

THE BRITISH AND THE BLACKS

"Our non-emancipated soldiers are almost irresistibly tempted to desert to our foes, who never fail to employ them against us."

Antibiastes (pseudonym), *Observations on the Slaves, and Indented Servants in the Army, and in the Navy of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1777 (broadside).

"Man is a want of the most serious nature," wrote a British lieutenant commander in April 1780 from Wappoo Creek,¹ a strait to the west of James Island and facing Charleston across the Ashley River. England's need for men, apparent as early as Dunmore's abortive campaign, worsened as the war dragged on. At home His Majesty's government at first tried to raise troops by voluntary enlistment, going so far as to pardon criminals who would consent to serve in the army. But the pay of a soldier was poor, the army had a reputation for harsh discipline, and the war was not popular with the humble class of Englishmen from which enlistments came. German mercenaries totaling some thirty thousand, and Indian allies on the frontier by no means filled England's manpower needs.

The use of Negroes had been contemplated from the first threat of trouble. Five months before Dunmore issued his call to the slaves, General Gage had considered raising the Negroes in the British cause. He took no action on this score, heeding the admonition of Lord William Campbell who advised him not to "fall a prey to the Negroes."² His hesitation arose from the fact that the military employment of Negroes was no more

1. James Duncan to George K. Elphinstone, Apr. 9, 1780, W. G. Perrin and Christopher Lloyd, eds., *The Keith Papers*, 3 vols. (London, 1926-55), I, 163.

2. Gage to Viscount Barrington, June 12, 1775, Carter, ed., *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, II, 684; Campbell to Gage, Aug. 9, 1775, Gage MSS, Amer. Ser., Clements Lib.

popular in England than the later use of Hessian troops. In London in October 1775, at a meeting called by public advertisement, a group of "Gentlemen, Merchants and Traders" addressed a petition to King George informing him that they viewed with indignation and horror all reports about slaves being incited to insurrection against "our American brethren."³ As it turned out, however, the attitudes of the British public merely obliged commanders in America to do what necessity required without saying anything about it. For use Negroes they must; the war brought realities of its own. Slaves represented a badly needed labor supply, and recruiting them to the British side would deprive the Americans of much of their strength, particularly in the South.

These elemental facts were quite visible to American loyalists and British informants on the scene. "Their property (slaves) we need not seek," wrote youthful spy John André, "it flies to us and famine follows."⁴ "The Negroes may be all deemed so many Intestine Enemies, being all slaves and desirous of Freedom," wrote Joseph Galloway to the Earl of Dartmouth in January 1778. Five months later Galloway sent Dartmouth a statistical analysis of America's manpower resources, pointedly adding "that in the class of fighting men among the Negroes, there are no men of Property, none whose attachments would render them averse to the bearing of Arms against the Rebellion."⁵

Loyalists continued to emphasize that with its numerous Negroes, the Southern states were especially vulnerable. The two Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland, could be kept in a state of apprehension over having their slaves armed against them, wrote Jonathan Boucher in November 1775 to the secretary of state for the Colonies.⁶ In similar vein Moses Kirkland pointed out that in the Southern states "the principal resources for the Rebellion are drawn from the labour of an

3. *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 1011.

4. John André, "Suggestions for regaining dominion over the American colonies," undated, but in 1780 shortly after May 12, Clinton Papers, Clements Lib.

5. Galloway to Dartmouth, Jan. 23, 1778, Stevens, ed., *Facsimiles*, XXIV, Nos. 2079, 2098.

6. Boucher to Germain, Nov. 27, 1775, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report of the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville*, 2 vols. (London, 1904-10), II, 19.

credible multitude of Negroes." He predicted that the instant the King's troops set foot in these colonies the slaves would be ready to rise against their masters, and compel them to flee to the interior.⁷

This point of view won some official support in England. As early as October 1775 Lord North informed King George that three of the American provinces were in a "perilous situation" because of the great number of slaves in proportion to whites.⁸ In 1778 when the British shifted the brunt of the war to the Southern theatre, the presence of Negroes was a factor in determining their strategy. In March 1778 Germain advised Henry Clinton to split South Carolina in two, separating the back region from the seacoast. This would isolate the low country planters, he said, forcing them either to lay down their arms or face the equally grim prospect of abandoning, or being abandoned by, their slaves.⁹

With the southward shift of military operations, the British no longer tried to conceal their intention to make the utmost use of Negroes. Commander-in-Chief Clinton on June 30, 1779, issued a policy statement from his headquarters at Philipsburg in upper Westchester County, New York. He began by placing the onus for the proclamation on the Americans. Inasmuch, he said, as they had adopted the practice of enrolling Negroes among their troops, he ordered that whenever captured by the British, Negro soldiers or auxiliaries be purchased for the public service. The Philipsburg announcement then proceeded to forbid any person from selling or claiming any enemy-owned slave who had taken refuge in the British lines. And, finally, the proclamation promised every Negro who deserted from an enemy master full security to follow any occupation he wished while in the British lines.¹⁰

Unlike the similar announcement by Lord Dunmore some

7. "Moses Kirkland to His Majesty's Commissioners, Oct. 21, 1778," Clinton Papers, Clements Lib.

8. North to King George, Oct. 15, 1775, John W. Fortescue, ed., *The Correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to December 1783*, 6 vols. (London, 1927-28), III, 266.

9. Germain to Clinton, Mar. 8, 1778, Stevens, ed., *Facsimiles*, XI, No. 1062.

10. The original proclamation may be found in the Clinton Papers. Rivington's *Royal Gazette* carried the proclamation in every issue from July 3, 1779, through Sept. 25, 1779; from the latter date to Dec. 1, 1779 it ran the proclamation sporadically.

three years previously, the Philipsburg proclamation attracted little notice. True, the *Boston Evening Post* informed Clinton that in publishing Negro recruiting proclamations he had exceeded even his former disgrace; a New York newspaper accused him of scheming to use the refugee Negroes to increase his personal fortune,¹¹ and the *New Jersey Journal* carried a sonnet with the concluding lines:

A proclamation oft of late he sends
To thieves and rogues, who only are his friends;
Those he invites; all colours he attacks,
But deference pays to *Ethiopian blacks*.¹²

But Clinton's proclamation aroused no general outcry in America. "I have long expected some notice from authority would have been taken of that insulting and villainous proclamation," wrote a soldier correspondent to a New York weekly.¹³ But the indignant private need not have been surprised. By the summer of 1779 American commanders themselves were using Negroes on a considerable scale, and the open disclosure that the enemy was attempting the same thing was not shocking nor even new—the British had been employing Negroes since the outbreak of hostilities. Hence, the proclamation had no propaganda value for home-front consumption, nor could it be exploited for any effect upon public opinion in the capital cities of continental Europe. Silas Deane and Franklin had seized upon Dunmore's earlier proclamation in an effort to influence France to assist the Americans.¹⁴ But a Franco-American alliance had been signed early in 1778, and after that it was a pointless exercise in diplomacy to charge England with inciting slaves to rise against their masters.

Many slaves who came into British hands were merely victims of military force. By seizing slaves the British army in-

11. *Boston Evening Post*, Nov. 13, 1779; *New York Packet*, Nov. 18, 1779, quoted in Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York, 1866), II, 176.

12. *New Jersey Journal*, July 20, 1779, quoted in "Poems of the American Revolution, 1779-1782," undated and unbound collection in N.-Y. Hist. Soc.

13. *New York Packet*, Nov. 18, 1779, Moore, *Diary of Amer. Rev.*, II, 176.

14. Silas Deane, "Memoir to induce France to Engage in a War with Great Britain, December 31, 1776," Stevens, ed., *Facsimiles*, VI, No. 607; American Commissioners to the Count de Vergennes, Jan. 5, 1777, "Memoir concerning the present State of the late British Colonies in North America," *ibid.*, No. 614.

creased its resources and depleted those of the enemy. When major campaigns shifted to the South after 1778, the loss of slaves in Virginia and South Carolina was severe. British depredations in Virginia, which had begun with the Lord Dunmore incident, were resumed on a larger scale. In the late spring of 1779, the British took 500 Negroes in Norfolk County alone.¹⁵ Shortly afterwards, General Edwards left Virginia to rejoin Clinton in New York, taking with him 518 Negroes, comprised of 256 men, 135 women, and 127 children.¹⁶ South Carolina had suffered losses since the beginning of the war. By August 1776 the British had taken "many hundreds" of Negroes.¹⁷ In 1781 General Sumter reported that the country around the Broad River had been stripped of Negroes and horses.¹⁸ Georgia also was plundered of slaves. A Savannah merchant and planter complained bitterly about the raids of British "banditti" who crossed the border from East Florida to steal horses and Negroes.¹⁹ In 1779 an English officer returning to General Prevost's headquarters at Ebenezer brought with him 300 Negroes whom he had "carried off."²⁰

Many more slaves, however, voluntarily deserted to the British. They had no particular love for England, but they believed that the English officers would give them their freedom. Like a lamp unto his feet, the lure of freedom led the slave to the camps of Clinton and Cornwallis. According to the Lutheran clergyman Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the belief that a British victory would bring freedom was said to be almost universal in slave society.²¹

Slaves had been running away a century and a half before the Revolution, but what in peacetime was a rivulet became in wartime a flood. Above the Mason-Dixon line most of the

15. John Tazewell to Thomas Burke, June 4, 1779, *ibid.*, XIV, 308.

16. Return of persons who came off from Virginia with General Edward Mathew in the Fleet, Aug. 24, 1779, Guy Carleton Papers (photostats), N. Y. Pub. Lib. Hereafter cited as Carleton photostats.

17. Henry Laurens to John Laurens, Aug. 14, 1776, Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens*, 446.

18. Sumter to Greene, Apr. 25, 1781, *Charleston Year Book*, 1899, II.

19. Joseph Clay to Henry Laurens, Sept. 9, 1778, "Letters of Joseph Henry, 1776-1793," *Ga. Hist. Soc., Coll.*, 8 (1913), 106.

20. "Miscellaneous Collection," Box 1779-1780, Clinton Papers, Clements Lib.

21. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, trans., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, 3 vols. (Phila., 1942-58), III, 78.

runaway slave advertisements pointed out that the absconding blacks would in all likelihood try to reach the British. A Massachusetts master, offering a \$50.00 reward for his slave, Diamond, mentioned that the latter had been heard to say that he was going to Newport, then held by His Majesty's warships. Diamond took with him a violin of which he was fond, although he was "a miserable performer." A Trenton runaway, Jack, "who has a down look and is a great liar," was bent on joining the enemy, reported a New Jersey journal. Advertising for his slave, Moses, a Burlington master expressed the hope that every American would be on the lookout for the runaway because he had been trying to induce other Negroes to join him in fleeing to the British army. A New York newspaper notice about Pomp, an escaped slave of Comfort Sands of Poughkeepsie, stated that it was to be expected that he was on his way to the enemy.²²

The South, however, was naturally the scene of the great majority of runaway attempts. "A great many Negroes goes to the Enemy," wrote a military officer at Murfree's Landing in North Carolina.²³ Such a dispatch was common below the Potomac, for in this section slaves were numerous and they had two avenues of escape: by land and by sea.

Perhaps nearly three-quarters of the slaves who escaped to the British made their way on foot, but others took advantage of the numerous waterways that criss-crossed the low county regions. The Chesapeake Bay tributaries were particularly inviting to slaves who plotted escape. Seacoast Maryland masters wrote doleful letters to Annapolis. On September 29, 1780, a Saulsbury resident informed Governor Thomas Sim Lee that a number of Negroes had gone on board the enemy boats which had penetrated some twenty miles up the river. On the next day the correspondent penned another warning: "If a stop is not put to these Crusers I am Convinced all our most Valuable Negroes will run away."²⁴ A few months later another citizen

22. *Boston Gazette*, Oct. 27, 1777; *New Jersey Gazette* (Trenton), July 11, 1781; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1776, in Kull, *New Jersey in the Revolution*, I, 196; *New York Packet and American Advertiser* (New York), Sept. 2, 1779, in Helen W. Reynolds, "The Negro in Dutchess County in the Eighteenth Century," *Dutchess County Historical Society, Yearbook*, 26 (Poughkeepsie, 1941), 94.

23. Hardy Murfree to Abner Nash, Nov. 1, 1780, Clark, ed., *State Rec. of N. C.*, XV, 138.

24. *Arch. of Md.*, XLV, 125, 129.

had similar distressing news for the Governor: since the time the British ships anchored off St. Mary's, wrote Robert Armstrong, many Negroes had fled from that neighborhood. The conduct of the slaves on the night the British were at St. Mary's convinced Colonel Richard Barnes that the "greatest part of them" would take flight if given the chance.²⁵ Moved by these warnings, the Council of Maryland on June 12 advised the lower house to pass special legislation to protect the legal title and property rights of proprietors whose slaves had run away, such legislation being necessary because of "the Facility with which they abandon the Service of their Masters who live on the Waters."²⁶

Along the lower Chesapeake the story was the same, as a few typical instances may indicate. In February 1777 British ships in the Bay had taken on board "about 300" Negroes from Gloucester, Lancaster and Northumberland.²⁷ A master on the Potomac River had taken the precaution of locking his boat in a barn, but it availed him little. A group of Negroes forced open the door, carried the boat to the water, and twenty-one of them sailed away—fifteen men, two women, and four children.²⁸

Not always were the attempts so successful. Of four Hampton slaves who tried to reach the British man of war *St. Albans* in December 1777, two never made it; theirs was a James River grave. Three Norfolk slaves took refuge on a British vessel only to have it soon fall into American hands.²⁹ On a midnight in the spring of 1776 four Negroes in Stafford County, South Carolina, surprised John and Ralph Grissell as they lay drowsing in a small schooner. Hearing noises the Grissells shouted, "Who's there?" The answer came: "Don't speak or the worse shall come to you." The Grissells were kept in the hatch until the boat reached the Potomac. Here they were summoned on deck and ordered to chart the course, the slaves not being familiar with the waters of the Chesapeake. The tables

25. Robert Armstrong to Lee, Jan. 26, Barnes to Thomas Sim Lee, Mar. 25, 1781, *ibid.*, XLVII, 39, 148.

26. *Ibid.*, XLV, 473.

27. Richard Graham to Leven Powell, Feb. 20, 1777, "The Leven Powell Correspondence," *John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College*, I (1902), 123.

28. *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette* (Baltimore), Dec. 30, 1777.

29. *Ibid.*; James Madison and Theodorick Bland to Thomas Jefferson, Jan. 25, 1781, *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I, 455.

were soon turned. The Grissells steered the schooner into a Maryland port where the Negroes were taken into custody.³⁰

Hardly less vulnerable than the Chesapeake Bay region was coastal Georgia, with its nearness to British-held East Florida. Half a year before the Declaration of Independence, the officers of the British men-of-war at Tybee Island off Savannah were encouraging slaves to come aboard, and by the middle of March 1776, between 190 and 200 slaves had responded to the invitation.³¹ Four months later the Council of Safety spoke feelingly of the losses to East Georgia inhabitants from the "ravages of British cruisers" which daily inveigled and carried away their black servitors.³² So great was the flood of Negroes into East Florida that Governor Patrick Tonyn had some misgivings; to his superiors in London he sent word that he had formed militia companies to be used to check any American invasion and "in keeping in awe the Negroes who multiply amazingly."³³

Some individuals lost heavily by the capture or desertion of their slaves. In Virginia John Bannister of Holt's Forge was plundered of eighty-two of his best Negroes, including all the skilled laborers. Governor Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, lost thirty of "my finest slaves."³⁴ In the spring of 1781 British privateers took thirty Negroes from Charles Carter's plantation at Cole Point in Westmoreland. Two months later William Lee was deprived of sixty-five slaves, of whom forty-five were skilled laborers. Two of Lee's Chantilly neighbors "lost every slave they had in the world."³⁵ A professor of medicine at William and Mary was in nearly the same condition: "he has no small servants left, and but two girls," wrote St. George Tucker to his wife. Tucker's letter contained other distressing news about Williamsburg

30. "Virginia Legislative Papers," *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, 15 (1908), 296.

31. Lachlan McIntosh to George Washington, Mar. 8, 1776, Sparks, ed., *Letters to Washington*, I, 167; Gibbes, ed., *Doc. Hist. Amer. Rev.*, I, 266.

32. *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 7.

33. Tonyn to Germain, Oct. 30, 1776, Edgar L. Pennington, "East Florida in the American Revolution, 1775-1778," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 9 (1930), 30.

34. Campbell, ed., *Bland Papers*, II, 74; Harrison to George Clinton, Dec. 19, 1783, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, VI, 431n.

35. Henry Lee, Sr., to Thomas Jefferson, Apr. 9, 1781, *ibid.*, V, 392; Richard H. Lee to Washington, Sept. 17, 1781, Sparks, ed., *Letters to Washington*, III, 410; Richard H. Lee to William Lee, July 15, 1781, Ballagh, ed., *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, II, 242.

residents: "Poor Mr. Cocke was deserted by his favorite man Clem; and Mrs. Cocke, by the loss of her cook, and is obliged to have resource to her neighbors to dress her dinner for her. They have but one little boy—who is smaller than Tom—left to wait on them within doors."³⁶

Among the South Carolina masters who suffered sizeable losses was Arthur Middleton of Charleston, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Four months before he wrote his name on the document, some fifty of his Negroes had deserted him. William Hazzard Wigg in 1780 lost eighty-eight "prime" Negroes and eight "inferior" ones. In the same year Rawlins Lowndes complained that when Charleston fell, seventy-five of his best Negroes disappeared. Lowndes explained his plight to James Simpson, the British Attorney General of South Carolina: "Consider one moment, Sir, the feelings of a man in this condition, used hitherto to all the Comforts and Conveniences of Life, and now divested in the most pressing Exigency even of the use of a Horse."³⁷

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The number of Negroes who fled to the British ran into the tens of thousands. The figure was high, but not nearly as high as it might have been. Why individual Negroes who had the opportunity to flee did not take it can only be conjectured, but whatever their reasons, some showed an undeniable reluctance to enter the royal forces. When the British evacuated Boston in March 1776 they tried to persuade Scipio Fayerweather to join them, and when he refused, they pulled down his Belknap Street house and destroyed £30 worth of furniture.³⁸ A British officer in Rhode Island expressed surprise in 1778 that relatively few Negroes had joined the king's troops, although they had been promised pay and provisions.³⁹ There may have been many, like Scipio, who were free Negroes and had something to lose.

36. St. George Tucker to Fanny Tucker, July 11, 1781, Charles W. Coleman, "The Southern Campaign, 1781," *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 7 (1881), 207.

37. Gibbes, ed., *Doc. Hist. Amer. Rev.*, I, 266; "Wm. Hazzard Wigg—Claim for Slaves taken by the British in the Revolutionary War," House of Representatives, *Reports of Committees*: 36th Congress, 1st session (1860), report No. 471, Apr. 20, 1860, 96; Rawlins Lowndes to James Simpson, May 20, 1780, Clinton Papers, Clements Lib.

38. Revolutionary Rolls Coll., CLXXX, 416-17, Mass. Arch.

39. *Diary of Frederick Mackensie*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1930), II, 326.

Some slaves who did not go over to the British doubtless thought a change might not improve their lot, reasoning that it was better to trust the devil they knew. Negroes could not fail to note one obvious fact: many confirmed Tories as well as British sympathizers were slaveholders. Numbered among the king's friends in New York, South Carolina and Georgia were owners of large, slave-worked estates and plantations. To the most unobservant field hand it must have been plain that England had not the remotest idea of making the war a general crusade against slavery, especially since so many of her loyalist supporters would have protested bitterly.⁴⁰ Indeed some of the Negroes who found themselves under the British flag were slaves of Tory masters who had fled their landed estates but who had no intention of relinquishing their black hands.⁴¹

When, in such cases, Negroes questioned the advantage of changing masters, they were governed by lack of confidence in the British rather than hostility to them. Few Negroes based their actions on personal animus toward the rulers and people of England. Almost in a class by itself is the case of a Negro trader, Jean Baptiste Point Sable, the first permanent settler on the present site of Chicago, whom the British arrested in 1779 at the site of Michigan City. Charged with being anti-British, Sable had his trading stations on the Lake Michigan shore raided and his goods confiscated.⁴² Possibly Sable had been personally cool toward the British—his father was French.

Perhaps some Negroes chose not to go with the British because of a passionate belief in the American cause. Although a slave and born in Africa, Mark Starlins (self-styled "Captain"), a James River pilot, appears to have been deeply inspired by patriotic feeling.⁴³ Less lofty was the patriotism of a Negro like Pompey who challenged to mortal combat one Jem, who had charged that Pompey's fiancée, Phillis, had been overly friendly

40. On England's sensitivity to the slaveholding interests of her supporters in the United States and in the West Indies, see Herbert Aptheker, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York, 1940), 20-21.

41. For example of Tories fleeing to West Florida in 1776 with the number of slaves held by each, see Cecil Johnson, "Expansion in West Florida, 1770-1779," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, 20 (1934), 494.

42. Thomas Bennett to A. S. DePeyster, Aug. 9 and Sept. 1, 1779, Reuben Gold Thwaites, "The British Regime in Wisconsin, 1760-1800," *State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections*, 18 (1908), 395, 399.

43. "The Schooner Patriot," *Va. Hist. Reg.*, 1 (1848), 129-31.

with British officers during the occupation of Philadelphia. Pompey and Jem met on the field of honor, exchanging a brace of balls before their seconds interposed.⁴⁴

Some slaves may have been deterred from flight by ties of sentiment, having formed an attachment to the people and places of long familiarity. Such a sentiment may account for the action of field hand Nicholas of Kent County, Delaware. When his master's plantation was raided in August 1781, Nicholas rode rapidly to Dover to give the alarm whereas he might easily have gone off with the enemy, as had Isaac, valet to their master.⁴⁵

A few proprietors could speak proudly of the devotion of their black retainers. As of August 14, 1776, not a single one of Henry Laurens's slaves had tried to desert him. They loved him "to a man," holding themselves in readiness to flee from the British if they appeared.⁴⁶ A Chesapeake Bay master had a similar experience: "I think our negroes on the island have given proof of their attachment," wrote Charles Carroll from Annapolis to his father. "They might have gone off if they had been so disposed."⁴⁷ In the summer of 1781 Fanny Tucker at her plantation near Farmville, Virginia, was much gratified to find out that despite the presence of some nine hundred British light horse in the neighborhood, her servants were every bit as faithful as she could have wished.⁴⁸ When General William Moultrie returned to his South Carolina plantation in September 1782 he was deeply moved by his reception as he stood on the piazza to greet his slaves: "Every one came an took me by the hand, saying, God Bless you, massa! we glad for see you, massa! and every now and then some one would come out with a "ky!" . . . The tears stole from my eyes and ran down my checks. . . . I then possessed about 200 slaves, and not one of them left me during the war, although they had great offers."⁴⁹

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44. *Pa. Packet*, in *Boston Evening Post*, Feb. 20, 1779.

45. J. H. Powell, "John Dickinson, President of the Delaware State 1781-1782," *Delaware History*, 1 (1946), 3.

46. Laurens to John Laurens, Aug. 14, 1776, Frank Moore, *Materials for History Printed from Original Manuscripts* (New York, 1861), 19.

47. Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll, Apr. 11, 1781. Carrollton MSS, Md. Hist. Soc., Baltimore.

48. Fanny Tucker to St. George Tucker, July 15, 1781, Mary H. Coleman, *St. George Tucker: Citizen of No Mean City* (Richmond, 1938), 65.

49. Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, II, 355-56.

Although masters may have been touched by the loyalty of slaves who stayed in their places, the Americans who fought England were not disposed to sit with folded hands and depend upon the faithfulness or inertia of the slaves. From the time of the Dunmore scare, the Americans had taken steps to prevent slave flights to the enemy. Military commanders were anxious to thwart the British aim of building up a valuable black labor supply; civilian officials in the South were equally anxious to prevent the loss of a property which formed the base of individual wealth and regional prosperity. On the plantation the slave was not only the field hand working the crops; he was also the skilled laborer—the carpenter, blacksmith, shoemaker, weaver, spinner, and even the distiller.⁵⁰ Hence both military and civilian authorities sought to prevent loss of Negroes to the British either by desertion or capture.

Army commanders sensed the importance of American military prestige as factors in keeping the slaves in line. "Your dominion over the black is founded on opinion," wrote General Charles Lee to Richard Henry Lee in early April 1776, "if this opinion fails your authority is lost." Therefore, continued Lee, he was hopeful of "Drawing down some battalions" for the defense of Williamsburg and York. A week later, in giving instructions to an officer going to South Carolina, Lee made the point that Charleston was to be defended to the hilt because "in Slave Counties so much depends on opinion, and the opinion which the slave will entertain of our superiority or inferiority will naturally keep pace with our maintaining or giving ground."⁵¹

Lee soon furnished concrete evidence of his determination to give no ground, ordering on April 23 that all Negroes capable of bearing arms be "secured immediately and sent up to Norfolk."⁵² At Suffolk one of Lee's subordinates took forthright action of another kind. To prevent slave flights Colonel Isaac Read detached twenty-five men to examine the coves of the Nansemond and Chuckatuck rivers, removing all the small craft. The detail was instructed to destroy any boat whose owner re-

50. On this whole point see Leonard Price Stravisky, "Negro Craftsmanship in Early America," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 54 (1948-49), 315-25.

51. Lee to Richard H. Lee, Apr. 5, 1776, "Instructions to Brigadier General Armstrong," Apr. 10, 1776, Lee Papers, I, 379, 410, Houghton Lib., Harvard Univ.

52. Lee to John P. G. Muhlenberg, Apr. 23, 1776, *ibid.*, 445.

fused to yield it up for removal—a painful duty but one which the detail did not shirk.⁵³

Virginia's Navy Board lent its assistance. In February 1777 the Board ordered the commanders of four of the state galleys to cruise in the Wicomico, Potomac and Rappahannock rivers to prevent Negroes from going on board British ships. Similar measures were taken in the upper Chesapeake Bay: "I have posted guards at the most Convenient places to prevent the Negroes from going to the Enemy & Secur'd all Boats & Canoes," wrote the ranking officer of the Anne Arundel County militia.⁵⁴

Commanders below Virginia took equal precautions. In South Carolina General Marion ordered his subordinates to see to it that no Negroes traveled anywhere without a pass signed by him or some other officer commanding a detachment in the Continental service.⁵⁵ Some generals made it clear that a close check was to be kept on impressed or hired bondmen. In South Carolina late in 1781, General Otho H. Williams ordered that the road between Ferguson's Mills and Orangeburgh be repaired as quickly as possible in order that the slaves who were working on it have fewer days in which to attempt an escape. Just as soon as the road was repaired the laborers were to be marched back to their masters under military guard.⁵⁶ At Camp Howe, Georgia, where two companies of Negroes were employed in May 1778, the roll had to be called morning, noon and night, and an immediate report filed if anyone were missing. Overseers were required to encamp near enough to the slaves to discourage their desertion at night.⁵⁷

Civilian authorities, alone or in concert with military officers, took various steps to keep Negroes from swelling the enemy ranks. The Boston Committee of Correspondence Inspection and Safety in March 1778 committed to jail a slave, Middleton, who was suspected of planning to run off to the

53. Read to Lee, Apr. 7, 1776, *ibid.*, 390.

54. Navy Board to John Calvert, Feb. 8; Navy Board to James Markham and William Saunders, Feb. 12, 1777, "Excerpts from the Letter Book of the Navy Board," *The Researcher*, 1 (Richmond, 1927), 207, 2 (1927), 15; John Weems to James Brice, Mar. 21, 1781, *Arch. of Md.*, XLVII, 140.

55. Marion to Horry, Mar. 10, 1782, Gibbes, ed., *Doc. Hist. Amer. Rev.*, III, 267.

56. Williams to Capt. Linde, Dec. 7, 1781, Williams Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

57. "Order Book of Samuel Elbert, Colonial and Brigadier General in the Continental Army, October 1776 to November 1778," *Ga. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 5, pt. 2 (1901), 154.

British.⁵⁸ New York state had its Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies, which made it a business to apprehend Negroes who tried to reach the British, often giving a cash reward to their captors. On one occasion the Commission took into custody six slaves who confessed they had plotted to go to Canada.⁵⁹ In Maryland the Council of Safety ordered militia companies to keep guard "in the most proper places" to prevent slaves or servants from boarding the British ships of war.⁶⁰ In August 1777 the Virginia Council decreed that in every county which had navigable waters the county lieutenant collect and put under guard all boats which Negroes might use to escape. Officers of the state army and navy were ordered to assist in carrying out the measure.⁶¹

North Carolina, with fewer good waterways than her neighbors, resorted mainly to patrols. In June 1775 the Safety Committee of New Hanover County appointed guards to search for and seize "all kinds of arms whatsoever" which Negroes might possess. In 1779 the assembly strengthened its Negro patrol law of 1753 by giving rewards to those who served as searchers. Those who took the job of making a monthly descent upon the Negro quarters in search of guns and other weapons would receive a tax cut and be exempt from road work, militia duty, and jury service.⁶²

South Carolina's approach to the problem of the blacks who might succumb to the blandishments of the British was many-sided. In the early months of the Revolution when trouble was brewing but the open break had not come, the Council of Safety took steps to cut off the food supply to British ships which harbored runaways. After an angry exchange of letters with Ed-

58. Robert Templeton to Committee, Mar. 6, 1778, *Mass. Arch.*, CLXVIII, 195.

59. V. H. Paltsits, ed., *Minutes of the Commissioner for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York: Albany County Sessions, 1778-1781*, 2 vols. (Albany, 1909), II, 704. For instances of slaves seized while en route to the British see *Minutes of the Committee and of the First Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, December 11, 1776-September 23, 1778*, 2 vols., *N.-Y. Hist. Soc., Coll.*, 57 (1924), I, 70, 178, 202, 279.

60. Journal of the Council of Safety, June 23, 25, 1776, *Arch. of Md.*, XI, 511, 517.

61. *Off. Letters of Govs. of Va.*, I, 177.

62. Clark, ed., *State Rec. of N. C.*, X, 25. *Public Acts of General Assembly of North-Carolina*, 281.

ward Thornborough, captain of the sloop of war, *Tamar*, the Council voted in December 1775 to stop provisioning vessels which gave asylum to Negroes fleeing from their masters. "We have daily complaints," wrote Council President Henry Laurens, "from inhabitants on the sea-coast of robberies and depredations committed on them by white and black armed men from on board some of the ships under your command." A month later when the British men of war left Charleston waters they carried with them "a very considerable number" of Negroes.⁶³

Checking on the crews of out-going vessels was another tactic employed by South Carolinians. Early in 1776 the Council learned that five Negroes had been secreted aboard a Spanish snow docked at Charleston. The Council ordered that the ship's clearance papers be withheld until the fugitives were delivered up. A crew from the schooner *Defence* boarded and searched the Spanish boat and found the Negroes, one of whom had been "very artfully concealed." Upon examination the colored men declared that they had been induced to join the ship's crew by a promise of £100 a month wages, plus clothing, "good usage" while aboard ship, and freedom when they arrived in Spain.⁶⁴

Late in February 1776 the Council ordered a militia captain to take thirty-four Catawba Indians and make a scouting expedition to catch runaway Negroes in the parishes of St. George, Dorchester, St. Paul, and St. Bartholemew.⁶⁵ A few weeks earlier the Council advised the authorities in Christ Church Parish to arrest a Negro, Tom, for attempting to influence other slaves to desert to the British.⁶⁶ What South Carolinians expected of their slaves was expressed by General Robert Howe who, in February 1777, suggested to the president of Congress the advisability of keeping seven to eight thousand regular troops stationed in the state to control the "numerous black domestics who would undoubtedly flock in multitudes to the Banners of the enemy whenever an opportunity arrived."⁶⁷ Striving for maximum security, the state legislature early in 1782 required each militia company to furnish a six-man patrol whose "con-

63. Dunlap's *Md. Gazette*, Jan. 9, 1776; Minutes of South Carolina Council of Safety, Dec. 18, 1775, Laurens to Archibald Bulloch, Jan. 20, 1776, *S. C. Hist. Soc., Coll.*, 3 (1859), 94-95, 202.

64. Journal of the Council of Safety, Jan. 18, 1776, *ibid.*, 190-96.

65. Journal of the Council of Safety, Feb. 21, 1776, *ibid.*, 265.

66. Journal of the Council of Safety, Jan. 30, 1776, *ibid.*, 233.

67. Clark, ed., *State Rec. of N. C.*, XI, 708.

stant duty" would be to police the plantations, keeping the slaves in peace and good order.⁶⁸

Georgia shared fully in this apprehension. In April 1776 when she sent her delegates to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia she gave them instructions on one point only: they were always to bear in mind that Georgia was exposed to the Indians on one border and the British on another, and endangered internally by the presence of Tories and Negroes. In 1778 when the war shifted to the South, the Georgia assembly, fearful that "grave danger might arise from insurrections, or other wicked attempts of slaves," took the precautionary step of requiring one-third of the troops in every county to remain where they were as a permanent local patrol.⁶⁹

Individual masters themselves took steps to prevent the flight of slaves to the British forces. In April 1781 a group of Baltimoreans purchased two look-out boats at their own expense. Down along the Santee River in South Carolina, one slave proprietor tried psychology; he advised his overseer to keep his mouth shut in handling Negroes, singling out one of the black women as an example: "If you say the least about Ruth, she will run off, for she is an arch bitch."⁷⁰ A more direct procedure was simply to remove slaves from the vicinity of the British forces. Known in the Civil War as "running the Negroes," this practice had the backing of the Virginia lawmakers. In April 1776 the Convention passed a resolution requiring the removal of all slaves in Norfolk and Princess Anne counties, an order that had to be modified five weeks later so that male slaves not capable of bearing arms might remain to tend and gather the corn crop. A year later Governor Henry asked the Council to advise him on how to check the flight of the Negroes from Northampton and Accomac counties. The Council recommended that slaves on the Eastern shore be sent to the interior of the state and confined to a safety zone determined by the Governor.⁷¹

68. Salley, Jr., ed., *Journ. of the Senate of S. C.*, Jan. 8, 1782-Feb. 26, 1782, 67.

69. Archibald Bulloch to Delegates, Apr. 5, 1776, Charles C. Jones, *The History of Georgia*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1883), II, 215; Candler, ed., *Col. Rec. of Ga.*, XIX, pt. 2, 118.

70. James McHenry to Thomas Sim Lee, Apr. 7, 1781, *Arch. of Md.*, XLII, 167; William Snow to Mr. Rhodes, Sept. 9, 1781, Gibbes, ed., *Doc. Hist. Amer. Rev.*, III, 140-41.

71. John Burk, *The History of Virginia*, 4 vols. (Petersburg, 1805-16), IV, 147; *Off. Letters of Govs. of Va.*, I, 184-85.

In the autumn of 1780 John Banister informed a friend that in the event the enemy approached Petersburg, he would "send off his Negroes." Many slave masters in the lower South took the same step. When the British came to Georgia "the Negroes in General," wrote loyalist Josiah Wright, were carried into South Carolina. In a reversal of direction one master, Edward Fenwicke of Berkeley County, South Carolina, transported "upwards of 100 Negroes" to Georgia.⁷² From British headquarters at Charleston in March 1782, General Alexander Leslie ordered a cavalry detail to proceed to Daniel's Island to collect slaves, making it known to them that if they behaved with fidelity they might depend upon the generosity of the English. A week later the officer in charge of the expedition reported that although he had induced 100 blacks to join him, the number was less than expected because the American masters had "taken the precaution of sending their most valuable slaves across the River."⁷³

To masters in the lower South who wished to run their Negroes, Virginia, in May 1780, opened her doors. Two years earlier her legislature had prohibited the further importation of slaves, but the Virginians were eager to help their neighbors, even if it meant a temporary increase in out-of-state blacks. An act of the assembly, passed on May 4, permitted masters from South Carolina and Georgia to bring their slaves into the state and keep them there until one year after the expulsion of the British from their soil.⁷⁴ Possibly some twenty-five masters found it expedient to accept Virginia's proposal.⁷⁵ Pennsylvania

72. Banister to Theodorick Bland, Oct. 1780, Campbell, ed., *Bland Papers* II, 36; Wright to Lord Germain, Feb. 10, 1780, "Letters from Governor Sir James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth and Lord George Germain," *Ga. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3 (1859), 274; "Historical Notes," *S. C. Hist. Mag.*, 8 (1907), 22.

73. Leslie to Thomas Fraser, Mar. 27, 1782, Alexander Leslie Letterbooks, N. Y. Pub. Lib.; "Miscellaneous Manuscripts," EM, F. Emmett Collection, N. Y. Pub. Lib.

74. Hening, ed., *Statutes of Va.*, X, 307. While in Virginia, however, these slaves could be sold only with the permission of the governor acting upon the advice of the Council.

75. From Georgia George Haverick brought his 60 slaves to Henry County, McIlwaine and Hall, eds., *Journals of the Council of Va.*, III, 91-92; Joseph Clay registered 33 at Amherst County, and for this list, with names, ages and sex, see *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I, 491; Joseph and John Habersham brought 22 to the same county (*ibid.*), and South Carolinian Charles Sims deposited 20 slaves in Halifax County (*ibid.*, 613).

likewise offered asylum to enemy-harassed masters of other states, exempting them from the requirements of the emancipation act of March 1, 1780, on condition that they neither sold their slaves nor kept them in the state longer than one year after the war.⁷⁶

Meting out punishment to slaves attempting to make their way to the British was widely used as a deterrent to other slaves who might harbor the idea. In the South, where control of the Negro was deemed of paramount importance, the death penalty was sometimes invoked. One of the first and most notable instances was that of Jerry, a free, well-to-do South Carolina pilot, who himself owned several slave fishermen. In August 1775 Jerry was sentenced to be hanged and then burned, being found guilty of supplying slaves with arms and advising them to take flight to the British. When the loyalist Governor William Campbell protested, he was warned that unless he kept quiet the hanging would take place at the door of his mansion. On August 18 the sentence was carried out despite Campbell's remonstrances. "The very reflection Harrows my soul," he wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth.⁷⁷

When South Carolina was threatened with invasion in the spring of 1776, she passed a law stipulating death for any slave who joined any British land or naval forces. On April 27, in accordance with this law, a three man court decreed that two Negroes, Charles and Kitt, be hanged by the neck until dead for their role in making off with a schooner. Negroes who supplied provisions to the British or carried intelligence to them were to "suffer death," wrote Governor John Rutledge to General Marion in September 1781. A year later Governor Mathews informed Marion that Negroes taken in arms were to be tried "by the negro law," and if found guilty were to be executed, unless there were factors justifying an executive pardon.⁷⁸

Virginia invoked the death penalty from the early days of

76. The act was passed on Oct. 1, 1781, Mitchell and Flanders, eds., *Statutes at Large of Pa.*, X, 367-68.

77. David D. Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History* (Chapel Hill, 1951), 262; Campbell to Dartmouth, Aug. 19, 1775, Hist. MSS Comm., *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth: American Papers*, 3 vols. (London, 1887-96), II, 354.

78. John F. Grimké, ed., *The Public Laws of South Carolina down to 1790* (Phila., 1790), 284; *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, 15 (1908), 296; Rutledge to Marion, Sept. 2, 1781, John Mathews to Marion, Oct. 6, 1782, Gibbes, ed., *Doc. Hist. Amer. Rev.*, II, 131, III, 232.

the Dunmore scare, but less frequently than South Carolina. In January 1781 Negro Jack of Botetourt County was condemned to die for assorted crimes—robberies, attempted poisoning, and enlisting slaves to join Lord Cornwallis. Jack's master succeeded in having the execution suspended, much to the indignation of the inhabitants of the county. A few months later, Billy, belonging to John Tayloe of Richmond County, was found guilty of treason for waging war while on an armed British vessel. Sentenced by a six man court to be hanged at the common gallows, Billy was spared when his master's lawyers argued that a slave could not be charged with treason since he owed the state no allegiance, not being entitled to the privileges of a citizen.⁷⁹ In "giving aid and comfort to the enemy," Billy had doubtless not reflected upon the constitutional ramifications of his conduct, simply having acted on the notion, sensed if not stated, that if this were treason he would make the most of it—a premise of good antecedents in Revolutionary Virginia.

More common than death as a punishment for attempted flight was the familiar practice of selling an offending slave. In Virginia, particularly during the first year of the war, some Negroes were sold to the non-British West Indies. Four slaves taken at the Battle of Great Bridge in December 1775 were sold out of mainland America. Virginia Congressman Joseph Jones vowed that if he recovered his man Cyrus he would ship him to the West Indies. William Nimmo of Princess Anne County stipulated in his will that if any of his sixteen Negroes who went off to the British were recovered they were to be sold. A Maryland master advertised for sale a healthy young Negro who had worked for twelve years in a "merchant mill" and was "complete in that business," explaining that "no other motive than his having attempted to escape to the enemy induces the proprietor to dispose of him."⁸⁰

In a few instances would-be deserters to the British got off lightly. At Charleston in December 1775 mistress Sarah

79. Letter from inhabitants of Botetourt County, bearing 25 signatures, to Governor and Council, January 1781, *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I, 477-78. For this whole case with copies of the court judgments, see Boyd, ed., *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, V, 640-43.

80. *Journals of the House of Delegates of Virginia* (Richmond, 1828), 37; Jones to Madison, July 22, 1782, Ford, ed., *Letters of Joseph Jones*, 96; Edward W. James, *The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary* (New York, 1951), 95; *Md. Gaz.*, Nov. 10, 1780.

Mitchell paid a small fee and took back her two slaves who had been intercepted in their attempt to reach the armed ship *Cherokee*. Even more fortunate was Billy, the recaptured valet of James Madison. Not wanting to punish his slave "merely for coveting that liberty for which we had paid the price of so much blood, and have proclaimed so often to be the right, & worthy pursuit of every human being," the future president disposed of Billy as an indentured servant in Pennsylvania, where in seven years he would become a free man.⁸¹

* * *

A few slave-bereft masters sought to obtain flags of truce to go into the British lines where they hoped to recover their runaways. In Maryland it was the Council which was vested with the power to grant flags of truce and in March it gave Ann Tilley permission to attempt the recovery of a slave woman and her three children, who had been taken off to the British by the woman's mulatto husband. This Council action was almost unprecedented. Writing to a Somerset County master in April 1778, the Council expressed its regret over "the loss the gentlemen of your county have sustained by their Negroes going away," but pointed out that every previous request for a flag of truce had been rejected. The British would not restore the slaves, said the Council, unless the masters made the sort of concessions "which no American ought to do."⁸²

Virginia's Council was less unyielding. In February 1778 it gave permission to Major Thomas Smith of Gloucester and Colonel Littleton Savage of Northampton County to go on board the British ships at York and Hampton to make application for their runaways. A week later the Council granted John Morgan's petition to try to reclaim from the British naval commanders "sundry Slaves" belonging to William S. Benjamin and William Churchill.⁸³

High ranking officers were sometimes asked to intercede on behalf of slave masters. In the summer of 1782 when a

81. Journal of the Council of Safety, Dec. 20, 1775, *S. C. Hist. Soc., Coll.*, 3 (1859), 103; Madison to James Madison, Sept. 8, 1783, Hunt, ed., *Writings of Madison*, II, 15.

82. *Arch. of Md.*, XLV, 359; Council to George Dashiell, Apr. 6, 1778, *ibid.*, XXI, 11-12.

83. McIlwaine and Hall, eds., *Journals of the Council of State of Va.*, II, 82, 86.

British raiding party in Georgia took thirty-seven Negroes, Lachlan McIntosh asked General Greene to seek their recovery by appealing to Alexander Leslie, His Majesty's commandant. McIntosh's own brother had lost seven Negroes and some household furnishings in the raid.⁸⁴

The flag of truce as a means of recovering slaves never had a wide use. American authorities—civilian and military—felt that a flag might be used to cover trading with the enemy. Moreover, a flag to recover slaves was, as the Maryland Council contended, a humiliation. Both Lafayette and George Washington expressed their displeasure when the latter's brother Lund went aboard a British sloop in the Potomac and brought food to the naval officers in the hope of persuading them to return the Washington slaves.⁸⁵

The use of flags was made all the more distasteful by the attitude of British officers, particularly naval officers, who assumed an air of righteousness not untinged with the supercilious. George Montagu, commanding the *Fowey* off Annapolis in the summer of 1776, brusquely informed Charles Carroll that his instructions were not to deliver up any subjects of His Majesty, but to receive "all persons well affected," giving them every protection.⁸⁶ A similar stand was taken by Sir George Collier, commander of the British fleet in America, when Governor Patrick Henry sent a flag-bearing delegation to the ships in Hampton Roads in May 1779. Collier sent word that although his sovereign's ships had not come to Virginia waters to entice Negroes on board, the British flag, nevertheless, afforded asylum to the distressed wherever they might be found.⁸⁷

British army officers were somewhat more conciliatory. Turncoat Benedict Arnold's policy was to return no Negroes belonging to any American who was in government or army service, or liable to militia duty; however, widows and orphans owning British-held slaves might recover them by following a prescribed procedure. Lord Cornwallis saw fit to add a trouble-

84. Joseph W. Barnwell, ed., "Letters to General Greene and Others," *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, 16 (1915), 149.

85. For this episode see Douglass S. Freeman, *George Washington; A Biography*, 6 vols. (New York, 1948-54), V, 282-83.

86. Montagu to Carroll, June 24, 1776, *Arch. of Md.*, XI, 515.

87. "Collier's and Mathew's Invasion of Virginia in 1779," *Va. Hist. Reg.*, 4 (1851), 191-92.

some detail: he would permit masters who were not anti-British to search his camp and take their slaves, provided that the slaves would consent to go.⁸⁸ This reluctance to return Negroes foreshadowed the difficulties that would come with the departure of the British when the war ended.

* * *

To recover slaves by a flag of truce was emotionally less satisfying to patriotic Americans than retaliation, and to entice or seize enemy-held Negroes was an effective way to strike back. One of the earliest instances of counterpersuasion occurred in 1775 in southern Maryland. Here loyalist John F. D. Smyth lost five of his bondmen, two of whom were carried away to act as drummers in the militia, and three others who, as Smyth put it, were "inveigled" from him. One of the most prominent and hardest hit of the loyalist losers was South Carolinian William Bull, physician and former colonial governor as well as planter, who was stripped of 160 of his 180 slaves.⁸⁹

Georgia was the scene of the most widespread seizure of British-held blacks. Former Governor Wright reported in 1780 that the main object of the American commanders, besides destroying British provisions, was to seize Negroes. The "Rebel Horse" descended on Sir James's own plantation at Ogeechee in March 1780 and carried away many slaves.⁹⁰ The state's island-fringed coast beckoned invitingly to American boats bent on taking Negroes. A loyalist residing along the Little Satilla River lost eight slaves to a privateer, and another British sympathizer residing along the Savannah was deprived of fifteen "working" Negroes and seven children. In a raid at White Bluff in February 1780 four American vessels carried off nearly

88. Arnold to Peter Muhlenberg, Feb. 23, 1781, Henry A. Muhlenberg, *The Life of Major-General Peter Muhlenberg* (Phila., 1849), 387-88; Cornwallis to Thomas Nelson, Jr., Aug. 5, 1781, *American Historical Record*, 1 (1872), 180.

89. "Journals of Capt. John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, of the Queen's Rangers," *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, 39 (1915), 151; Bull to Germain, June 28, 1781, Colonial Office Papers, Ser. 5, CLXXVI, 112, Public Record Office, London, Library of Congress transcripts. Hereafter cited as C. O. 5/.

90. Wright to John Graham, Apr. 20, 1780, Hist. MSS Comm.: *Report of American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, 4 vols. (London, Dublin, Hereford, 1904-09), II, 114. Hereafter cited as *Amer. MSS in Royal Inst. of G. B.* Wright to Germain, Apr. 4, 1780, Ga. Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, 3 (1873), 281.

140 Negroes. In the following months "rebel" galleys frequently penetrated the coastal inlets, sailing away with their slave loot.⁹¹

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What happened to the thousands of Negroes who remained with the British is a story in itself.

91. "Papers of Lachlan McIntosh," *ibid.*, 12 (1957), 100; United Empire Loyalists, *Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1905), 793; Augustine Prevost to Henry Clinton, Feb. 11, 1780, *Amer. MSS in Royal Inst. of G. B.*, II, 88; Wright to Germain, Dec. 20, 1780, Ga. Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, 3 (1873), 327.