

**SOME SOURCES FOR THE STUDY  
OF THE LOYALIST AND  
CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN  
THE MILITARY CAMPAIGN OF  
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL  
JOHN BURGOYNE 1777**

by

**Stephen G. Strach**

**EASTERN NATIONAL PARK AND  
MONUMENT ASSOCIATION 1983**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface .....	4-5
Introduction .....	5-6
Unit Abstract .....	6
The Queen's Loyal Rangers (Peters' Corps) .....	6-10
The King's Loyal Americans (Jessup's Rangers).....	10-13
The Loyal Volunteers (Captain Samuel Mackay's) .....	13
The Unnamed Company of Captain Daniel MacAlpine....	14
The Royal Highland Emigrants.....	14
Philip Skene .....	14-16
The Canadian Companies of Captains Boucherville and Monin .....	16
Miscellaneous Sources.....	16-21
St. Leger's Loyalists and Canadians .....	21-22
General Source Guides .....	22-23
The Dress Of Burgoyne's Loyalists .....	23-24

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**-This author wishes to thank the following individuals and organizations for their generous assistance: Jean Stamm, Sonia Taub, and David Swartz of the Saratoga Springs Public Library; The Southern Adirondack Library System; Jamie Messmer of The New York State Library (Manuscripts and Special Collections); Laura Abbott and Edward Hoyt of the Vermont Historical Society; Bruce Wilson and Brian Driscoll of the Public Archives Canada; the late Charles Bennett of the Bennington Museum; The Boston Public Library; Edith Firth of the Metropolitan Toronto Library; Elizabeth Abel, Town of Stillwater Historian; W. Glenn Gray, Superintendent Saratoga National Historical Park; Michael M. Phillips, Former Chief Historian Saratoga N.H.P.; Richard Patterson, Assistant Historian Saratoga N.H.P.; Dr. Ian C.B. Pemberton of the University of Windsor, Ontario; William Ormsby of the Archives of Ontario; The New York Historical Society; Dundurn Press; Violet Fallone of the Montgomery County Department of History and Archives; and most especially Eastern National Park and Monument Association for making this publication possible.

## PREFACE

Within the past decade there has been an ever increasing interest in the part played by the Loyalists, or "Tories" as they are often referred to, during the great struggle for American Independence 1775-1783. All too often American historians writing of this dramatic period have cast these Loyal supporters of King George III as "the bad guys." This erroneous interpretation has only been finally dispelled in the United States largely as a result of a new generation of enlightened American scholars.

Objectively speaking, when one looks back upon the period 1775-1783, one cannot help but quickly discover that the American Revolution was not simply caused by a populace unwilling to accept what were then viewed as a series of unjust taxes and laws imposed on them by a tyrannical monarch and government. Today we understand that the real roots of the revolution were far more complicated than this. Instead, many historians are now largely of the opinion that the struggle was caused by a sharp division of personal ideologies, religious, economical and political beliefs among the American Colonists. As personal allegiances were thus bitterly divided along such lines, the struggle more often than not took on the aspect of a civil war--neighbor against neighbor, father against son, tenant against landlord etc.

The population of the Upper Hudson Valley Region of New York, like all other populated areas of the original thirteen American Colonies, was sharply divided in it's choice of allegiances. Early realizing this, the British Government hoped that in 1776 and again in 1777 that in the process of marching a British Army through the heart of the valley large numbers of individuals--loyal and disloyal alike--would rise in support of or return back to solid British allegiance. This hope proved to be a shallow one as throughout the Campaigns of 1776 and 1777 it is estimated that no more than 1,000 able-bodied Loyalists ever came forward in active support of the British Forces operating in the Lake Champlain and Upper Hudson Valley Region. To be sure, the existing Loyalist population was much larger but for numerous reasons never came forward to openly assist the King's Army in this sector. Fear of losing established farms and properties or of leaving one's family behind to the possible intrusions or ravages of roaming American militia bands or even of British Indian allies, who often made no distinction between friend and foe, were just a few of the reasons that caused many hardened Loyalists to stay at home or remain neutral as the fateful events transpired.

Those Loyalists who did choose to gamble and actively support the King's Army for the most part lost all of their worldly possessions either before or after the failure of the Northern Campaign of 1777. Many are the stories of great hardships, death and famine that awaited many of these Loyal individuals who suddenly found themselves forced to flee to Canada without any obvious means to support themselves or their families.

Unlike the Loyalists, most Canadians saw little reason to become involved in North American affairs beyond their own borders. They believed that there was little to be gained by their active participation. Early in the Campaigns of 1776 and again most notably in 1777 the Canadian populace showed a general reluctance in volunteering to join the British Forces that would be operating in the Lake Champlain-Upper Hudson River Valley corridor. British planners had originally expected that some 2,000 Canadians could be easily raised to serve with the British Army that would invade New York Pro-

vince from Canada. These expectations were as quickly dashed when only about 300 men could actually be recruited despite every effort or inducement. Those that were recruited were in many respects considered ill-suited for military service. Though unmotivated, those Canadians who did accompany the British Army under Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne in 1777 did see action while on campaign and at least in one instance--the Battle at Freeman's Farm (First Saratoga)--served with distinction.

## INTRODUCTION

Many historians past and present have not been able to tap a veritable gold mine of information concerning the Loyalist and Canadian participation particularly with regard to the Campaign of 1777 in Northern New York Province mostly from a general ignorance of where the scattered source material dealing with the subject could be found. To rectify this problem the present work has been developed in the interest of offering scholars yet another view of a most interesting period of history. Hence, the scope of this work then is to present relevant sources -- primary and secondary -- available to scholars for the study of the Loyalist and Canadian elements that served with the British Army of Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne during the Campaign of 1777 in Northern New York Province.

This study does not pretend to be a complete list of all reference material or source locations dealing with the topic of Burgoyne's Loyalist and Canadian units. Doubtless, other reference and source locations may exist that are presently unknown to this compiler. However, it is believed that the great bulk of the existing material is covered within the following pages. It should be pointed out that there is a wealth of primary and secondary references pertaining to the Loyalists and Canadians that had served with Burgoyne for the period of history after 1777. Such references as pertain to the post 1777 period have generally not been included within the present essay. Many of the individuals connected with the Campaign went on to perform notable service while numerous others fell into complete obscurity. For those wishing to retrace their careers they should refer to any of the sources to be found in the listing below for further bibliographic references and source locations. It is hoped by this compiler that the following information gathered will prove to be a useful tool to those seeking a fuller understanding of a long neglected subject.

**A Note On One Source** - used and cited at length in this guide is deserving of some special mention. That source is the largely unpublished **Papers of Sir Frederick Haldimand**, who served as Governor of Quebec 1778-1784. The original manuscript papers are currently housed at the British Library and are cataloged under the heading **Additional Manuscripts 21661 - 21892**. Recently, the original manuscript papers were filmed by **World Microfilms Publications**, 62 Queen's Grove, London NW8 6ER England and are now generally available, under the title of **Sir Frederick Haldimand: Unpublished Papers and Correspondence 1758-84** (115 reels), to North American scholars in the original format for the first time. Prior to this, North American scholars were usually dependent upon the use of the **Haldimand Papers Transcripts** made under the direction of the Public Archives Canada during the last century. Despite the fact that the original manuscript papers are now finally available on microfilm, the **Transcripts** at the Public Archives Canada are still widely used by many. Because of this, I have generally

cited relevant documents from the **Haldimand Papers Transcripts** rather than cite the original British Library document number. For those scholars who are fortunate enough to be able to use the original documents as they appear on microfilm (which is recommended where possible) the following conversion table can be used to relate the Canadian Archive Transcript number cited in this guide to the British Library number and in turn to the microfilm edition reel number:

PAC (MG21) Trans.	British Lib.	Microfilm Ed. Reel
Group B158	21,818	79
B161	21,821	81
B166	21,826	84
B167	21,827	85
B168	21,828	85
B214	21,874	109
B215	21,875	110

The pagination of individual documents is nearly universal to all three sources.

Some slight differences will be found between originals-usually a two numbered page difference where applicable. Hence, readers must exert a bit of caution when comparing or citing numbers of originals to transcripts.

#### ABSTRACT OF UNITS SERVING IN BURGOYNE'S ARMY 1777

**Loyalists** - Queen's Loyal Rangers -- Lieutenant-Colonel John Peters  
 King's Loyal Americans -- Lieutenant-Colonel Ebenezer Jessup  
 Loyal Volunteers -- Captain Samuel Mackay  
 Unnamed Company -- Captain Daniel MacAlpine  
 (originally commanded by  
 "Colonel" Francis Pfister  
 killed August 16, 1777).

**Canadians** - Two companies commanded by Captain Rene Antoin de Boucherville and Captain David Monin (who was killed on September 19, 1777. Command assumed by Lieutenant Beau-bien).

#### SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF INDIVIDUAL UNITS

##### THE QUEEN'S LOYAL RANGERS (PETERS' CORPS)--

Materials for the study of the history and organization of this unit are numerous and provide a multitude of detail. **Manuscripts and Special Collections, The New York State Library**, Cultural Education Center, Empire State Plaza, Albany, New York 12230 (1-518-474-6282) holdings include a major collection of 35 individual manuscript items classified as the **John Peters Papers**. The collection covers the period 1777-1787. Not all of the items are of interest to a study of the Campaign of 1777. Only 18 items are of interest:

**CL3576**-Memorial to Lord Sidney (Secretary of State) describing his services accompanied by supportive documents by Burgoyne and others September 6, 1785; **CL3577**-Monthly muster-roll of Captain Justus Sherwood's Company Battenkill Creek, August 23, 1777; **CL3578**-List of 20 Loyalists who escaped from Saratoga to Canada and joined Peters' Corps, June 1777; **CL3580**-Return of 172 men who joined Peters' Corps during the Campaign of 1777; **CL3581**-Roster of men enlisted in the Queen's Loyal Rangers of Burgoyne's Army who were not included on the payroll because they were casualties; **CL3582**-Muster-roll of Lieutenant Colonel Peters' Corps for July 1777; **CL3589**-Monthly regimental return August 7-October 2, 1777; **CL3591**-List of 350 men from the Queen's Loyal Rangers; **CL3593**-Monthly regimental return September 9, 1777; **CL3597**-Return of Captain Justus Sherwood's Company, 1778; **CL3599**-Return of men June 25-October 24, 1777; **CL3600**-Report of Captain Justus Sherwood's Company August 1, 1777; **CL3601**-Muster-roll August 23, 1777; **CL3602**(-?) -Muster-roll of Lieutenant-Colonel Peters' Company May 28-July 23, 1777; **CL3603**-List of men enlisted with Reuben Hawley 1777; **CL3604**-List of men in Covell's Company October 25, 1777; **CL3605**-Subsistence return for troops under Lieutenant-Colonel John Peters June 25-October 24, 1777; **CL3607**-Monthly regimental returns August 7-October 2, 1777.

Remaining items in the collection include weekly and monthly regimental returns, memorials and depositions covering the period 1778-1787. For a complete list of items in the **John Peters Collection** see Stefan Bielinski, ed., **Revolutionary War Manuscripts in the New York State Library**, Albany, 1976, pp. 60-61 (Please note that caution should be exerted when using Bielinski's guide as there is some confusion regarding item reference numbers.)

**The New York Historical Society Library**, 170 Central Park West, New York, New York 10024 (1-212-873-3400) owns 17 manuscript items pertaining to Lieutenant-Colonel Peters and the Rangers. Of these, 9 pieces are of interest to the Campaign of 1777:

(No reference numbers cited) Carleton's orders to Colonel Peters, April 2, 1777 signed by Colonel Kingston; Extracts from General Army Orders June 12, August 26, September 8, 1777; Permission of General Phillips for Peters' Command to escape October 14, 1777; Copies of Peters' Memorial to Carleton, July 2, 1778 with accompanying letters to Reverend Samuel Peters; Captain Shank's Certificate to Peters December 15, 1785; List of men serving with Peters 1777; Defense of Peters against Burgoyne's charges December 9, 1779; A Narrative of Colonel John Peters (Written in 1786, it is a key document of 11 pages which describes Peters' Revolutionary War service, the Battles of Saratoga, and his subsequent escape to Canada just before Burgoyne's surrender). A photostatic copy of this piece is also to be found at **Saratoga National Historical Park**, RD 2, Box 33, Stillwater, New York 12170 (1-518-664-9821). The "Narrative" was also reprinted in its entirety in **The Toronto Globe**, July 16, 1877, with an introduction by H.C. Burleigh. A copy of this newspaper can be found at the **Metropolitan Toronto Library**, 789 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4W 2G8 (1-416-928-5275). Typed transcripts can also be found among the **Wardner Papers** owned by the **Vermont Historical Society Library**, Montpelier, Vermont and in the

**Cape Bretoniana Collection** (No: Day-A.C.-U.I:2) at the **Xavier College Archives**, Sydney, Nova Scotia. Some of the above documents plus others are reprinted in Thomas Jones, **History Of New York During The Revolutionary War**, 2 Volumes, New York, 1879, 1:674-695. A modern facsimile reprint (1968) was available until recently from **Arno Press**, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

The **Vermont Historical Society Library**, Pavilion Office Building Montpelier, Vermont 05602 (1-802-828-2291) has within the **Wardner Papers** some typed transcripts and photostats of muster-rolls duplicated from originals held by the **British Museum**, Great Russell Street London, England WC1B 3DG. These are largely duplicated by the pieces owned by the New York State Library and the Public Archives Canada.

The **New York Public Library**, 42nd and 5th Avenue, New York, New York (1-212-790-6161) owns a transcript copy of "An Account of the Sufferings of Col. John Peters, by Reverend Samuel Peters," taken from **Audit Office Records** at the **Public Record Office England** (A0/45/463-464).

The **Public Archives Canada**, 395 Wellington Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0N3 owns many transcript copies of various regimental muster-rolls, returns, and regimental records of different Loyalist units. Included are rolls, returns and papers for the Queen's Loyal Rangers as well as for all of the other Loyalist units serving with Burgoyne. The copies are part of the **Haldimand Papers Transcripts (MG21)** taken from the originals housed at the **British Museum (Additional Manuscripts 21,818-21,875)**. Copies of the original manuscript muster-rolls, returns, and papers are also available on microfilm as noted in the introduction from **World Microfilms Publications**, London, England. Some especially useful items from the **Haldimand Transcripts** are: **MG21, B161, pp. 1-3** "Memorial of Gershom French"; **MG21, B161, pp. 11-12** "Monthly Return of the Queen's Loyal Rangers, Commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Peters, Aug.-Oct. 1777."; **MG21, B167, pp. 37-39, 56-60** "Subsistence wanted for the Queen's Loyal Rangers...on the Expedition...of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne...25th June & ending 24th October 1777"; **MG21, B167, pp. 96-97** "Memorial of Francis Hogel & Gershom French...9th December 1777"; **MG21, B167, p. 120** "Contingent Account" of the regiment for the Campaign of 1777; **MG21, B167, pp. 121-123** "Pay List" of the men's names who served in the Campaign of 1777; **MG21, B167, pp. 175-182** contains documents and memorials of and pertaining to Francis Hogel & Gershom French and their activities during 1777; **MG21, B167, pp. 228-231** "Letter" written by Captain David McFall to Lt.-Col. John Peters stating his services during the Campaign of 1777; **MG21, B167, pp. 22, 30-32, 206, 373-376** for miscellaneous regimental papers; **MG21, B215, pp. 265-266** "Memorial of Francis Hogel"; **MG21, B217, pp. 424-430, 495-510** miscellaneous documents pertaining to Simeon Coville. One original grouping at the Archives **MG23, III, #3 The James Parrot Papers** contains the original "A List of Captain Simeon Covels Company as they Served in Lieut. General Burgoyne's Campaigns 1777."

Of additional interest is a muster-roll from the **Public Record Office**, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, England TW9 4DU entitled "A State of the Queen's Loyal Rangers at 1777 Sundry Times" contained in **W.O. (War Office) 28**,

**Volume 4, p. 103**. This document provides an excellent breakdown of numbers serving in the unit on key dates as well as numerical notations of losses and where they occurred; See also **W.O. 28, Volume 4, p. 271** "Officer's Certificates" and **W.O. 28, Volume 9, p. 95** "Memorial of Justus Sherwood to Sir Guy Carleton" dated March 9, 1778 for other useful details.

The **Huntington Library and Art Gallery**, 1151 Oxford Road, San Marino, California 91108 owns a collection of Loyalist Regimental Returns, Muster-rolls, etc. which spans the period 1778-1783. Some of these original documents concern the Queen's Loyal Rangers, which in turn contain notations etc. that in part refer to the unit's activity during 1777. The entire collection is cataloged as **HM 15214-15240**.

Some published materials of related interest are:

Hamilton V. Bail, "Zadock Wright: That "Devilish" Tory of Hartland," **Vermont History** 36 (No. 4) pp. 186-203. Wright was Regimental Major of the Rangers in 1777. Excellent piece covering his life in great detail. Copies available in most libraries in Vermont.

Peter Coldham, ed., "List Of The Company of Samuel Perry (1777)", **National Genealogical Society Quarterly** 66 (No. 2) p. 126. This list is reproduced from the original in the **Public Record Office England** (A0 13/15/103-105). Available at the New York State Library.

Catherine S. Crary, ed., **The Price of Loyalty, Tory Writings From The Revolutionary Era**, New York, 1973, pp. 304-309 reprints some extracts from Peters' "Narrative" and "Defense of Peters against Burgoyne's charges December 9, 1779" both of which are quoted from the original manuscript pieces held by the New York Historical Society.

Mary B. Fryer, **Buckskin Pimpernel, The Exploits of Justus Sherwood, Loyalist Spy**, Toronto, 1982. A good biography of this officer's military and public career. Well footnoted. Copies are available from **Dundurn Press Limited**, P.O. Box 245, Station F., Toronto, Canada M4Y 2L5.

Lee Pennock Huntington, **Loyalty In Transition**, The Strafford Historical Society, Strafford, Vermont, 1976. Excellent survey of the company led by Captain James Pennock. Contains some errors concerning the Campaign of 1777 but as a whole a sound reference which utilizes both primary and secondary sources. Copies available from the Strafford and Vermont Historical Societies.

H.M. Jackson, **Justus Sherwood: Soldier, Loyalist and Negotiator**, Ottawa, 1958. Is basic but useful. Only pages 1-7 are of interest to this officer's part in the Campaign of 1777. A copy is at **The University of Rochester Library**, Rochester, New York and at the **National Library of Canada**, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1A 0N3.

Ian C.B. Pemberton, **Justus Sherwood, Vermont Loyalist, 1747-1798**, London, Ontario, September 1972. Is an unpublished doctoral dissertation housed at **The University of Western Ontario**, London, Ontario, Canada N6A 3K7. It is the best and most detailed work to date covering the life of this officer of Peters' Corps. Pages 22-71 are of especial interest as they cover the

period 1776-1777 and follow Sherwood's movements with the Queen's Loyal Rangers. Copies available through **Interlibrary Loans, The D.B. Weldon Library** at the above cited University. Copies are also housed at the **University of Vermont**, Burlington, Vermont 05401; **Martha Canfield Library**, Arlington, Vermont 05250; **Bennington Museum Library**, Bennington, Vermont 05201.

H.H. Robertson, "Titus Simons, Quarter Master, Peters' Corps of "Queen's Loyal Rangers," Burgoyne's Campaign 1777, "United Empire Loyalists Association of Ontario Annual Transactions 1901-1902, pp. 36-46. Available through most major libraries in the Province of Ontario.

John Spargo, **The Story of David Redding, Queen's Ranger, Who Was Hanged in Bennington, Vermont June 11, 1778**, Bennington. 1945. Tells the interesting story of one loyalist who was captured shortly before the British Army surrendered and tried as a spy.

Stephen G. Strach, **A History of the Service of the Queen's Loyal Rangers During the Campaign of 1777**, Schuylerville, New York, 1983. An unpublished work containing a detailed study of the unit's organization and activity. Copies available from the author.

#### **THE KING'S LOYAL AMERICANS (JESSUP'S RANGERS) --**

Materials for the study of this unit are numerous. **The Archives of Ontario**, 77 Grenville Street, Toronto, Canada M7A 2R9 holds the **Jessup Family Papers (MU 1564)**, which contains little of interest to the Campaign of 1777. Three original documents that are worth noting certify various aspects of service performed by Ebenezer and Edward Jessup during 1777. See certifications by A. Campbell (No. 1), General William Phillips (No. 2), and Captain John Schank (No. 5). Also of interest is the **Receipt Book, Capt. Edward Jessup's Corps of King's Loyal Americans, 1777-80 (MS 521)** which contains accounts for clothing and uniforms issued to the Corps in early 1777. Transcripts of these original documents can also be found at the **Public Archives Canada** in grouping **MG23 K12**.

The **Public Archives Canada** also has within the **Haldimand Papers Transcripts** many items of interest. Some of the more relevant pieces of documentation are: **MG21, B158, pp. 9-10** Letter from Major James Gray to Sir Guy Carleton dated January 12, 1777 concerns purchase of uniforms ".....Red.....turned up with Green....." for Jessup's men; **MG 21, B158, p. 14** Letter Major Gray to Captain Edward Foy dated February 4, 1777 discusses Jessup's men's unwillingness to join Sir John Johnson's unit. Notes that many men are not clothed; **MG21, B158, pp. 22-23** Letter Major Gray to Captain Foy dated April 2, 1777 discusses clothing for the men of Jessup's Corps; **MG21, B158, pp. 28-30** Letter Major Gray to Captain Foy dated April 27, 1777 concerns financial accounts of Jessup's Corps; **MG21, B161, pp. 8-10** "Monthly Return of His Majesty's The King's Loyal Americans Commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Ebenezer Jessup"; **MG21, B161, pp. 66-69** "Return of...the King's Loyal Americans...25th June & 24th October 1777..."; **MG21, B161, pp. 116-118** "A Return of the names of the Men and Officers of the King's Loyal Americans that were taken Prisoners in the year 1777 by the Enemy"; **MG21, B162, pp. 62-63** Letter outlining the service of Captain James Robins during the American Revolution July 23, 1783; **MG21, B167,**

**pp. 5-7** "Muster Roll of Captain Edward Jessup's Company of Loyal Americans 24th Jany 1777"; **MG21, B167, pp. 8-16** Muster rolls of several companies of the King's Loyal Americans for 1777; **MG21, B167, pp. 25-26** "Monthly Return" August 7 - October 7, 1777; **MG21, B167, p. 27** "Account of Provisions furnished to General Burgoyne's Army on the Expedition of 1777 by Jonathan Jones Esqr."; **MG21, B167, pp. 44-46** "Roll of His Majesty's the King's Loyal Americans...Lieut. Cols. Own Company 25th June-24th October 1777"; **MG21, B167, pp. 61-62** "Pay Roll Captain Christen Wehrs Company..."; **MG21, B167, pp. 63-65** "Pay Roll Captain Joseph Jessup's Company..."; **MG21, B167, pp. 66-67** "Pay Roll Captain Jonathan Jones's Company..."; **MG21, B167, pp. 68-70** "Pay Roll of Lieutenant Colonel Ebenezer Jessup's Own Company" June 25 - October 24, 1777; **MG21, B167, pp. 71-81** "Roll of...the King's Loyal Americans...21st August and 24th October 1777"; **MG21, B167, pp. 82-83** "Pay Roll of Captain James Robins Company 21st August to 24th of October 1777"; **MG21, B167, pp. 100-101** Account of forage furnished by Hugh Munro to Burgoyne's Army 1777; **MG21, B167, pp. 102-106** "A List of the Officers of the Loyal Rangers" gives excellent biographical details of all listed; **MG21, B167, pp. 117-119** Subsistence returns for Campaign of 1777; **MG21, B167, pp. 125-127** "An Account of Sundrys Furnished General Burgoyne's Army on the Expedition of 1777. By Jonathan Jones Esqr."; **MG21, B167, pp. 161-171** Memorials of Ebenezer Jessup describing his Corps and their activities in 1777 to early 1778 dated February 1, 1778; **MG21, B167, pp. 212-218** "Return of...Officers and Men of the King's Loyal Americans...as served the Campaign between 25th June and 24th October 1777"; **MG21, B167, pp. 23-24, 40-43, 47-55, 84-90, 108** Subsistence returns and other miscellaneous documents; **MG21, B214, pp. 26-30** Letter written by Ebenezer Jessup to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne from Quebec dated July 17, 1778. This letter is a memorial to Burgoyne asking for subsistence and money due to Jessup for his service, which is detailed, during the Campaign of 1777; **MG21, B214, pp. 3, 13, 94-95, 186** Papers pertaining to Issac Mann, Adjutant of Colonel Jessup's Corps.-----Also of related interest are a small group of documents concerning the company of the King's Loyal Americans commanded by Captain Hugh Munro, which served through part of the Campaign of 1777 as a special unit of batteaux men. See **MG21, B167, pp. 91-93** "Roll of Captain Munro's Compy. with the time Each was in the Batteau Service"; **MG21, B167, pp. 94-95** "Abstract of Captain Munro's Compy. for their Extra Pay as Batteau Men while in said Service between the 12th August 1777 & the 14th Octr. Following"; **MG21, B167, pp. 130-135, 242-245** Miscellaneous papers pertaining to the service of Captain Hugh Munro and the Batteaux Company including extracts from General Army Orders 1777; **MG21, B214, pp. 210-216** "Memorial of Hugh Munro."

The **Horatio Gates papers** owned by the **New York Historical Society** includes the original "A Call Roll October 17th, 1777 of the King's Loyal Americans commanded by Ebenezer Jessup" (Box 20, Item #44).

The original manuscript **Journal of Lieutenant Henry Simmons 1777-1778** of Jessup's Corps is owned by the **Lennox and Addington County Museum**, 97 Thomas St. E., P.O. Box 160, Napanee, Ontario, Canada K7R 3S9. This journal provides an extremely interesting narrative of the Cam-

paing of 1777 and of the movements of the unit. A transcript copy was made and printed by the late Dr. H.C. Burleigh, which can be found at many libraries in the Province of Ontario. A copy can also be seen at the **Montgomery County Department of History and Archives**, Old Court House, Fonda, New York 12068 (518-853-3431).

The **Public Record Office England** has several pertinent documents within the **War Office Records (W.O)**. See grouping **W.O. 28, Volume 4**, (Headquarters Records America. Letters, Returns, etc.) for the following: **W.O. 28/4, pp. 99** "Muster Roll of the Corps of Royalist Commanded by Ebenezer Jessup Esquire." Despite being dated 1781, this roll contains much useful data on the enlistment dates of individual men; **W.O. 28/4, pp. 101-102** Letter Ebenezer Jessup to Sir Guy Carleton dated December 3, 1777 concerns the state of the unit after the campaign. Notes the condition of regimental clothing. Contains interesting remarks concerning the unusual behavior of Issac Mann, Adjutant of the unit, during the siege of the British Army at Saratoga; **W.O. 28/4, pp. 188-189** "A List of Captain (Joseph) Jessup's Company between the 25th June & 24th Octobr. 1777 Taken from the Regimental Book -- La Chine 27th Jany 1778." An excellent list noting the state of every man who served during the Campaign of 1777.

Some published materials of interest are:

H.C. Burleigh, **The Freemans Of Freeman's Farm, Saratoga, N.Y.**-No information available on place and date (1979?) printed in Ontario, Canada. John Freeman and his son Thomas were both members of Jessup's Corps. It was around John's farm that the Battles of Saratoga were fought. Copies can be found at the Montgomery County Department of History and Archives and at Saratoga National Historical Park.

Mary B. Fryer, **Loyalist Spy, The experiences of Captain John Walden Meyers during the American Revolution**, Brockville, Ontario, 1974 relates the life of one officer of the King's Loyal Americans who during 1777 frequently served as a detached scout and spy for the British Army. Copies available from **Besancourt Publishers**, Box 848, Brockville, Ontario, Canada K6V 5W1.

Henry G. Jesup, ed., **Edward Jessup of West Farms, Westchester Co., New York, and His Descendents**, Cambridge, 1887, pp. 206-233 are of interest as they relate the career of Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup. Reprints of vital documents pertaining to this unit's original organization can also be found in this reference. Copies can be found at the New York State Library; Crandall, Library, Glens Falls, New York; Vermont Historical Society.

Lorne Pierce, "Doctor Solomon Jones: United Empire Loyalist," **Queen's Quarterly** 36 (Summer 1929), pp. 437-448 is a good secondary biographical memoir of Jones who served as a surgeon's mate in Jessup's Rangers during 1777. Little detail concerning 1777. Copy at the New York State Library and at many libraries in the Province of Ontario.

J.F. Pringle, **Lunenburg, or the Old Eastern District**, Cornwall, Ontario, 1890, pp. 360-365 has listings of officers serving in the King's Loyal Americans. Copies at the New York State Library and National Library of Canada in Ottawa, Ontario.

Stephen G. Strach, **Notes on The Family of Sarah Dunham Jones 1734-1818, Loyalist**, Schuylerville, New York, 1980. An unpublished paper. Five of the sons of Sarah Jones served during the Burgoyne Campaign in Jessup's Rangers. Copies can be found at Saratoga National Historical Park; Burke Research Center, Fort Edward, New York.

E. Rae Stuart, "Jessup's Rangers As A Factor In Loyalist Settlement," in **Three History Theses**, published by the Ontario Department of Public Records and Archives, Toronto, Ontario, 1961, pp. i-x, 1-158. Excellent study of the King's Loyal Americans led by Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup in 1777. Copies at Saratoga National Historical Park; National Library of Canada; Archives of Ontario.

#### THE LOYAL VOLUNTEERS (CAPTAIN SAMUEL MACKAY'S)

-Documentary material pertaining to this unit is scarce. The **Public Archives Canada** has within the **Haldimand Papers Transcripts** several pieces of interest. See **MG21, B167, pp. 109-112** "Subsistence Account" of the Loyal Volunteers for the Campaign of 1777 which lists all the names of the officers and privates serving in the unit; **MG21, B167, pp. 172-173** list of men who enlisted in the "Corps of Volunteers Raised by the late Colonel Francis Phister...and now Commanded by Capt. Samuel McKay..." dated April 14, 1778; **MG21, B214, p. 1** "Pay return of the Volunteers Commanded by Samuel McKay... 1st August 1777 and ending the 8th Septr..."; **MG21, B214, p.8** "Account of...articles...delivered...to the Non-commissioned Officers and Privets of the Volunteers under the Command of Samuel MacKay" dated September 25, 1777 "Camp at Freeman's fields" contains information regarding the dress of this unit; Additional supportive documents of less importance (subsistence records etc.) are **MG21, B167, pp. 33-34, 124, 174** and **MG21, B214, p. 12**. One extremely rare printed source also exists--Samuel MacKay, **The Narrative of Captain Samuel MacKay, Commandant Of A Provincial Regiment in North America; By The Appointment of Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne: Recommended To The Patronage Of Brigadier-General Maclean, And by him delivered to his Brother Lieutenant Francis MacKay, Of The 75th Regt. To be presented to the Ministry**, Kingston, 1778. There would appear to be only one known copy of this interesting pamphlet now housed in the collections of the **Boston Public Library**, 666 Boylston Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02116 (1-617-536-5400). It is an excellent detailed account written shortly after the surrender of Burgoyne in which the Captain attempts to justify his reasons for retreating to Fort Ticonderoga on October 10, 1777 without having received orders from Burgoyne. A typescript copy of the above piece containing numerous typographical errors can also be found in the **Public Archives Canada** as **MG23, B43** "Captain Samuel MacKay's Account." A similiar but scaled down version can be found in the **Haldimand Papers Transcripts** in **MG21, B71, pp. 378-381** "Account of Samuel MacKay, Montreal Decr. 1st, 1777." A full manuscript rendition appears in the **Colonial Office Papers** as **C.O. 5, 116, folios 122-130d** at the **Public Record Office England**. See also the recently printed H.C. Burleigh, **Captain MacKay and the Loyal Volunteers**, published by **Bayside Publishing Company**, Bloomfield, Ontario, Canada, 1977 for further details concerning the Captain and his command.

## THE UNNAMED COMPANY OF CAPTAIN DANIEL MacALPINE

-Sources for the study of this unit during 1777 are almost virtually non-existent. The **Public Archives Canada** has within the **Haldimand Papers Transcripts** a small group of interesting documents, which constitute the only real source of information on this unit. See **MG21, B167, pp. 107-108** "Return of the Officers and Men who Served in General Burgoyne's Campaign in the Year 1777. Under the Command of Captain McAlpin..."; **MG21, B167, p. 136** "Establishment for a company of bateamen, to be formed from the men engaged by Captain McAlpin." dated August 16, 1777 at Saratoga; **MG21, B214, p. 2** "Pay return of the Volunteers under the Command of...1st August 1777...Ending the 8th September following..."; **MG21, B214, p. 9** "Account of...articles...delivered...to Non Commissioned Officers & Privits of the Voluntiers under the Command of Daniel McAlpin." dated September 25, 1777 at "Camp at Freeman's field." This item is especially useful as it details the type of clothing issued to the unit on that date making it possible to reconstruct a composite illustration of how McAlpine's men were dressed and outfitted. Other general documents of less interest can be found in **MG21, B167, pp. 28-29** and **MG21, B214, p. 11**.

The **War Office Records** at the **Public Record Office** England contains one useful item -- **W.O. 28/4, p. 269** "Muster Roll of the Volunteers Commanded by Daniel McAlpine Esqr. Raised by Order of General Sir William Howe...25th December 1776 & Ending the 24th June following..."

In addition to all of the above there are small but vague references which exist in some of the published British journals and orderly books kept on the Campaign.

One useful printed source is H.H. Robertson, ed., "Burgoyne's Campaign," in **Americana** 4 (July 1909. #4), pp. 421-428 reprints the memorial of Joseph Beaty of Ballston (Spa), New York who was a volunteer in Captain Daniel MacAlpine's Company that served with Burgoyne. Copies may be available at some major city libraries.

## THE ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS

- This Loyalist regiment, which performed very notable services in Canada 1775-1776 during the American invasion of that country, was not assigned to duty as a unit with Burgoyne's Army in 1777. Instead, the unit remained in Canada throughout most of 1777 performing logistical duties in support of Burgoyne's force. Six officers and men of the Emigrants did, however, accompany Burgoyne's Army acting in the capacity of "Engineer-Artificers." Sources for the study of this unit are numerous but rather vague when reference is sought regarding the activities of the few Emigrants accompanying Burgoyne. The bulk of existing source materials pertaining to the Emigrants can be found in the collections of the **Public Archives Canada**. See **Fraser Family Papers (MG23, K1)** for the majority of these materials. Other sources of information exist but none bear real relevance to the army of Burgoyne or to the Campaign of 1777.

## PHILIP SKENE

- Perhaps the most notable Loyalist individual associated with Burgoyne's

Campaign of 1777. Numerous sources exist from which information regarding this highly controversial advisor to Burgoyne can be extracted. Several good collections of manuscript items exist. Probably the largest and most interesting collection of original Philip Skene related manuscripts and documents was that assembled by the late Hall Park McCullough of Bennington, Vermont. Unfortunately, upon Mr. McCullough's death, many of the original items were dispersed. Some have found their way into learned institutions while others are now in private hands beyond the view of scholars. However, Mr. McCullough had prepared a transcript copy of each item in his collection plus numerous additional pieces from other collections, public and private, which he carefully mounted or transcribed directly into a scrapebook, which is now owned by **The Bennington Museum Library**, Bennington, Vermont 05201 (1-802-442-2180) and available to scholars for inspection. Many of the pieces transcribed are extremely interesting and not to be found elsewhere.

Another collection of Skene manuscript items can be viewed by appointment at the **Fort Ticonderoga Museum Library**, P.O. Box 390, Ticonderoga, New York 12883 (1-518-585-7072). Some of these were reprinted in **The Bulletin Of The Fort Ticonderoga Museum** VI (January 1943, No. 5). Only 2 or 3 items printed deal specifically with the Campaign of 1777. Many major city libraries own sets of **The Bulletin**. The article in **The Bulletin** is an expanded version of an earlier printed piece by John Pell entitled "Philip Skene of Skenesborough," that appeared in the **The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association** 9 (January 1928, No. 1), pp. 27-44.

The **New York State Library** in Albany, New York owns a small amount of original manuscript items grouped as the **Philip Skene Papers**. The collection contains documents from the period 1765-1789. A detailed list of this collection appears in Stefan Bielinski, ed., **Revolutionary War Manuscripts in the New York State Library**, Albany, 1976, page 66. Of special interest to the period of 1777 are items **7284** Letter Skene to ? written at Fort Miller August 27, 1777 describing the Battle of Bennington; **7312** Undated narrative describing his life and activities from 1775 through 1777; Other items of interest include lists of losses suffered in 1777 and claims for materials supplied to Burgoyne's Army.

**The Park-McCullough House** (Museum), Corner West and Park Streets, North Bennington, Vermont (1-802-442-2747) owns some Skene documents which originally formed part of the collection of Hall Park McCullough.

Transcripts of 3 letters written by Philip Skene to the Earl of Dartmouth dated July 15, 1777 (**Letter No. 1573** - describing events just after the evacuation of Ticonderoga); August 30, 1777 (**Letter No. 1665** - describing the action at Bennington); September 23, 1777 (**Letter No. 1693** - describing the Battle of Freeman's Farm) can be found in Benjamin F. Stevens, ed., **Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating To America, 1773-1783**, 25 Volumes, London, 1898. A set of Stevens' work is available at the New York State Library.

Many other Skene documents exist but are well scattered in numerous depositories. Interested scholars should consult Doris B. Morton, **Philip**



Skene of Skenesborough, Granville, New York 1959, pp. 79-80 for a good list of depositories. Morton's book is now out-of-print but can be found in many upstate New York libraries.

#### THE CANADIAN COMPANIES OF CAPTAINS BOUCHERVILLE AND MONIN

- There is only one source for the study of these units, but one which is unusually complete and informative --- The Historical Section of The General Staff Canada, ed., **A History Of The Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada From the Peace of Paris in 1763 to the Present Time**, 3 Volumes, Ottawa, 1919. Volume 2 is of particular interest as it is chiefly comprised of reprints of numerous vital documents pertaining to the raising, organization, and movements of the Canadian Companies serving with Burgoyne's Army and to the Canadian Corvee which within the boundaries of Canada performed logistical services on that army's behalf. Documents reprinted within this volume have been taken from 3 sources --- the **Haldimand Papers**, the **Colonial Office Papers**, and the **Quebec Gazette**. Copies of this reference are available at the National Library Of Canada and the Vermont Historical Society.

The above references can be supplemented with "Return of 2 Companies of Canadians 17th October 1777" an original manuscript signed by Captain Boucherville which can be found in the **Horatio Gates Papers (Box 20, Item #42)** at the **New York Historical Society**.

#### MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES

- There are a number of excellent primary and secondary references of a detailed or general nature that contain information regarding the Loyalists serving with Burgoyne. The following is a random list of the relevant sources available to scholars:

The **Haldimand Papers Transcripts** at the **Public Archives Canada** contains many general and useful references to the Loyalist Corps of 1777. Some of the more relevant general documents that are particularly concerned with those units in Burgoyne's Army are: **MG21, B166, pp. 195-196** "Officers Names, Characters and Pretensions in the Several Corps of Loyalists in the Province of Quebec" is an undated document that contains interesting remarks on the character of each officer serving in the units led by Peters, Jessup, McAlpine and Munro in 1777; **MG21, B167, pp. 20-21** miscellaneous correspondence; **MG21, B167, pp. 98-99** accounts; **MG21, B167, pp. 113-116** "Opinions of the Board of officers appointed to examine into & settle Claims for Subce &c. made by the Corps of Loyalists & Individuals for the Campaign 1777 under Lieutenant General Burgoyne."; **MG21, B167, p. 203** General Subsistence Record of the Loyalist Corps 1777; **MG21, B214, p. 6** "Memorandum relative to Provincials 8th September 1777" signed by Brigadier-General Simeon Fraser. This extremely important document outlines the organization of the Loyalist units with Burgoyne's Army and designates how they will be payed, clothed, and commanded; **MG21, B214, p. 7** Order signed by Quin John Freeman, Major of Brigade, September 15, 1777 appointing Mr. Macomb paymaster to the Provincial Corps with Burgoyne.

Two useful original documents at the **Public Record Office** England in the **Colonial Office Records - C.O. 42/38, folio 48** "Return of Royalists who returned to this Province after Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's Convention. Head Quarters Quebec 26th June 1778" signed by Guy Carleton; in the **War Office Records - W.O. 28/4, p. 266** "Present State of the Several Detachments of Royalists who returned from Lieutenant Genl. Burgoyne's Army to Canada after the Convention Head Quarters at Quebec 1st May 1778."

John M'Alpine, **Genuine Narratives and Concise Memoirs Of Some Of The Most Interesting Exploits and Singular Adventures Of J. M'Alpine**, Greenock, Scotland, 1780. M'Alpine was a Loyalist volunteer in the employ of Burgoyne's logistical service. A most interesting and curious account. A copy is available on microfilm at Saratoga National Historical Park. A limited edition reprint with different pagination was issued by William Innes of Greenock, September 1883. A copy of this edition can be found at the Metropolitan Toronto Library and the New York Historical Society.

E.A. Cruikshank, "The Adventures of Roger Stevens." **Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records** 33 (1939), pp. 11-38. An interesting biographical memoir of one Loyalist who served as a guide to Major-General Riedesel's German troops serving with Burgoyne and who acted as wagon-master and purchasing agent for the army's cattle. Copies available at New York State Library; Metropolitan Toronto Library; Vermont Historical Society.

North Callahan, **Royal Raiders, The Tories Of The American Revolution**, Indianapolis, 1963. Chapter 8 covers Burgoyne's operations and Loyalist units. Available in many libraries.

Alexander Fraser, comp., "United Empire Loyalists, Enquiry Into The Losses And Services In Consequence Of Their Loyalty, Evidence In The Canadian Claims," **Second Report Of The Bureau Of Archives For The Province Of Ontario 1904**, 2 Volumes, Toronto, 1905 contains many claims by Loyalists who served in Burgoyne's Army from which much detail can be gleaned. The original manuscript claims as reproduced by the Ontario Archives are now housed at the **Library of Congress**, Washington, D.C. For information concerning the originals see J. Sellers, G. Gawalt, P. Smith, and P. van Ee, comp., **Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution**, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 106, Item 497. Sets of the above printed version can be found at the New York State Library; Library of Congress; the Public Archives Canada; and in many major city libraries in the Province of Ontario.---Almost identical to the original Loyalist Claims held by the **Library of Congress** are the Loyalist Claims to be found in the **Audit Office Records** at the **Public Record Office** England (**A.O. 12 Series I** and **A.O. 13 Series II**). These have been copied by the **New York Public Library** (only **A.O. 12 Series I** - classified as Loyalist Cases 7 and 8: 60 volumes of written transcripts): the **Public Archives Canada** (see **General Inventory Manuscripts Volume 2**, pp. 215-218 for a detailed summary of holdings of **A.O. 12** and **A.O. 13**); the **New York State Library** (**A.O. 12 Series I** cataloged as **No. 973.314/G78219**: on 29 reels of microfilm which reproduce 60 volumes of transcripts; **A.O. 13 Series II** cataloged as

No. 973.314/G786: on 3 reels of microfilm only reproduces a calendar of this grouping; and the **Library of Congress** (see J. Sellers etc., **Manuscript Sources...for Research...American Revolution**, pp. 284-285 for a detailed summary of holdings of both A.O. 12 and A.O. 13).

Thomas C. Lampee, "The Mississquoi Loyalists," **Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society**, VI (June 1938, No. 2) pp. 81-94 contains a good discussion of Burgoyne's Loyalist units.

Mary Beacock Fryer, **King's Men, the Soldier Founders of Ontario**, Toronto, 1980 is a documented source which contains basic histories of the King's Loyal Americans, Queen's Loyal Rangers, Butler's Rangers, King's Royal Regiment of New York and Royal Highland Emigrants under one cover. Some caution should be exerted when referring to this source as numerous chronological errors appear throughout the text, which detract from this otherwise excellent reference book. Well footnoted. Copies available from Dundurn Press Limited, Toronto, Canada.

Hazel C. Mathews, **Frontier Spies, The British Secret Service, Northern Department, during the Revolutionary War**, Fort Myers, Florida, 1971. An excellent reference which offers a great deal of background information pertaining to individual Loyalists and Loyalist units that served with Burgoyne. Copies at the New York State Library and at many libraries in the Albany, New York area.

P.H. Bryce, "The Quinte Loyalists of 1784," **Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records** 27, Toronto, 1931, pp. 1-14 only contains an excellent survey offering a great many notes on Burgoyne's Loyalist units taken from primary sources. Copies at the New York State Library; Vermont Historical Society; Metropolitan Toronto Library.

Wilbur H. Siebert, **The American Loyalists In The Eastern Seignories And Townships Of The Province Of Quebec**, Ottawa, 1913 is an excellent but often overlooked source of information constructed from primary sources. Pages 3-14 discuss all of Burgoyne's Loyalist units. Well footnoted. Copy at the National Library Of Canada.

George B. Upham, "Burgoyne's Great Mistake," **New England Quarterly** 3 (October 1930), pp. 657-679. An interesting article documenting the activities of the Loyalists of the Connecticut Valley and New Hampshire that might have supported Burgoyne's efforts but for a series of mishaps. Copies at Russel Sage College, Troy, New York; Schaefer Library, Union College, Schenectady, New York; Saratoga National Historical Park.

H.S. MacDonald, "The U.E. Loyalists Of The Old Johnstown District," **Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records** 12, Toronto, 1914 is a useful reference as pages 26-30 contain biographical notes on members of the Sherwood, Jessup, and Jones Families who served with Burgoyne. Copies at the New York State Library; Vermont Historical Society; Metropolitan Toronto Library.

Paul H. Smith, **Loyalists and Redcoats, A Study in British Revolutionary Policy**, Chapel Hill, 1964. Of general use. Briefly touches on Burgoyne's Campaign. Copies are available in many libraries.

J.J. Talman, ed., **Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada**, Toronto, 1946 should be consulted as it contains some small detail concerning Loyalist activity in 1777. A modern facsimile reprint is available from **Greenwood Publishing Corporation**, 211 East 43rd Street, New York, New York 10017.

A.D. Flowers, **Loyalists Of Bay Chaleur**, Vancouver, British Columbia, 1973 is an interesting treatise examining the migration and settlement of the Loyalists to the Bay. Many of this group had been former soldiers in Burgoyne's Loyalist units. Copy available at the **Town of Stillwater Historian's Office**, Stillwater, New York 12170. This office also has several files pertaining to Loyalist activity in the Stillwater, New York area in 1777.

William H. Hill, **Old Fort Edward Before 1800**, Fort Edward, 1929 is a valuable source of notes pertaining to some of the Loyalists that served in Burgoyne's Army. Copies can be found at Saratoga National Historical Park and in most city or town libraries in Washington and Saratoga Counties, New York.

John Spargo, **Two Bennington Born Explorers And Makers Of Modern Canada**, Bennington, 1925. Has some small details pertaining to Loyalist participation in the Campaign of 1777. Copy available at the Bennington Museum Library.

James Sullivan, ed., **Minutes Of The Albany Committee Of Correspondence 1775-1778**, 2 Volumes, Albany, 1923-1925 though not particularly concerned with the military events of 1777, this is an excellent source of information regarding the displacement and persecution of families of Loyalist soldiers then serving in Burgoyne's Army. Consult the index in Volume 2 under proper names. Copies available at most major libraries in New York State. Sets also available for purchase from the **New York State Library, Gift and Exchange Section**, Albany, New York 12234.

E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., **Orderly Book Of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne**, Albany, 1860 is the printed version of an original British Army Orderly Book (original author unknown) which is now housed at the library at **Washington's Headquarters**, 84 Liberty Street, Newburgh, New York 12550. Printed copies are available at Adirondack Community College Library (William Hill Collection), Glens Falls, New York; Crandall Library, Glens Falls; New York State Library. Similar to the above is another manuscript British Orderly Book kept during Burgoyne's Campaign in 1777 recently acquired by the New York State Library (**Item #17165**). Both of these pieces have numerous references to the Loyalist units serving with Burgoyne. Orders for the following dates are of special interest: **July 12, 20, 29; August 6, 9, 11, 16, 27; September 21, 27.**

John Burgoyne, **A State Of The Expedition From Canada**, London, 1780 (2nd Edition). This book which presents Burgoyne's defense contains references to the Loyalists and Canadians serving under him whom he partially blamed for his failure. This reference is without an index. Pertinent sections and pages that should be consulted are: "Narrative" p. 12; "Evidence" pp. 97, 100-101, 113, 116; "Review Of The Evidence" pp. 133-134, 163; "Appendix" No. V p. xviii, No. IX p. xlv, No. XI p. li, pp. lxix, lxxi. A modern facsimile reprint (1969) was available until recently from **Arno Press**, New

York, New York. Copies can be found in many libraries.

Lorenzo Sabine, **Biographical Sketches Of Loyalists Of The American Revolution**, 2 Volumes, Boston, 1847. Provides biographical notes on some of the more notable individuals that served in 1777. A modern facsimile reprint (1966) is available from **Kennikat Press**, Port Washington, New York.

Gregory Palmer, comp., **Biographical Sketches Of American Loyalists, Volumes III, IV, and V**, Westport, 1982 is a continuation of the work started by Sabine. The compiler offers data on nearly 10,000 Loyalists whose records are on file at the Public Record Office England and which do not duplicate names in Sabine's work. Additional newly discovered data on Loyalists recorded by Sabine is, however, offered. The 3 volumes will soon be available from **Meckler Publishing**, 520 Riverside Avenue, Westport, Connecticut 06880.

"A Journey to Canada" is the title of a manuscript journal written by Richard Cartwright, a civilian Loyalist, in October of 1777. Cartwright was then living in Albany and upon Burgoyne's surrender obtained a pass from American authorities to remove to Canada. Cartwright's highly descriptive journal of 15 pages is without doubt the finest graphic account of the countryside north of Albany just after the fighting ended. The original manuscript is now in the collections of the **Public Archives Canada (MG23, H1, #7)**. This should be supplemented with a reading of one of two biographical studies of Cartwright--C.E. Cartwright, ed., **The Life and Letters of Richard Cartwright**, Toronto, 1876 and Donald C. MacDonald, "Honourable Richard Cartwright, 1759-1815," in **Three History Theses** published by the Ontario Department of Public Records and Archives, Toronto, Ontario, 1961. Both of these references are available at the Metropolitan Toronto Library.

**The Manuscript Notes Of Dr. Asa Fitch** concerning the history of Washington County, New York contains numerous but often undocumented references to the Loyalists serving with Burgoyne. Fitch was a 19th Century historian who during his life interviewed many residents of questionable authority. His manuscript notes are now housed at the **New York Genealogical and Biographical Society**, 122 East 58th Street, New York 10022 (1-212-755-8532).

All of the following sources contain numerous references and notes pertaining to the Loyalists and Canadians serving with Burgoyne in 1777. Consult the index in each.

Horation Rogers, ed., **A Journal Kept In Canada And Upon Burgoyne's Campaign In 1776 and 1777 By Lieut. James M. Hadden**, Albany, 1884. A modern facsimile reprint (1970) was available from **Books For Libraries Press**, Freeport, New York.

George F.G. Stanley, ed., **For Want Of A Horse**, Sackville, New Brunswick, 1961. This is a journal of an anonymous British officer of the 47th Regiment of Foot. The original manuscript from which this book is constructed is in the **United States Military Academy Library**, West Point, New York 10996. Copies of this book are at Saratoga National Historical Park and National

Library Of Canada.

James P. Baxter, ed., **The British Invasion From The North**, Albany, 1887. This is the journal kept by Lieutenant William Digby of the 53rd Regiment of Foot, Grenadier Company, which was part of Burgoyne's Army. The original manuscript journal is in the **British Museum**. A recent facsimile reprint (1970) was available from **DaCapo Press**, New York, New York.

Also of interest to the student of Burgoyne's Campaign are the allied movements of the British Forces under Lieutenant-Colonel Barry St. Leger up the Mohawk Valley in 1777 which terminated in the unsuccessful siege of American occupied Fort Schuyler (Stanwix). The Loyalists played an extremely important role in St. Leger's movements and composed a sizeable portion of his effective fighting force. Principal among the Loyalists were those belonging to Sir John Johnson's King's Royal Regiment of New York ("The Royal Greens") and the Loyalists serving as rangers and interpreters in the British Indian Department who followed Colonel John Butler. Both unit's service is particularly notable especially for the part sustained by each in The Battle of Oriskany on August 6, 1777. One company of Canadians commanded by Captain Rouville also accompanied the expedition. Some excellent source material is available to scholars interested in this phase of the Campaign of 1777:

E.A. Cruikshank, **Butler's Rangers**, Welland, Ontario, 1893. One of two good histories of this Loyalist unit. The best history of this Loyalist unit but with one important drawback--no footnotes or bibliography of sources used. Cruikshank was a very thorough researcher and historian whose work is generally reliable, however, his works are flawed by a lack of citations. As a result, his works have to be used with some caution. A modern facsimile reprint is available from **The Lundy's Lane Historical Museum**, 5810 Ferry Street, Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada L2G 1S9 (1-416-358-5082).

E.A. Cruikshank, "The King's Royal Regiment Of New York," **Ontario Historical Society Papers And Records** 27, Toronto, 1931, pp. 193-323. Once again, as with the above work listed, it suffers from the lack of citations. The best and only history of this unit. Copies available at the New York State Library; Metropolitan Toronto Library; Vermont Historical Society.

John A. Scott, **Fort Stanwix And Oriskany**, Rome, New York, 1927 is a secondary source that contains much useful data pertaining to St. Leger's Loyalists and Canadians. Those pages which examine the makeup of the units are of interest. Copies available in many libraries across New York State.

William L. Stone, **Life Of Joseph Brant--Thayendanega**, 2 Volumes, New York, 1838. Volume 1 contains very useful material concerning the part played by the Indians and Loyalists during St. Leger's Expedition. Footnoted with citations of reference used. Available at most major city libraries.

William L. Stone, ed., **Orderly Book Of Sir John Johnson During The Oriskany Campaign 1776-1777**, Albany, 1882. Excellent primary record of the earlier phase of St. Leger's movements. Also included in this work is an excellent memoir of Sir John Johnson. Copies available in numerous major city libraries.

Howard Swiggett, **War Out Of Niagara, Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers**, New York, 1933. An excellent source of information complete with citations and bibliography. A facsimile reprint was issued in 1963 which is now also out-of-print. Copies are at the New York State Library and the Metropolitan Toronto Library.

**NOTE:** There are also hundreds of original documents available to scholars desiring to study the Loyalists of St. Leger's Army. Most of these concern the organization and problems connected with the men and officers of the King's Royal Regiment of New York and of the British North American Indian Department and their efforts among the Indian auxiliaries accompanying the Expedition. These should properly be the subject of another source guide and are purposely not included in the present list. Scholars interested in this phase of the Campaign of 1777 are urged to consult the collections of the **Public Archives Canada**, Ottawa, Ontario and of the **Montgomery County Department of History & Archives**, Fonda, New York and of the **New York State Library**, Albany, New York for relevant materials.

### GENERAL SOURCE GUIDES

- A great wealth of original material pertaining to the Loyalists is still in British archives. However, most of the relevant and more important items have been copied by the **Public Archives Canada** and are easily accessible to North American scholars on microfilm or in the form of transcripts. All of the following guides should be consulted:

Charles M. Andrews, **Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain**, 2 Volumes, Washington, D.C., 1912-1914. Most major city libraries own a set. This set plus the next reference listed below were reprinted in a facsimile edition (1965) by **Kraus Reprint Corporation**, New York, New York.

Charles M. Andrews and Francis G. Davenport, **Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge**, Washington, D.C., 1908.

M.S. Giuseppi, **Guide to the Manuscripts Preserved in the Public Record Office**, 2 Volumes, London, 1923-1924. Revised edition available from the Public Record Office England.

Douglas Brymner, comp., **Report On Canadian Archives 1888**, Ottawa, 1889 and **Report On Canadian Archives 1889**, Ottawa, 1890 reprint detailed inventories of some volumes of the **Haldimand Papers Transcripts** (MG21). Of particular interest are pages 744-752 in the **Report...1888** which lists **Volume B167** (21,827) "Muster Rolls, Accounts, & c., Relating To The Corps Of Loyal Americans - 1776-1789" and pages 66-73 in the **Report...1889** which lists **Volume B214** (21,874) "Memorials From The Provincial Corps And Loyalists, 1777-1785. Vol. I."

K.G. Davies, ed., **Documents Of The American Revolution 1770-1783 (Colonial Office Series)**, 23 Volumes, Dublin, 1973-1981. Volumes 11-14 are of interest to the period of the Burgoyne Campaign. A complete set of this

work is at the New York State Library. Sets of individual volumes can also be ordered from **Biblio Distribution Center**, 81 Adams Drive, Totowa, New Jersey 07512.

Gregory Palmer, ed., **A Bibliography of Loyalist Source Material in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain**, Westport, 1982. This book offers under one cover a series of bibliographic essays that appeared during the 1970s in the **Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society**, Worcester, Massachusetts. The work was co-sponsored by the Program for Loyalist Studies and Publications. This reference provides a handy source for those starting a search for a specific topic or individual. It, however, only provides a general reference number and brief grouping description. Individual documents are generally not cited and full addresses of source locations are not given. Understandably, from the large scope covered certain sources of documentation etc. have been overlooked or were not listed due to lack of information. Despite these minor drawbacks interested scholars should consult this work and use it as a guide to the place where relevant materials can be found on a given topic or individual. Copies are very expensive, which will unfortunately place this reference beyond the reach of many who would benefit from its use. Available from **Meckler Publishing**, 520 Riverside Avenue, Westport, Connecticut 06880.

**General Inventory Manuscripts Public Archives Canada Volumes 2** (MG11-MG16), **3** (MG17-MG21), **4** (MG22-MG25), Ottawa, 1972-1976 which calendars all original and transcript holdings pertaining to the Loyalists. Copies of the inventories can be ordered from **Canadian Government Publishing Centre**, Supply and Services Canada, Hull, Quebec, Canada K1A 0S9.

### THE DRESS OF BURGOYNE'S LOYALISTS

- Details concerning the uniforms and dress of the Loyalists serving with Burgoyne are scanty. Primary sources that pertain to a specific unit's dress have already been noted above. The few printed compilations of data pertaining to or including information regarding the general dress of the Loyalist regiments are very incomplete and riddled with errors in detail. Researchers should exert themselves to be cautious when using or citing any of the following references some of which are of a very general nature:

William L. Calver and Reginald P. Bolton, **History Written With Pick And Shovel**, New York, 1950, pp. 124-136, 168 have photographs of Loyalist buttons and badges.

John R. Elting, ed., **Military Uniforms in America: The Era of the American Revolution 1775-1795**, San Rafael, California, 1974 contains some full-color plates of Loyalist units. Of special interest are those of Butler's Rangers and the Royal Highland Emigrants.

A.W. Haarmann, "Some Notes on American Provincial Uniforms." **Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research**, 49 (No. 199) pp. 141-151.

A.W. Haarmann and D.W. Holst, "The Friedrich von Germann Drawings of 'Troops in the American Revolution.'" **Military Collector & Historian**, 16

(Spring 1964, No. 1), pp. 1-9.

Cecil C.P. Lawson, **A History Of The Uniforms Of The British Army**, 5 Volumes, London, 1940-1967. Volume 3, pages 226-242 discusses uniforms of some Loyalist units.

Charles M. Lefferts, **Uniforms of the American, British, French, and German Armies in the War of the American Revolution 1775-1783**, New York, 1926, pp. 211-231 contains some full-color plates.

Philip Katcher, **The American Provincial Corps 1775-1784**, Reading, England 1973. The chief value of this book is the photographs of original accoutrements worn by Loyalist soldiers.

John Mollo, **Uniforms Of The American Revolution**, London, 1975 contains some full-color plates and notes concerning Loyalist units.