Chapel Hill, 1964), 106n; Oscar T. Barck, Jr., \textit{New York City during the War for Independence} (New York, 1931), 52, 62-73.}  

The Alsatian emerges as a clear-sighted man who saw the British Empire "warts and all." He disliked much of British military and pacifying policies, he acknowledged that even some of his fellow Loyalists were "of doubtful Characters," but he disliked the upstart Congress even more. The irresponsible rebels, a desperate minority, were ruining America's economy, especially through the foolhardy use of paper money, and, even worse, were destroying the British constitution, which meant "true Liberty," and were foisting a "Tyranny" on the majority of "deluded" Americans. By these last sentiments the Alsatian establishes himself as what I call a "constitutional" Loyalist. That is, like such men as William Smith, the former chief justice of New York, or Joseph Galloway and Samuel Shoemaker, fellow Pennsylvanians, he believed American rights and freedom were most likely to be found within the British Empire whatever the errors of the current ministry.⁷

The Alsatian was mistaken in some of his opinions, but he was an intelligent observer and what he has to say merits serious consideration.

University of New Brunswick

Wallace Brown

Questions Proposed to Mess. A B &c, respecting the State of North America, with regard to their present Politicks, and future Expectations in their connections with France &c ———February 1782.

Questions 1, 2, 3 What Age are you of, where were you born, what your occupation, how long have you lived in America, in what parts have you chiefly and latterly resided, and when did you leave that Country.

Answers I am near Fifty Years of Age, was born in Alsace, have been brought up to Mercantile Business, have lived near twenty Years in America, altogether in the Province of Pennsylvania till September last, when I came to New York, and embarked from thence for London the 15.⁸ December 1782.

⁷ Anthony Mosengeil, a German immigrant to New Jersey, is another example. Loyalist Transcripts, XL, 179; Brown, 278.

⁸ The dating is confusing. The document is headed February, 1782, and concluded London, Feb. 23, 1782. However the respondent says he did not leave New York City until Dec. 15, 1782, and thus he could not have reached England until early 1783. It may be that the pro forma of these questions was made out in February, 1782, and posed at a later date.
Question 4  What number of Inhabitants do you apprehend are now settled, in what is called the thirteen United Colony’s or States of America, from New-Hampshire North to Georgia Southward, distinguishing the Whites from the Blacks, and the Colonys the Negro’s chiefly reside in.

Answer  I apprehend about three Millions, including Blacks, but am not able to determine what may be the number of Blacks.  

Question 5  What number of Indians do you suppose to be settled on, or within One hundred miles of the Frontiers of the Colony’s; And what Colony’s can be most readily attacked by those People upon a presumption that they will take up the Hatchet in favour of Great Britain.

Answer  As I cannot form a conjecture of the number of Indians to my own Satisfaction, I must leave this unanswered, and as I am utterly against using the Indians in the War, because they regard neither Friend or Foe, Young or Old, and making use of them, is to encourage cruelties, and in justice I cannot point out the Colony’s against which they might be Successfully employed.

Question 6  In what Colony’s has the profession of Arms been most attended to, previous to the Year 1773, and in what Colony’s has the Militia Laws been most regularly attended to.

Answer  In the four New England Provinces; the profession of Arms, and the militia Laws have been most regularly attended to.

Questions 7, 8  What was the disposition of the People of America towards England before the Tea Ships arrived there in 1773, and in what estimation did they hold the other powers of Europe, particularly France.

9 As the population in 1780 was probably 2,780,369—see Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, 1960), 756—the estimate is remarkably accurate.

10 Despite the unsavory reputations (not always deserved) of Col. John Butler and others, Loyalists did not usually approve the use of Indians during the war. Several genuine Loyalists admitted having fought “friendly” Indians like the British-allied Creeks on the southern frontier, an act they did not consider treasonous in the way fighting British regulars would be. Loyalist Transcripts, XXVI, 39.

To what causes do you attribute the rise of the present Rebellion in America, and in what Provinces did it first appear, what was the particular Character of the Inhabitants of such Provinces respecting their Religion and moral Conduct, and of what estimation were they, among the other people of the Continent.

**Answers** As far as I could judge, the people of America, were well disposed to Great Britain, until the Stamp Act took place, and afterwards, even to the arrival of the Tea Ships, except many in the New England Provinces, who certainly had before the existence of the Stamp Act, a disposition to shake off the dependence upon England, and made use of the above Act, and the arrival of the Tea Ships, to work up the minds of many in the rest of the Provinces, first to Suspicions, and then to Rebellion; to this, Emissary's from New England, went under the appearance of Emigration, into the rest of the Colony's, and sowed the spirit of Sedition. The Smugglers & people of desperate Fortunes, cryed aloud against an Imaginary Tyrany, and alas, the Pulpits were used to blow up the flame of Rebellion; thus the Contagion spread, and some of the well affected were deluded, never supposing that the contention would end in a Separation. France was looked upon as a perfidious Nation, and after the last war I might say abhorred by all the people of America, not excepting the New England Colony's. As to the other Powers of Europe, they thought but little, but the Smugglers know the value of the Coin of Spain. As to England they had the greatest possible Idea of the power of Gr^ Britain, which alass has been lessened perhaps by the manner of carrying the War. From the above my answers to most of the questions in N.° 8 is contained, As to the character of the New England Colonys among the rest of the Provinces, it was not the best, they were looked upon in general, as designing, over reaching, and in point of Religion, Hypocrites, tho there were undoubtedly, many Honest, worthy & truly religious, Loyal People among them.12

**Question 9** Do you apprehend, that if it had been first known, that a seperation from Great Britain, and compleat Independence

was the Object aimed at by Congress; the People at large would have supported them in such their determination.

\textit{Answer} Certainly not, this will appear from the above, the Congress when first appointed & sometime after, Solemnly disclaimed all Idea of Independ\textsuperscript{ce}, untill they had got all the Civil, Executive & Military Power in their own hands, and established an imaginary fund by the use of Paper, and disarmed the Non Associates, then the Leaders, without any such commission, Yea, contrary to the minds, of by far the Majority of the People, dared to proclaim America Independent and to separate it from Great Britain.

\textbf{Question 10} In what manner has the cultivation of the Provinces been carry'd on during the Rebellion, has it been by plowing and sowing the Land, or rather by Meadow and grazing Grounds, to get Provisions for their Army's.

\textit{Answer} The Cultivation of the Land went on where it was practicable, in its usual Course, But Plowing and sowing was necessarily much less, partly on account of the marching of the Armies where they happened to be, partly by the calling forth so many hands, necessary for the cultivation of the Ground, to the Army, and partly by the spirit of Political debate and gossiping.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Question 11} What situation are the Inhabitants (the Landholders, Farmers and Mechanick's) in, respecting their property, do they go on to cultivate the ground as formerly for the purpose of Exportation, or do they decline a more extensive cultivation than is necessary for the immediate support of their own Family's.

\textit{Answer} They are upon the whole in a wretched situation, the farmers have been obliged to give their Provisions for the supply of the Army, for Paper or Tickets on the Treasury, and in this respect, those suspected to be Friends to Governm\textsuperscript{t} were treated most severely. This was also the case with the Mechanicks. In short the commissarys enriched themselves by putting off the payment to

\textsuperscript{13} The ravaging of the countryside by both sides is well known, and Pennsylvania suffered more than some colonies. See Abel Evans to Joseph Galloway, Nov. 23, 1778, \textit{ibid.}, 295. The loss of manpower was also noted in other areas—for example, by Thomas Vernon in Rhode Island, 1776. \textit{The Diary of Thomas Vernon}, Rhode Island Historical Tracts, No. 13 (Providence, 1881), 44.
Landholders, Farmers & Mechanicks, untill the Continental Curr. was greatly depreciated, and the price of Provisions fixed by their own will, many exerted themselves in cultivating their Lands, hoping to export the Provision to the French and Spaniards, and get hard money in return, but were dissapointed and reduced in such a manner, as to find it difficult to pay their taxes, Militia Fines &c, all this with the depreciation of the paper money, made both Farmers and Mechanicks work hard, and yet much of the Stock remains on hand, as there is no hard money to pay for it.14

**Question 12** What proportion of Cattle Hogs and Horses, remain on the Continent, compared with their number before the Rebellion.

**Answer** I cannot speak with any degree of certainty to this.

**Question 13** Is not the supplying the Rebel Armys with Provisions (Beef, Pork & Bread) become very difficult from the decline of Tillage and raising Stock, and the wages paid to Labourers of all kinds being immensely high.

**Answer** I am of opinion, bad occonomy, has been the cause of want in the Rebel Army, more than from a Scarcity.15

**Question 14** What Colony's produce the greatest quantity of Beef, Pork, Wheat, Indian Corn, and Oats.

**Answer** New England produces the greatest quantity of Beef, Pork, Indian Corn, New York of Pork, Indian Corn & Wheat, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Jerseys and the three lower Countys on Delaware, Wheat, Oats, Indian Corn, but Pennsylvania the best, Virginia, S.° Carolina & Georgia chiefly Indian Corn, N° Carolina can just supply itself with Corn, but raises a great number of lean Cattle, which are sent to Philad$^a$ and other Markets to fatten.

**Question 15** From what Colony's do the Congress procure the greatest number of Recruits for their Army's and what Bounty

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14 Many farmers, not all of them Loyalists, supplied the British in return for specie payment. Loyalist Transcripts, XV, 538.

15 Charles Inglis reported to Joseph Galloway, Dec. 12, 1778, "Even Bread, which no one imagined could ever be scarce in this Country, begins to fail." The Historical Magazine, V (1861), 298.
money and encouragements do they give to people enlisting in the Continental Regular Army's.

Answer Each Colony was ordered to deliver a certain number of recruits to the Continental Army, but the number was never complete but I am of opinion that the New England and Virginia Colony's supply'd their quotas best. The Bounty money was various, it was said that the Marquis De la Fayette when he was marching to Virginia & recruited the French Army, gave Ten hard Dollars Bounty.

Question 16 How are the Continental Army's at present composed, wholly of Regulars, or of part Regulars and part Militia, and in what proportion is the Militia to the Regular Troops.

Answer What is called the Continental Army, consists only of Regulars, but when they are to face the English, they are joined by the Militia, who are by far the most numerous.

Question 17 How are the Militia procured for the Army, is it by certain Assessments from each County or Township, or is it by drafting from the County or Township at large, and for what time do Militiamen in general serve, what Bounty and Privileges are allowed them.

Answer I cannot speak upon this, but only with respect to Pennsylvania, there the Militia are divided into 8 classes, who are to go out by rotation, the Legislature can call out 4 classes at one time, and whoever does not go out, or find A Substitute, is fined enormously, at the Discretion of the Lieutenant of the County and two Justices. The Militia are to serve for 2 months. But a Law has passed with a view to fill up the Continental Army, by which, each County or township, is to raise at their own Expense a certain number of men to serve seven months and they are called 7 months men.

Question 18 Of what numbers do the Continental Army's at present (or when you left America) consist and how were they stationed, who were the Commanders upon the Staff, and who commanded the Militia.

Answer The Continental Army or Army's, were computed to be at the most 12,000. in the field, stationed under Washington,
Grasse & La Fayette &c. the General & field Officer are so numerous that tis hard to know them.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{Question 19} Of what kind of Persons are the Congress at present composed, of what Character, Religion, Moral Conduct, and consequence, with respect to Fortune, Understanding, and Popularity on the Continent.

\textbf{Answer} The present Congress, according to the account and Character given of them in their own News Papers, and by the republican party themselves, are men of no reputation, having no fortunes but what they have raised in those dreadful times upon the ruin of others, if they have any Religion it is of the New England kind, they Cabal amongst themselves, are despised by all sensible Men and even by their Allies the French at whose feet they lay, merely because their case is desperate.\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{Question 20} Are the Resolves and Orders of Congress implicitly Obeyed by the People in general, or are such Resolves enforced by the Army, Do the people look up to Congress as Competent to the present Administration, or do they incline to a New form of Government and other Rulers.

\textbf{Answer} The Resolves and Orders of Congress, do not produce voluntary Obedience from the People at large. The Congress recommend their resolves to the Legislature of each State, and they must Act, if they should be put into execution, the Legislatures are not unanimous among themselves, as the Members have different Interests, & are Jealous of each other, as well as of Congress. But when a Legislature Adopts a resolve of Congress, that resolve is enforced by the Militia.

\textbf{Question 21} Do not the People look up to General Washington almost to Adoration, and is not his power and Influence, sufficient

\textsuperscript{16} The size of the Continental Army fluctuated a good deal, partly because of varying types of enlistment. At the beginning of 1777 it numbered 9,000. John R. Alden, \textit{The American Revolution, 1775-1783} (New York, 1954), 120. In 1781 there were at most 21,000 Americans under arms, including militia. Willard Wallace, \textit{Appeal to Arms: A Military History of the American Revolution} (Chicago, 1964), 227.

\textsuperscript{17} For further unflattering views see Douglas Adair and John A. Schutz, eds., \textit{Peter Oliver's Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion, A Tory View} (San Marino, 1961); \textit{The Royal Gazette} (New York), Mar. 8, 11, 1780, and passim.
to draw out a considerable body of Militia in every Colony on the Continent.

**Answer**  The character of Gen. Washington is Esteemed, *as he is a humane man*, but he is by no means Idolized, except by the Violently factious in the Army, and by the leading men who looked to him for support. *The French pay him the greatest honour and treat him as if he was a Deity*. He has no influence in drawing out any number of militia in any of the Colonys, *except perhaps in Virginia*.

**Question 22**  What is the situation of the Continent in general, with respect to their former condition and dependance on Great Britain, are they in general desirous of being independant on G. Britain, or is there not now in the several Colony's, a great number of Friends to the British Government, who wish to return back under that Government.

**Answer**  The people in general, are in a deplorable situation, they were easy and happy, they are no more so, *many, many thousands are ruined* not only by the burdens of the War, but more so by the perfidious Issuing of the *paper money* and the wicked *Tender Law*, the Eyes of many that were deluded are now opened, and I am confident a great majority thro' the Continent wish to return under the English Government.18

**Question 23**  What is the proportion of Friends to Government, compared to the number of those who approve of Independence and the present Governm in America by Congress and Committees &c.

**Answer**  I am perswaded, *that three fourths of the people in Pennsylvania are friends to the British Government*, and dislike the present Government which they wish to see at an End.19

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18 It was a common Loyalist delusion that few colonists were rebels (Isaac Ogden to Joseph Galloway, Nov. 22, 1778, Balch Papers, New York Public Library), and that the republic would rapidly dissolve in favor of a return to the British Empire. At the beginning of 1784 Jonathan Sewall was reluctantly pessimistic about the future of “the thirteen United Independent States.” George A. Ward, ed., *Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen...* (New York, 1842), 408.

19 Pennsylvania had a reputation for Loyalism at this time about which historians have usually agreed. However, Samuel Curwen, the Massachusetts Loyalist émigré, found Philadelphia uncongenial when he arrived after the battle of Lexington, and generally there is cause to believe that the strength of Pennsylvania Loyalism has been exaggerated. Ward, 26; Brown, 129-153.
Question 24 What number do you apprehend the British Army under the Command of General Clinton at New York only does consist of, distinguishing the German from the British troops. 

Answer I was assured just before I left New York, by German Officers that were there, that there was 15,000 effective men within the British lines, including Staten Island and Long Island. I cannot speak to the numbers of German & English distinctly. 20

Question 25 Are the British and German Soldiery on terms of intimacy and friendship with each other, and how do the Officers British & Hessian agree with each other, and how are each liked by their respective Corps of Rank & file. 

Answer The Officers and Soldiers of both nations are seemingly on good terms, but do not intermix much in private conversation, I have heard the German Soldiers, such as Prisoners and deserters who were in Pennsylvania, and some in actual Service in New York, complain that they were not paid fully, what was allowed by the British Government. some of the English officers treat the Soldiers with too great severity; Yea Cruelty. This seems to me to arise from a want of true discipline. I have heard inhabitants of New York complain, of the inhuman treatment of some Regiments by their officers, and I have been told that some of the men had declared that they wou’d desert to the Rebels by the first opportunity. 21

Question 26 Are the officers and Soldiers of each respective Corps, Zealous in finishing the War, in such manner as to assure to Great Britain the Government of the Colony’s as formerly, or do they wish a continuation of the War for their own Emolument, or do they not wish an end thereto, by the Americans obtaining their Independence.

20 Barck, 75, gives the following estimates of “troops in or near the city”: Aug. 20, 1781—9,686; Dec. 12, 1782—17,207. Macksey, 346, notes 14,285 rank and file fit for duty in New York and Long Island in July, 1780.

21 The Hessians and British troops did not always mix well. In 1778 in New York, General James Robertson advertised an appeal to the city to treat the Hessians decently, offered a reward for the arrest of some sailors who had robbed and knifed three Germans, but also announced that the German commander was making every effort to keep his troops in order. The Royal Gazette, Feb. 21, 1778. Shy, 307–308, notes the shock in Boston at the floggings given to British soldiers.
Answer It is hard to speak positively to this point, the manner in which the Commander in Chief have conducted Affairs have made the Friends of England, Yea, the most imimical Americans to England and the French themselves Conclude, that the Commanders have acted with a view to Continue the War, on account of the great wealth they and the Officers and others employed amass by it—tho' they may hope ultimately when their ends are answered by it, to reduce America to accept of the English Government, or, that they Act as they have done and still do, with an intention, without its appearing to be the case, that America may at last become Independent, but most think that the former is the Case. The Serious in the English & American lines, think that God's judgment is upon both Country's, and the Commanders are struck with Blindness, if one, or other, or all be not the Case, it must be a wonder to all that the War has continued so long.

Question 27 Does the connection with France continue an Object of satisfaction in general, or is it only approved by the Persons at present in Power, to confirm them in Power.
Answer The People in general, Friends and Foes to England, Men in Civil or Military stations in short the people at large (except the Men in power, and who wish to retain that power) dislike totally all Connection with France, and are Jealous of every advantage gained by the French, or by their means.  

Question 28 What number of Loyalists were within the lines at New York, when you came away from thence, what were their expectations and wishes respecting the bringing the Rebellion to an end.
Answer I cannot ascertain the number of Loyalists at New York, there are many, they wish that the Commanders would be more Active, and take steps to bring the Rebellion to an End.

Question 29 Would they the Loyalists, take up Arms under Field Officers of their own choosing, subject to the orders of a Commander in Chief appointed by Great Britain, and one who was active, and who by his Vigorous Conduct, would pursue and rout Washing-

The French alliance does not seem to have been generally popular. James Rivington in his Royal Gazette had a field day over this issue.
ton & his Army, as the first and main Object of quelling the Rebellion.

Answer I believe great numbers would, but it must not be required that they should inlist upon the footing of common Soldiers and they might be useful under a Vigorous Commander, who did not Act with Timidity or Cruelty to quell the Rebellion.23

Question 30 Would not a Commander in Chief, who determined to attack the Grand Rebel Army wherever it was posted, find infinite Succours & resources in the Country thro' which he should pass, by the Loyalists joining him in Arms to establish Civil Government, by disarming the Rebels, and putting Arms into the hands of the Friends to Government.

Answer I believe this would be the case, but Civil Government should be Established, and at the same time that the disaffected and suspected should be disarmed. All the People should experience the Generosity and humanity of an English Government & an English Army which has not been the case hitherto.24

Question 37 Would it not contribute much to encourage the Loyalists (in America,) if such of them, who are here in England upon Pensions, were order'd over to America (say to New York and Carolina) and such of them who are known to have Influence and the Love of the People (Friends to Government,) intrusted with Commissions to raise and Command Company's or Regiments of Americans, or to fill the several Offices in the Commissary, or Quarter Master Generals departments &c, which they should be thought fit for; retaining their Pensions for the support of their Family's, the Female part of which should continue in England, till the Rebellion is over.25

23 Colonel Haldimand complained that each Loyalist volunteer wished "to be considered and paid for as an officer." H. E. Egerton, The Causes and Character of the American Revolution (Oxford, 1923), 164.

24 Reliance on the supposed overwhelming Loyalist support had generally been at the heart of British strategy, particularly in the Southern campaign of 1780-1781. The Alsatian made a valid criticism in stressing the need for civil government. Macksey, 252-254, 338-345; Smith, passim.

25 There was some feeling in England that the Loyalist refugees ought to be back in America fighting the rebels. Many Loyalists who stayed in America shared this feeling. Petition of William Jarvis, Sept. 7, 1784, AO13-41, Public Record Office.
Answer I think this Expedient might be Salutary but as I am unacquainted with almost all the Americans in England, I cannot speak personally—great care should be taken not to send any over, who are of doubtfull Characters, or have rendered themselves Objects of hatred or abhorrence to the Americans, by their past Conduct, And those who go, should seek to make their Countrymen willing to submit, more by kindness and friendship than by force of Arms and Acts of Violence.26

Question 32 Upon the whole, what method or mode of conducting the War by Land and Sea, do you think the most likely to accomplish the end of finishing the Rebellion, upon the liberal Principle, of allowing the Americans, all the Freedom of Englishmen, at the same time that it gives to Great Britain, all the Power, Superintendence, and regulation of the Government there, which is necessary for her, as Supreme head of the Empire, and for the Americans, as Freemen and Loyal Loving Subjects?

Answer Totally as I dislike War, and as little as I look upon myself capable of giving a decided opinion upon this Question which is of great importance; Yet I will venture to say something. Great Britain should not shew a Disposition to Despondency or a want of resource, these two Symptoms, which have appeared in the Speeches of too many in both Houses of Parliament and the Apparent Timidity of Ministry have strengthened more the disloyal in America, than the Alliance with France. Great Britain should make preparation and send over a fleet and Army sufficient to make a push against New England, which tho’ the Source of Rebellion, has alone enjoyed Peace, and reaped advantages from the distress of the other Colony’s, and if possible get a firm footing there.

Great Britain should, whenever her Army’s Advanced, and God crowned her with Success, hold out the Olive branch, not as the Effect of necessity, but of Generosity and Love to their American Brethren, should tell America without reserve upon what Conditions they might be reunited. And without standing upon Punctillio’s, shew

26 This answer (cf. answer 32d) illustrates Britain’s fatal dilemma. A firm but kind policy to win over the loyal mass meant a very limited war, one reason for Loyalist complaints of British timidity, and any encouragement of Loyalist zealots, like John Butler or James Moody, would lessen the prospect of reconciliation.
the spirit of England, is to Establish true Liberty, to renounce Tyranny, tho’ intent upon good Order, and opposite to Licentiousness.

I am now about to leave England and its Empire perhaps for Life, but I love this Country and its Government, and also America, I Pray God to shew Mercy to Great Britain and America, and soon to bring the deluded People in America to a hearty Union with the Mother Country and to Establish Peace.\textsuperscript{27}

London, 23 Feb.\textsuperscript{iv} 82.

\textsuperscript{27} Loyalist disillusionment with Lord North’s ministry was probably surpassed by the shock of discovering much British sympathy for the rebels. L. F. S. Upton, ed., \textit{The Diary and Selected Papers of Chief Justice William Smith, 1784–1793} (Toronto, 1963), I, lili, 53.