

“I SEE NOTHING BUT THE HORRORS OF A CIVIL WAR”:
A HISTORY OF MCALPIN’S CORPS OF AMERICAN VOLUNTEERS
(1776 – 1783)



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I. “The Purest Principles of Loyalty”: Why Loyalists Remained Faithful

On the eve of the American Revolution, many colonists who ultimately became “Tories” were not distinguishable from their neighbors who embraced independence. Many Loyalists were respected members of their towns; often well-educated Harvard graduates who worked as merchants, doctors, lawyers, distillers or ministers. Individuals such as Sir John Johnston, Richard Saltonstall, Jonathan Swell and Admiralty Judge Samuel Curwen, who would later enlist in the loyalist cause, were seen prior to the American Revolution as leading and influential members their respective colonies. Yet as lines were drawn and sides chosen, those who remained loyal to the Crown were treated as villains and traitors.

Despite popular belief most loyalists did not support the crown out of blind loyalty or a misguided sense of patriotism. Instead, most chose to remain loyal due to a variety of personal, societal and religious principles. For some, religious teachings demanded loyalty to the Crown. For others, economic opportunity guided fealty to King George. For more than a few, cultural beliefs dictated support of the British government. Yet regardless of their respective motivations, the American loyalists found themselves quickly at odds with their “patriot” counterparts.

One guiding principle which influenced Tories to remain loyal to the Crown was religious beliefs. Regardless of religious affiliation, many loyalists followed interpretations of the bible and religious teachings that required solemn allegiance to the Crown. For Anglicans, many ministers firmly believed they were bound by oath to be loyal to the king. The Reverend Benjamin Pickman insisted he had to remain loyal out of the “purest Principles of Loyalty to my late Sovereign”.¹ Fellow minister John Amory refused to support take the American cause

¹ Benjamin Pickman to his wife, 20 February, 1783.

because: “ I could not with a quiet conscience...take an Oath that I would bear Arms against the King of Great Britain to whom I had already sworn Allegiance.”²

Likewise, not all Congregationalists supported the revolutionary rhetoric that was frequently espoused from the pulpit in New England. Isaac Smith justified his loyalty to the crown upon religious principles. He argued his position at Harvard and his profession as Congregational minister forbade him to be disobedient to his king or Parliament, because they obliged him to “liberal enquiry.”³

Sandemanians, a pacifist sect of Congregationalists, believed that the bible commanded absolute loyalty to the Crown. Samuel Pike, a prominent Sandemanian, personified this belief when he declared in 1766 that every Christian must be a loyal subject to civil authority, even if that ruler was tyrannical. In turn, many Sandemanians became outspoken critics of the American cause and quickly became embroiled in the political crisis of the 1760s and early 1770s. The Sandemanians were the first to brand the Sons of Liberty and other political organizations as traitors to the Crown. Sandemanian minister Colburn Barrell declared that the Boston Massacre was the direct result of treasonous Congregationalist ministers who defied the laws of the land.

Roman Catholics, often seen as the scourge of the British Empire, quickly found themselves being forced to side with the Crown. Following the aftermath of the French and Indian Wars, many Catholic priests who resided in the upper regions of New York Colony openly welcomed black slaves and local Mohawks into their parishes and churches. With the passage of the Quebec Act of 1774, the practice of the Catholic faith was no longer subject to restrictions in certain regions of North America. The concept of Roman Catholics openly practicing their religious beliefs in New York, let alone with slaves and “savages”, deeply

² John Amory to James Lovell, Providence, February 12, 1778.

³ Isaac Smith Jr. to Mary Smith Cranch, Cambridge, October 20, 1774.

concerned their Congregationalist and Anglican neighbors. Members of the New York Provincial Congress quickly warned, “the indulgence and establishment of Popery all along the interior confines of the Protestant Colonies tends not only to obstruct their growth, but to weaken their security.”⁴

Yet religious principles were not the only motivating factor to remain loyal to the crown. Often, economic dependency and patronage dictated one’s loyalty. Political appointees William Woolton, Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver naturally sided with the English government because their respective colonial posts ensured potential profit. For many merchants, siding with the rebel mobs almost guaranteed financial ruin. Joseph Hooper, also known as “King Hooper”, of Marblehead was heavily dependent on trade with England. John Amory feared economic losses if he ended his business relationships with England. Amory was among the merchants who protested against the “Solemn League and Covenant of 1774,” suspending all commercial business with Great Britain. A business trip to England, which he coincidentally made during the Battle of Lexington, branded him a “Tory” in the eyes of his countrymen.

However, loyalty to the Crown so as to preserve economic profit was not limited to wealthy businessmen. Many tenant farmers of Albany, Ulster and Tryon Counties, New York were heavily dependent upon their loyalist land lords for continued economic success. In short, if rebel policies and practices drove their masters to financial ruin, economic destruction would surely follow for the tenants as well.

A desire for public safety and order also influenced many colonists who remained loyal to the Crown. Looking back at the origins of the American Revolution, key players such as Jonathan Sewall viewed the original conflict not with the Stamp Act Crisis or the attempt by the

⁴ “Motion by Mr. Melancton Smith, for an addition to the Report for securing the liberty of conscience, read, amended, and adopted, Motion by Mr. McDougall, that the Plan of Accommodation be not transmitted to the Congress until called for by them, or by our Delegates there.” New York Congress, June 24, 1775.

British government to collect on its debt from the French Wars. Instead, many Loyalists saw the Writ of Assistance case as the ignition of conflict. To many loyalists, the Writ of Assistance Case was viewed as an attempt by ambitious politicians to overthrow the political establishment and replace it with a lawless or populist mob.

Most Loyalists detested the mob rule that spread from Boston and New York City to the country side and abhorred the lack of order. As tensions grew between the colonies and England, many colonists attempted to remain neutral. However, as radicals seized power, neutrality became impossible. Dr. William Paine gave up his neutrality and declared himself a loyalist after he experienced "too many abuses" and "insults" from Patriots. Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty, complained Whig "tempers get more and more soured and malevolent against all moderate men, whom they see fit to reproach as enemies of their country by the name of Tories, among whom I am unhappily (although unjustly) ranked."⁵

For many loyalists in the New York region, especially those of Scottish descent, loyalty to the Crown was determined by cultural beliefs. Following the conclusion of the French and Indian War, many Scottish veterans from the 42nd, 77th, and 78th Regiments settled in the Albany area. Almost immediately, these newcomers clashed with their Dutch neighbors who sided with the rebels. In a society where clan ties were often paramount, many Scottish residents in the Albany area viewed King George III as their Laird or clan chieftain.⁶ As a result, most refused to sign "association" documents or loyalty oaths put forth by the Tory Committee due to the fact such documents were viewed as breaking an oath of allegiance to the King.⁷ As Captain Alexander McDonald, formerly of the 77th Regiment, warned "I am determined to be true to the

⁵ Journal of Samuel Curwen, May 4, 1775.

⁶ J. Fraser, Skulking for the King, (Ontario, 1985), p. 12-13.

⁷ Ibid at 13.

trust reposed in me and discharge my duty with honour . . . as long as I live.”⁸

Finally, for those colonists who attempted to remain neutral or initially sided with the “patriot” cause, the Declaration of Independence instead drove many individuals over to the side of the Crown. Seen as either a radical document or an extreme reaction to the dispute with the Crown, men such as Justus Sherwood, renounced their affiliation with the American cause and took up arms for the King.

II. The Conflict Ignites

Following its conquest of Canada, England began to recognize the harsh realities of its victory. In the months after the Treaty of Paris, Great Britain was forced not just to administer its newly acquired territories, but also to defend them. This necessitated maintaining a ten thousand-man army to protect North America from future French operations and Native American attacks, such as Pontiac’s Rebellion, which ignited after the conclusion of the war. By January 5, 1763, Britain’s funded debt was a staggering £122,603,336 with an annual interest of £4,409,797. A year later, the debt was almost £7,000,000 larger and by January of 1767, it had increased yet another £7,000,000.⁹

In an attempt to curb this financial burden, the English government implemented a series of economic programs aimed at having those it considered to have benefited most by the successful conclusion of the war, the American colonies, share in the burden of debt. After reviewing the state of Britain’s finances, Chancellor of Exchequer, George Grenville, concluded that the American colonies had benefited greatly from the protection of the Crown while contributing very little in taxes. At the same time, Grenville pointed out, an active smuggling

⁸ Ibid at 11.

⁹ Robert Middlekauff, The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763 - 1789, (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 57.

trade coupled with massive colonial customs mismanagement, particularly in the New England region, had led to an annual £6,000 deficit in custom duties collected in American ports. Accordingly, he suggested that a direct tax be levied on the American colonies in order to generate additional revenue.¹⁰

The first two revenue raising measures that Great Britain imposed on her American colonies were the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765. The Sugar Act established tariffs on colonial trading and also attempted to curb the American practice of smuggling sugar and molasses from the West Indies by placing a three pence per gallon tax on foreign molasses. The act established a list of “enumerated goods” that could be shipped only to England, including lumber, and set forth procedures for the accounting, loading and unloading of cargo in port. Violations of the act were prosecuted in a vice admiralty court, where defendants would be denied the right to a jury trial and where the presumption was of guilt rather than innocence. The second revenue raising measure was the Stamp Act, which levied an unprecedented direct tax on almost every piece of public paper in the colonies. Newspapers, almanacs, deeds, wills, custom documents, even playing cards were among the many papers subjected to the tax. The Stamp Act went so far as to impose a tax upon *tax receipts*.

The Sugar and Stamp acts brought on an explosion of riots, boycotts and protests throughout the colonies, particularly in Massachusetts and New York. At first, Massachusetts’ response was peaceful, with the inhabitants merely boycotting certain goods. However, resistance to the taxes soon became more violent. Under the guidance of Samuel Adams, Bostonians began a campaign of terror directed against those who supported the Stamp Act. It began on August 14, 1765 with an effigy of Andrew Oliver, the appointed stamp distributor for

¹⁰ Grenville also established reforms in the way custom duties were collected and accounted.

Massachusetts, being hung from a “liberty tree” in plain view by the “sons of liberty.” That evening, the luxurious Oliver home was burned to the ground. A chastened Oliver quickly resigned his commission. The following evening, incited by a rumor that he supported the Stamp Act, the home of Thomas Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor of the colony, was surrounded by an unruly mob. When Hutchinson refused to accede to the demand that he come out and explain his position, the mob broke several windows and then dispersed. Two weeks later, on August 28, 1765, an even larger mob assembled and descended upon the homes of several individuals suspected of favoring the Stamp Act, including again that of the Lieutenant Governor. Hutchinson managed to evacuate his family to safety before the mob arrived. Then, as Hutchinson later described it, “the hellish crew fell upon my house with the rage of divels and in a moment with axes split down the door and entered. My son heard them cry ‘damn him he is upstairs we’ll have him.’ Some ran immediately as high as the top of the house, others filled the rooms below and cellars and others remained without the house to be employed there. I was obliged to retire thro yards and gardens to a house more remote where I remained until 4 o’clock by which time one of the best finished houses in the Province had nothing remaining but the bare walls and floors.”¹¹

¹¹ Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, August 30, 1765.



The mob's show of force had the desired effect. With Oliver's resignation, the stamps could not be properly distributed. Additionally, no other stamp officer was willing to step forward to assume Oliver's legal role. In short, Boston was crippled and could not enforce the act. The town standoff between Boston and the Crown continued through the fall and winter of 1765.

Meanwhile, in New York City a meeting of the merchants of the city was called at Burns's Coffee House on Broadway to address passage of the Stamp Act. As a result of the gathering, anon-importation agreement was signed. The following day, November 1, 1765, two companies of the Sons of Liberty appeared on the streets. According to John Holt

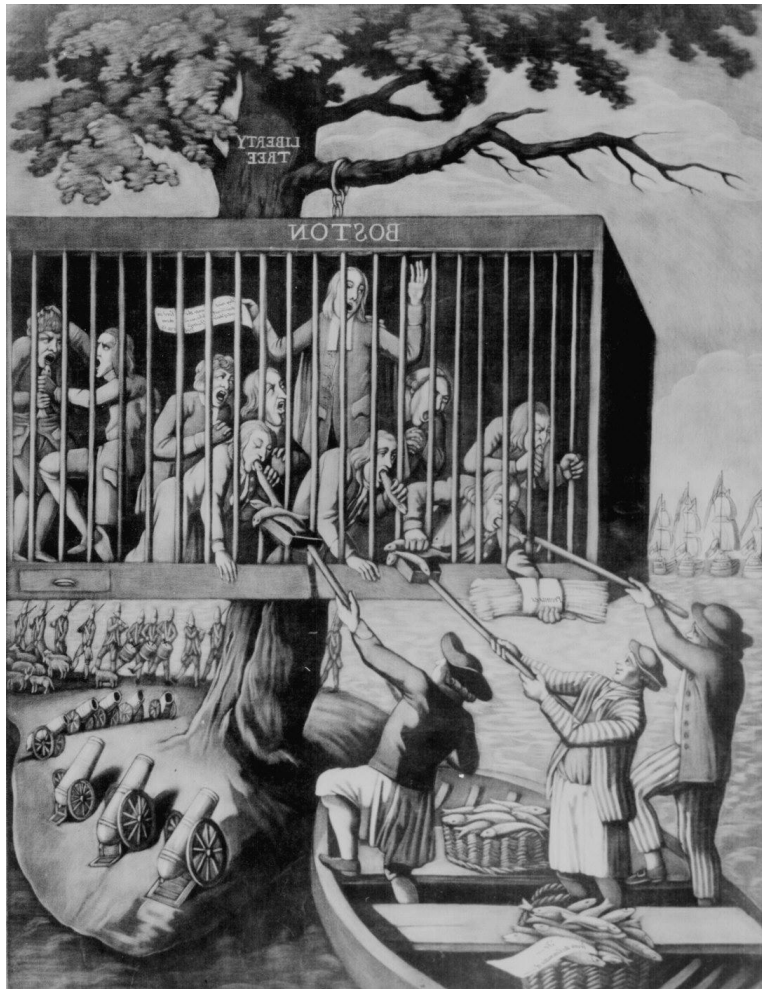
The matter was intended to be done privately, but it got wind, and by ten O'Clock I suppose 2000 people attended at the Coffee House, among them most of the principal men in town . . . Two men were dispatched to the Collector for the Stamped Bonds of which he had 30 in all, he desired Liberty to confer with the Governor, which was granted. The Governor sent Word, if the Stamps were delivered to him, he would give his word and honor they should not be used; but if people were not satisfied with this, they might do as they pleased with them – The message being returned to the gathering

multitude, they would not agree to the Governors proposal, but insist upon the Stamps being delivered and burned, one or two men attended by about a thousand others were then sent for the Stamps, which were brought to the Coffee House, and the Merchant who had used them was ordered himself to kindle the fire and consume them, those filed in and all, this was accordingly done amidst the Huzza's of the people who were by this time swelled to the Number one supposes of about 5000, and in another hour I suppose would have been 10,000 – The people pretty quietly dispersed soon After, but their Resentment was not allayed . . .¹²

One company marched to the Commons where they hanged in effigy Lieutenant-Governor Cadwalader Colden; the other company broke into Colden's stable and took out his chariot, in which they placed a copy of the obnoxious act and an effigy of the lieutenant-governor. Both companies then united and marched in silence to the Bowling Green, where they found soldiers drawn up on the ramparts of a nearby fortification ready to receive them. General Gage, the British commander, thought it prudent not to fire upon the rioters; and, as they were refused admission to the fort, they turned their attention to the wooden railing which surrounded the little park. This they tore down for fuel; and, having burnt railing, carriage, act, and effigy, they dispersed to their homes.¹³

¹² John Holt to Mrs. Deborah Franklin, February 15, 1766.

¹³ Ibid. "Toward the Evening . . . tho' the Sons of Liberty exerted themselves to the utmost, they could not prevent the gathering of the Multitude, who went to Mr. Williams's house, broke open the Door and destroyed some of the Furniture. . . The people were generally satisfied and soon dispersed--but many of those of inferior Sort, who delight in mischief merely for its own sake, or for plunder, seem yet to be in such a turbulent Disposition that the two mortified Gentlemen are still in some Danger, but the Sons of Liberty intend to Exert themselves in their Defense."



With the riots receiving widespread coverage in London newspapers coupled with the successful boycott program undertaken by New York, Philadelphia and Boston, England finally yielded. Realizing the Stamp and Sugar Acts could never be enforced in America, the acts were repealed on March 4, 1766. However, before striking the laws, Parliament announced the Declaratory Act of 1766, which emphasized its authority to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

It was not long before the members of the Parliament made use of the principle expressed in the Declaratory Act. 1767 faced England with a projected annual cost of almost £400,000 to maintain her army in America. Charles Townshend, the impetuous Chancellor of the Exchequer,

of whom it was said, “his mouth often outran his mind”, suddenly announced that he knew how to tax the American colonies. This so pleased the House of Commons that they promptly voted to lower English land taxes from four shillings on the pound to three, resulting in a £500,000 loss of revenue and threatening fiscal chaos. To meet this crisis, Townshend suggested, and Parliament enacted, a series of laws directed at raising revenue from the American colonies. The Townshend Acts, as they became known, provided for an American import tax on paper, painter’s lead, glass and tea. The acts also tightened custom policies and revived the vice-admiralty courts. Although a minority within the House of Commons opposed such a measure, the majority rationalized it would “raise colonial revenue, punish the colonists for their ill-behavior after the repeal of the Stamp Act, and exercise the rights to which Parliament laid claim in the Declaratory Act.”

Once again, Boston stood at the forefront of opposition and by 1768, Boston was once again resorting to violence to indicate its opposition to British policy. In March, rioters went to “Commissioner Burch’s home and with clubs assembled before his door a great part of the evening, and he was obliged to send away his wife and children by a back door.”¹⁴ Inspector William Woolton returned home one evening to find “4 men passing him, one with a stick or bludgeon in his hand accosted him saying, ‘Damn your Blood we will be at you to Morrow night.’”¹⁵ The victims of the mob begged Governor Bernard to apply for military protection so the Townshend Acts could be enforced. The governor struggled with the decision, but ultimately applied to the king for troops. At the same time, however, British merchants pleaded with Parliament and the King to repeal the act before they were brought to financial ruin. Yet their pleas went unanswered. In 1768, Governor Bernard was ordered to dissolve the Massachusetts

¹⁴ Letter from Bernard to Shelburne, March 19, 1768.

¹⁵ Deposition of William Woolton, March 18, 1768.

legislature, and two full regiments of British regulars were dispatched to Boston to protect the custom officials and help to enforce the Townsend Acts.

New York took a more cautious approach to the Townshend Acts and implemented a widespread boycott of goods. Specifically, on September 5, 1768, New York City merchants and tradesmen resolved

Reflecting on the salutary [beneficial/curative] Measures entered into by the People of *Boston* and this City to restrict the Importation of Goods from Great Britain until the Acts of Parliament laying Duties on Paper, Glass, &c. were repealed; and being animated with a Spirit of Liberty and thinking it our Duty to exert ourselves by all lawful Means to maintain and obtain our just Rights and Privileges, which we claim under our most excellent Constitution as Englishmen, not to be taxed but by our own Consent or that of our Representatives; and in order to support and strengthen our Neighbors, the Merchants of this City, we the Subscribers [signers], uniting in the common Cause, do agree to and with each other, as follows:

First, That we will not ourselves purchase or take any Goods or Merchandise imported from Europe by any Merchant directly or indirectly, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of an Agreement of the Merchants of this City, on the twenty-seventh of August last.

Secondly, That we will not ourselves, or by any other Means, buy any Kind of Goods from any Merchant, Storekeeper, or Retailer (if any such there be) who shall refuse to join with their Brethren in signing the said Agreement; but that we will use every lawful Means in our Power to prevent our Acquain-tance from dealing with them.

Thirdly, That if any Merchant, in or from Europe, should import any Goods in order to sell them in this Province contrary to the above Agreement, that we ourselves will by no Means deal with such Importers; and as far as we can, by all lawful Means, endeavor to discourage the Sale of such Goods.

Fourthly, That we will endeavor to fall upon some Expedient to make known such Importers or Retailers as shall refuse to unite in maintaining and obtaining the Liberties of their Country.

Fifthly, That we, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, Inhabitants of the City of New York, being filled with Love and Gratitude to our present most gracious Sovereign, and the highest Veneration for the British Constitution, which we unite to plead as our Birth Right; and are always willing to unite to support and maintain, give it as our Opinion, and are determined to deem that Persons who shall refuse to unite in the Common Cause, as acting the Part of an Enemy to the true Interest of Great Britain and

her Colonies, and consequently not deserving the Patronage of Merchants or Mechanics.¹⁶

However, by 1769, the colony entered into a depression as a direct result of the boycott and tensions continued to rise between New York colonists and the British government.

Instead of reestablishing law and order, the Townsend Acts only provoked further violence. On January 19, 1770, New York merchant Isaac Sears and others attempted to stop a group of British soldiers from passing out handbills criticizing local citizens. The pamphlets chastised the local citizenry over a failed attempt by regulars to destroy a liberty pole erected on Golden Hill, New York City. Sears detained some of the soldiers and marched his captives towards the mayor's office, while the rest of the British regulars retreated to their barracks to sound an alarm.

A crowd of townsfolk soon arrived along with a score of soldiers. "In the mean Time, a considerable Number of People collected opposite to the Mayor's. Shortly after, about twenty Soldiers with Cutlasses and Bayonets from the lower Barracks made their Appearance"¹⁷ The soldiers, who were greatly outnumbered, were quickly surrounded. Nevertheless, the soldiers attempted to rescue their fellow soldiers held captive in the mayor's office. "When the Soldiers came opposite to his House, they halted. Many of them drew their Swords and Bayonets; some say they all drew. But all that were present agree that many did, and faced about to the Door and demanded the Soldiers in Custody. Some of them attempted to get into the House to rescue them. Capt. Richardson and others at the Door prevented them, and desired them to put up their Arms and go to their Barracks, that the Soldiers were before the Mayor who would do them Justice.

¹⁶ Tradesmen's Resolves, September 5, 1768.

¹⁷ *The New York Gazette*, February 5, 1770.

The Soldiers within likewise desired them to go away to their Barracks and leave them to the Determination of the Mayor.”¹⁸

Upon seeing the soldiers draw their weapons; the townsmen quickly retreated and armed themselves. Despite attempts by local officials and officers to defuse the situation, a full scale brawl, later called the “Battle of Golden Hill”, erupted. By the end of the fight, several of the soldiers were badly bruised while one “soldier received a bad cut on the shoulder.”¹⁹ One Citizen was wounded in the Face and had two of his Teeth broke by a Stroke of a Bayonet. Another was stabbed and later died of his wounds.²⁰

On March 5, 1770, an angry mob began to badger and taunts a lone British sentry on guard duty in front of the Boston Custom House. When the crowd began to pelt him with snowballs, ice and other objects, he called for help and was reinforced by a squad of soldiers from the 29th Regiment of Foot. The crowd pressed closer, and the nervous regulars opened fire. Five men in the crowd were killed and a number of others were wounded. The soldiers were arrested, tried and all but two were acquitted.²¹ The Boston Massacre, as the incident became known, sparked widespread outrage and pushed the colonies dangerously close to rebellion. To forestall an uprising, Parliament again retreated, repealing all the Townsend Acts, except a symbolic tax on tea of which no immediate attempt was made to collect.²²

However, in 1773, Parliament passed the Tea Act in an effort to finally collect the tax on tea, and to refinance the shaky economic base of the British East India Company. Established in 1709, the East India Company derived over ninety-percent of its profits from the sale of tea.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Two soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter, branded on their thumbs and then released.

²² For the next two years, tensions seemed to lessen in the colonies, particularly Massachusetts. However, when Parliament attempted to control provincial judges in 1772 by directly controlling their salaries, Massachusetts quickly responded in opposition and protest.

However, by 1772, due to severe mismanagement, the company was in desperate need of a bailout. The company directors looked to Parliament for relief. Parliament's response was the Tea Act, through which the East India Company was given exclusive rights to ship tea to America without paying import duties and to sell it through their agents to American retailers. American merchants who had for years purchased tea from non-British sources (Dutch tea was a particular favorite of New Englanders) faced the prospect of financial ruin.

Massachusetts immediately opposed the act and began to organize resistance. On November 29, 1773, the tea ship *Dartmouth* arrived at Griffin's Wharf in Boston. Three days later, the *Beaver* and the *Eleanor* arrived at the same wharf. Bostonians demanded that Governor Hutchinson order the three ships back to England. On December 16, 1773, the owner of the *Dartmouth* apparently agreed and went to Hutchinson to beg him to let the ships return to England. Hutchinson refused, and at approximately six o'clock that evening, some 150 men and boys disguised as Indians marched to the three ships, boarded them and dumped 340 chests of tea into Boston Harbor.

The actions of the Boston Tea Party reflected the general political mood throughout the American colonies on the eve of the revolution. Many colonists believed a set of corrupt and mysterious men had been able to assert control over George the Third, his ministers and his favorites through bribery and deceit. Most Americans were certain that powerful men were plotting to make the colonists slaves by curtailing their liberties as Englishmen.

The common belief emerged that an immoral British government, having exhausted opportunities for plunder and profit in England and Ireland, was now seeking a dispute with the American colonies as an excuse to enslave and deprive them of their wealth and liberties. Parliament had hoped to accomplish this goal quietly, but the furor aroused in the colonies by

England's economic policies had given the government a temporary setback. Now, these mysterious men, who controlled Parliament and the king's ministers, were undertaking to openly incite a war, declare Americans to be rebels and enslave them.

The colonists concerns and fears so evident in letters, journals, and diaries of the period increased following the Boston Tea Party. That action was viewed in England as so rebellious an act of defiance that it could not be ignored. As a result, the English Parliament adopted several harsh and restrictive measures aimed at punishing Massachusetts, but particularly Boston. On March 31, 1774, King George the Third signed the Boston Port Bill, intended to severely reprimand rebellious Boston. The port was closed to all seagoing traffic until damages for the destroyed tea were paid in full. The Massachusetts Provincial Charter of 1691, which residents viewed as a sacred guarantee of their liberties, was revoked. Additional regiments of regulars were dispatched to Boston and Major General Thomas Gage replaced Thomas Hutchinson as governor. Gage moved the seat of government from Boston to Salem and the customs office from Boston to Plymouth. The Governor's Council was replaced with a non-elective Mandamus Council, town meetings were prohibited without the consent of the governor and jury trials were abolished.

Any hope of avoiding a civil war now seemed dashed. In Boston, Hugh Earl Percy correctly surmised the state of affairs in the colonies on the eve of the American Revolution. "Things here are now drawing to a crisis every day. The people here openly oppose the New Acts. They have taken up arms . . . & have drove in the Gov't & most of the Council . . . In short, this country is now in an open state of rebellion."²³

²³ Letter from Percy to the Duke of Northumberland, September 12, 1774.

III. The Cruelty of Oppression: Rebellion Reaches Albany County

By 1775, the seeds of rebellion had seeped into New York's Albany County. Although initially slow to respond, many Albany County residents ultimately turned against their Tory neighbors.²⁴ Armed night watches roamed the streets of Albany, the county seat, in an attempt to intimidate those loyal to the King and English government.²⁵ Organized "committees" disrupted meetings held in Albany's town hall between the Tory leaning mayor and his aldermen. Local businessmen with questionable loyalties, including the prominent Richard Cartwright, were brutally assaulted and imprisoned. Tories who openly criticized or challenged the rebels' motives were quickly arrested and sent off to prison.²⁶ Newspapers and print shops advocating loyalty to the King were immediately suppressed and shut down.

Coordinating the rebel's efforts were a group of men known locally as the "Tory Committee". The Tory Committee's primary charge was to keep in check those loyal to the crown. Of particular interest to the committee was the Scottish population that resided throughout Albany County. The Scottish settlers were known for their unquestionable loyalty to the Crown. But devotion to the King was not the sole reason for hostility towards the Scots by the Tory Committee and its supporters. Many Scottish settlers were of either Presbyterian or Catholic faiths. Following the aftermath of the French and Indian Wars, the concept of Roman Catholics and Presbyterians openly practicing their religious beliefs deeply concerned their Congregationalist and Anglican neighbors. Worse yet, many Scottish ministers and priests

²⁴ In a 1774 letter from Thomas Young to John Lamb, Young lamented the slow response of the Colony of New York as compared to Massachusetts.

²⁵ Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, May 3, 1775.

²⁶ Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774 – 1777, p. 155.

openly welcomed black slaves and local Mohawks into their parishes and churches.²⁷ This alarmed many local residents, especially those who either owned slaves themselves or lived within striking range of the Mohawk and Oneida tribes. To them, the recruitment of these two classes would most likely lead to either a slave revolt or Indian uprising. As members of the New York Provincial Congress warned early in the American Revolution, “the indulgence and establishment of Popery all along the interior confines of the Protestant Colonies tends not only to obstruct their growth, but to weaken their security.”²⁸

Economic competition also motivated the actions of the Tory Committee. As the French and Indian War drew to a close, Scottish sutlers who followed and supplied the Highland regiments established their own businesses throughout Albany County. With a readily accessible customer base and network, many Scottish businessmen easily outpaced their “patriot” counterparts. With the rise in tensions between those loyal to Crown policy and those who were not, the Tory Committee seized upon an opportunity to crush their economic competitors. Merchants such as James and Alexander Robertson were all but helpless as mobs incited by the Tory Committee first shut down their print shop, then their newspaper, the *Albany Gazette*.²⁹ Many other merchants were physically jailed merely for suspicion of being a Tory.³⁰

As the war progressed, many members of the patriot faction believed those loyal to the Crown were internal foes who needed to be carefully contained. In an effort to limit loyalist military and political influence, Early in March of 1776, New York’s Committee of Safety

²⁷ One such minister was the Reverend Harry Munro. According to his claim, he was often subject to “frequent insults as his sentiments in favour of Great Britain were notorious.” Great Britain Audit Office Records, Harry Munro, Reel Number B-1160.

²⁸ Journals of the New York Provincial Congress, June 27, 1775.

²⁹ *Skulking* at 21-30.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

perceived Loyalist opposition to be so strong in certain counties, that they “advised that, in addition to disarming them [the Loyalists], their children should be taken as hostages.”³¹

By the Fall of 1776, conditions in Albany County had deteriorated to the point that many Tories started to flee northward towards Canada so as to avoid continued persecution. Those who remained behind were subjected to increased scrutiny and repeated interrogation before committees charged with identifying and incarcerating those loyal to the King.³² As Alexander Robertson accurately predicted, “history abounds with instances of nations driven into madness by the cruelty of oppression; it is the singular situation of us at present that we have been made mad by an impatience of all legal restraint and wanton abuse of power.”³³

For those loyal to the King, all efforts to remain neutral had failed. As a result, many recognized it was time to prepare for war.

IV. The Rise of McAlpin’s Corps of American Volunteers

At the outset of the American Revolution, two veteran officers of the French and Indian War recognized the deteriorating situation in New York and New England and attempted to organize an appropriate response. Captain Alexander McDonald and Major William Edmeston quickly approached their fellow veteran officers and soldiers and started to recruit men who would assist General Howe in his military operations. Unfortunately, the work of both men was quickly discovered and they were forced to flee north to Canada. As a result, the responsibility of raising and creating a loyalist corps in the Albany County area fell upon Captain Daniel

³¹ Collections of the New-York Historical Society, (New York: Printed for the Society, 1868-1924), vol. 1, 235.

³² For example, see the Minutes of the Schenectady Committee 1775-1779. On May 10, 1777, under intense questioning, a suspected Tory denied being a Tory so as to avoid incarceration. Unfortunately, his fate was sealed when refused to renounce his allegiance to the King (“As one [man] protested he was no Tory, but was a man for the King”).

³³ Albany Gazette, November 25, 1771.

McAlpin.³⁴

After forty years of service in the British Army, Captain Daniel McAlpin retired from the military and settled in the Town of Stillwater, New York with his wife Mary and three children (James, Isabella and Mary). In May of 1774 he purchased approximately one thousand acres of land located on the west side of Saratoga Lake (in the present Town of Malta) and immediately proceeded to improve upon it. His first house was built in 1775, while a second house was built in 1776.³⁵

Initially, rebel authorities actively courted McAlpin to enlist in their cause. To the rebels, McAlpin was a respected authority who had the potential to recruit countless men on behalf of the American cause for independence. However, on the eve of the American Revolution, McAlpin was embroiled in a bitter dispute over an additional six thousand acres of land that he had acquired along the Connecticut River in the Hampshire Grants. Specifically, Yankees from New England engaged in an outright land grab and seized his property. McAlpin appealed to the Colony of New York and requested crown authorities to intervene and declare him the rightful owner.

The King's continued jurisdiction over the Hampshire Grants was essential if Captain McAlpin was to ever take possession of his disputed property. McAlpin had a vested, economic interest in upholding the authority of the King and declaring his loyalty to the English government.³⁶ Unfortunately, by 1775, the decision from the English government was still pending. Recognizing the inherent risk of losing his six thousand acres, McAlpin attempted to

³⁴ Memorial of Captain Daniel McAlpin, November 18, 1778.

³⁵ Both houses were timber log planked and floored. The houses were valued at £100 and £200 respectively. A value of £1 Sterling per acre unimproved and £2.10 Sterling improved was placed on the land. By the summer of 1777 there were at least 170 acres in high cultivation. Captain McAlpin had 20-25 servants in constant employ on his farm.

³⁶ Skulking at 31-32.

delay joining the rebel cause for almost a year. However, by June 1776, McAlpin's delay was called on by local "patriot" leaders. He was forced to reject attempts to recruit him. McAlpin was promptly arrested and sent to a jail in Albany.

On July 26, 1776, the Tory Committee declared that McAlpin was to be sent to Redhook, New York for transfer to a prison in Connecticut.³⁷ However, this order was revoked due to McAlpin's deteriorating health. In August, 1776, General Schuyler intervened on behalf of McAlpin and ordered him released. In support of this order, Schuyler declared "little or no harm might be expected from him."³⁸

A. Jessup's Men

Following his release, McAlpin returned to his homestead and initiated a campaign to recruit a corps of soldiers who would aid the Crown in its goal of suppressing the American rebellion. His first venture began in September 1776 when he coordinated with Peter Drummond and Neil Robertson to recruit men for the British Army stationed in Canada. By mid-October 1776, McAlpin had successfully recruited fifty-six men.³⁹ These men were quietly dispatched to Edward and Ebenezer Jessup, a pair of local Tories brothers who were recruiting and smuggling men to Canada to fight for the crown.

The Jessup brothers were born in Stamford, Connecticut. In 1743 the family relocated with their father to Dutchess County, New York. On the eve of the American Revolution, the Jessup Brothers were counted among the wealthiest men in the Hudson River Valley. The brothers owned a ferry service, several saw and grist mills and a large tract of land situated where the Schroon and Sacandaga Rivers joined the Hudson.⁴⁰ Politicians and government

³⁷ Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, July 26, 1776.

³⁸ Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, August 24, 1776.

³⁹ Drummond to Haldimand, November 13, 1780. See Appendix A for a roster of those men.

⁴⁰ Known as Jessup's Landing, the homesteads were located in present day Corinth, New York.

officials, including Governor William Tyron, courted the men while land speculators actively sought their services and expertise.

With the passage of the Declaration of Independence and witnessing loyalist residents of Charlotte County being subjected to considerable abuse at the hands of “patriot” neighbors, Ebenezer Jessup quickly obtained Governor Tyron’s assent to raise men in support of His Majesty’s government. In addition to the fifty-six men raised by McAlpin, the Jessup’s recruited an additional twenty-four men.

Once assembled, the recruits began a thirty-six mile journey to General Carleton’s army stationed at Crown Point. Upon arrival, the Jessup brothers boarded Carleton’s headquarters on the vessel *Maria* and informed the general that the recruits had fled to Canada with the intent of joining His Majesty’s forces and “conquer our enemies and reestablish civil government for the honour of the Crown and the true interest of the Colonies.”⁴¹ Carleton was less than receptive and worse, unimpressed. From his perspective, the Tory refugees posed a drain on critical supplies and finances slated for his troops. More importantly, he believed these men should have remained at home waiting for the arrival of a British army of liberation.⁴²

Nevertheless, these eighty odd men were now at Crown Point and Carleton had to deal with them. Jessup and his recruits were temporarily dispatched to Chateaugay to be billeted. With some reservations, Carleton accepted the refugees into the British Army, placed them on the appropriate pay rolls⁴³ and ordered the refugees to join the King’s Royal Regiment in Point Claire,⁴⁴ Canada.⁴⁵ However, acceptance into the establishment came with conditions. Carleton

⁴¹ Memorial of Ebenezer Jessup, February 1, 1778.

⁴² Carleton to Phillips, October 29, 1776.

⁴³ Letter from Carleton to Edward Foy, Adjutant General, November 19, 1776. Each refugee was entitled to 6d per day, Halifax currency, less rations, clothing and hospital expenses. “Halifax currency” was worth less than the sterling used to pay regular troops.

⁴⁴ By January 12, 1777, many of the recruits had not arrived at Pointe Claire and lingered behind at Chateaugay

warned Jessup that the arrangements were “merely an asylum” and for the sake of “convenience”.⁴⁶

Jessup’s recruits were initially slated for service in Sir John Johnston’s Corps. However, the recruits objected.⁴⁷ According to Carleton, “I informed your Lordship that this Army had been joined at Crown Point by parties of the loyal inhabitants of the adjacent Provinces, who had fled from the persecution they were suffering in the places of their residence; during the winter their numbers have increased considerably; a body of near a hundred came here under the conduct of a Mr. Jessup of the province of New York, his brother and several other men of some note in the neighbourhood of Albany. They have all been sent to Sir John Johnson’s Corps, but being of a different part of the country, they desired not to be drafted into that Regiment.”⁴⁸

Instead, Jessup’s men demanded, in the tradition of the local militia, they serve under officers of their own choosing. Carleton immediately rejected the demand and on January 14, 1777, ordered Major Gray to administer oaths of allegiance to the refugees and arrest those who refused.⁴⁹ All eighty signed the oaths.

At some point in late January, 1777 the men began to refer to themselves as Jessup’s Corps. Following several letters of complaint from Major Gray, Carleton quickly discovered that the “corps” had, without authorization, organized itself into three companies commanded by Edward Jessup, Jonathan Jones and Ebenezer Jessup.⁵⁰ Exasperated, Carleton complained “I

because of small pox. Gray to Carleton, January 12, 1777.

⁴⁵ On December 1, 1776, Carleton ordered Adjutant General Foy that the Jessup party “be provided for by General Phillips”.

⁴⁶ Carleton to Phillips, November 29, 1776; Carleton to Gray, November 11, 1776.

⁴⁷ From the perspective of the Jessup brothers, the recruits they brought with them formed the nucleus of a new provincial regiment.

⁴⁸ Carleton to Germain, May 27, 1777.

⁴⁹ Carleton to Gray, January 14, 1777.

⁵⁰ Report of Haldimand, January 24, 1777. By August, 1777 Jessup’s Corps was comprised of at least four companies.

know of no such thing as Jessup's Corps, mentioned by Major Gray". Worse yet, the General was horrified to discover the Jessup brothers were travelling the countryside attempting to recruit men from other provincial units.⁵¹ Ultimately, Carleton relented and permitted the Jessup's to form their provincial regiment, entitled Ebenezer Jessup's Corps of the King's Loyal Americans.

Jessup's Corps proved to be a constant source of frustration for the British commanders. In March, 1777, Major Gray complained "those men join'd Jessups Core gives me more truble then I ever had."⁵² The next month, the major bitterly asserted "I have been thirty Years a soldier, but never had so much trouble as with those fellows; I have try'd every Method to please them, & to show them the Generals good intentions towards them."⁵³ It would be these complaints, as well as others against Jessup's Corps, which would give Daniel McAlpin a significant political advantage over the Jessup brothers within the British Army in the years to come.

From its inception, it was clear that Jessup's Corps was in desperate need of clothing and equipment. As a result, General Carleton ordered Major James Gray of the King's Royal Regiment of New York to acquire clothing for Jessup's men and encouraged the major to locate "some cheap uniform clothing to keep them from the severity of the weather".⁵⁴ By January 11, 1777, Major Gray had purchased "on behalf of Messr Jessup and his followers" approximately eighty coats. As Gray would later complain, the coats were "the cheapest that could be got, at Montreal, very Common red stuff turn'd up with Green as Red seemed to be their favorite colour, and being got rather than any other I gratified their taste."⁵⁵ If Major Gray's comments

⁵¹ Carleton to Phillips, April 3, 1777.

⁵² Gray to Foy, March 24, 1777.

⁵³ Report of Major Gray, April 20, 1777.

⁵⁴ "Major Gray... may either cloath them [Jessup's people] as the Royal Reg't of New York, or buy them some cheap uniform cloathing to keep them from the severity of the weather as you shall be pleased to direct." Carleton to Phillips, November 29, 1776.

⁵⁵ Gray to Haldimand, January 11, 1777.

are interpreted correctly, the coats purchased were sufficient to cloth all of the recruits then present in Canada under Jessup, including the men drafted by McAlpin.⁵⁶

In April 1777, as additional recruits poured into Canada, Gray made a second attempt to procure coats for men affiliated with Jessup's Corps. As with the January purchase, he was forced to purchase the same cheap coats from suppliers in Montreal. Nevertheless, Gray was able to successfully clothe all but eight additional recruits.⁵⁷ However, despite his efforts, Gray complained to Frederick Haldimand that Jessup's Corps was not uniformly clothed and until ordered, he would not purchase additional coats for the corps.⁵⁸

Clothing was not the only issue with the men forwarded by McAlpin to Jessup. Many of the recruits arrived in Canada unarmed. As a result, the British government was forced to secure weapons and equipment for Jessup's men. Due to a significant shortage of muskets, Carleton ordered Jessup's Corps to be equipped with Model 1728 French infantry muskets left over from the previous war rather than Second Model infantry muskets.⁵⁹ It appears that McAlpin's men enrolled in Jessup's also received partial "stands of arms" in the form of belly boxes and belting.

⁵⁶ The full text of Gray's report to Carleton states "Some time ago I received your Excellency's orders and directions concerning the Messrs Jessups and followers, according to those, & Major General Phillips's I have acted; *Bought them an uniform* the cheapest that could be got at Montreal, very common Red Stuff turn'd up with Green; as Red seemed to be their favourite colour and being got rather cheaper than any other I gratified their taste." Gray does not qualify his statement that he purchased coats for some or part of Jessup's men. Instead, he asserts he "bought them" coats. If one looks at this statement in conjunction with Carleton's November 29, 1776 order, one could correctly assert that Gray clothed all of Jessup's recruits present in Canada in 1776.

⁵⁷ "You'll find by the Merchants accounts sent you for Cloathing, that the Messrs Jessups' party & the Twenty Seven Men that Petition'd the General were all provided for, but there was Adam's & his Eight Men who are still unprovided for, as they at that time wou'd not accept of the Cloathing, tho' Adams has now agreed to join as a Lieut in Jessups Corp, Yet there's Eight Suits of Cloaths wanted to compleat the Royalists under my Command, they are now willing to take the Cloathing, which I have not to give till I am ordered to buy for them." Report of Major Gray, April 20, 1777.

⁵⁸ Gray to Haldimand, April 20, 1777.

⁵⁹ McAlpin to Haldimand, July 26, 1779; According to research conducted by Jim Kochan, Burgoyne and Carleton nearly exhausted the supply of firelocks stored at Quebec in the summer, 1776 by arming provincials under the command of Johnston, Canadian militia and recruits from the Royal Highland Emigrants. Although it appears the supply was replenished at some point in 1777, Burgoyne nearly depleted it again in September, 1777 when he received almost one thousand stands of British and French arms slated for unarmed provincials under his command.



Colonel Edward Jessup's Cartridge Box

However, bayonets were in short supply. As McAlpin would later assert, many from the Corps of American Volunteers during the Burgoyne Campaign were equipped with “Old French muskets without baynets.”⁶⁰ It is unknown what additional equipment Jessup's men received. However, by May, 1777, General Carleton was satisfied that the corps was sufficiently equipped.⁶¹

B. Daniel McAlpin's Recruits

While McAlpin's first set of recruits were in Canada under the command of Colonel Jessup, Captain McAlpin was still at work in Albany County drafting additional men for the King. Despite being forced to flee from his home by rebel mobs and hide in nearby woods for over two weeks in February, 1777, the Tory leader was still able to successfully recruit over 570 men. Unfortunately, local rebels quickly learned of the plot. A bounty of \$100 was set for the

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ On May 27, 1777, Sir Guy Carleton wrote to Germain to confirm the men of Peter and Jessup's Corps were clothed and armed by the British Army under the guidance of Major Gray. He further detailed that pay scales for the Corps were established for enlisted men, non-commissioned officers and officers.

capture of McAlpin and four of his ringleaders.⁶² Captain Tyrannis Collins of the Albany County Militia was ordered to arrest McAlpin and “carry [those] who were supposed to be disaffected to the country, as prisoners to Albany.”⁶³

Realizing he had been exposed, McAlpin was forced to flee to the safety of Canada with less than thirty of his 570 recruits. The band of men retreated west towards the Adirondack Mountains and the safety of the Jessup’s lands; hot in pursuit were a combined force of Albany County militia and a regiment of Green Mountain Boys.⁶⁴

It appears this band of recruits was armed and equipped, for a skirmish erupted when the pursuers finally caught up with Daniel McAlpin. “There was a battle fought by . . . some loyalists against rebels from Schenectady and some Yankees in which we lost one man, five wounded and eleven taken prisoners which were confin’d in Albany.”⁶⁵ In the confusion, McAlpin and twelve of his followers managed to escape. The small band of loyalists hid in the woods for a week before locating a suitable cave to take refuge in.⁶⁶ Afterwards, McAlpin made an attempt to free the eleven prisoners, but was unsuccessful.⁶⁷ As a result, McAlpin and his men were forced to remain in hiding until Burgoyne’s army arrived at Fort Edward in August, 1777.

Shortly after his escape, Daniel McAlpin’s property was seized and his wife and family were arrested. Mary McAlpin described her family’s treatment at the hands of the rebels in vivid language. “From the day her husband left to the day she was forced from her home the Captain's house was never without parties of the Rebels present. They lived at their discretion and sometimes in very large numbers. They destroyed what they could not consume. Shortly after

⁶² Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, April 17, 1777.

⁶³ Skulking at 35.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Haldimand Papers, manuscript number 21,875, footnote 218.

⁶⁶ Great Britain Audit Office Records, Volume 131, reel number B-2189.

⁶⁷ “We sent a petition for the release of the prisoners with threatening to fetch them. The Committee refused us and kept the men we sent with the . . . prisoners.” Haldimand Papers, manuscript number 21,875, footnote 218.

the capture of the fleeing Loyalists a group of armed Rebels with blackened faces broke into the McAlpin's dwelling house. They threatened Mary and her children with violence and menace of instant death. They confined them to the kitchen while they stripped every valuable from the home. A few days after this, by an order of the Albany Committee, a detachment of Rebel Forces came and seized upon the remainder of McAlpin's estate both real and personal.”⁶⁸ Mary McAlpin and her children were taken to an unheated hut located in Stillwater and locked inside “without fire, table, chairs or any other convenience.”⁶⁹

Hoping that the hardship would eventually break Mrs. McAlpin and induce her to beg her husband to honorably surrender, the rebels kept Mary and her children in captivity for several weeks. Mary McAlpin refused to comply and instead responded her husband “had already established his honour by a faithful service to his King and country.”⁷⁰ Enraged, rebels seized Mary and her oldest daughter and “carted” both of them through Albany. According to the Reverend Munro, “Mrs. McAlpin was brought down to Albany in a very scandalous manner so much that the Americans themselves cried out about it.”⁷¹ A second account stated “when Mrs. McAlpin was brought from the hut to Albany as a prisoner with her daughter . . . they neither of them had a rag of cloaths to shift themselves.”⁷²

C. William Fraser's Recruits

When Captain McAlpin was forced to flee, he turned to William Fraser to continue the recruitment of loyalists. A prosperous farmer from Ball's Town, Fraser quietly recruited forty men on behalf of McAlpin. However, a rebel spy learned of the recruitment scheme and

⁶⁸ American Loyalist Claims, reels 43-47, 54, 51-62.

⁶⁹ Ibid. On May 27, 1777 General Gates condemned the actions of local militiamen who raided the McAlpin home. However, Gates did little to prevent McAlpin's property from being sold to support the American war effort.

⁷⁰ Memoirs of William Smith, May 12, 1777.

⁷¹ Great Britain Audit Office Records, Volume 21, reel number B-1159.

⁷² Ibid. Eventually, Mary and her children fled to Canada and were reunited with Daniel.

reported it to Colonel James Gordon, commander of an Ulster County militia regiment. Gordon, in turn, mobilized his regiment to arrest Fraser and his recruits.

Fraser immediately recognized the danger he and his men were in. The men fled to woods north of Ball's Town where they waited almost ten days for a guide from Burgoyne. When the group realized the guide would not be coming, they began to trek north, following "infrequented and impassable ways."⁷³ Twenty miles north of Ball's Town, Colonel Gordon and his party ambushed William Fraser and his men. Attempting to evade Gordon, Fraser led his party to Jessup's Little Falls. According to period accounts, the upper Hudson River was forced into a narrow corridor of black limestone and led to a waterfall with a sixty foot drop. Across the waterfall was a thirteen foot single plank which served as a footbridge.⁷⁴ Regrettably, Fraser's attempt to cross the falls failed and all but one man was captured. Their arms and equipment were seized and later sold for profit in Albany.⁷⁵

The group was marched back to Albany and promptly thrown into a jail below town hall. According to Fraser, "They were not treated as prisoners of war, but handcuffed like ordinary criminals . . . the rebels did not undertake to feed their prisoners and it was custom for [Tory families] to come every day to the gaol with provisions."⁷⁶ One by one, Fraser's recruits were brought before the Tory Committee, tried and found guilty. All but William Fraser were ordered to remain jailed until payment of a fine of fifteen dollars was received and an oath to the State of

⁷³ Great Britain Audit Office Records, Volume 29, reel number B-1162.

⁷⁴ Skulking at 39.

⁷⁵ Memorial of Alexander Laughlen, July 12, 1789. "The Memorial of Alexander Laughlen humbly sheweth that whereas in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four he left Stirlingshire in Scotland and came to America, that he settled in Ballstown, State of New York and that in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven having voluntarily joined a party of Loyalists, was enlisted under Captain McAlpin and was put under the direction of Captain William Fraser and Lieutenant Thomas Fraser who had the command of said party on their way to Canada. That after ten days' march the party was surprised by the Rebels, taken prisoners and conducted to Albany."; Statement of William and Thomas Fraser in Support of Alexander Laughlen's Land Petition, February 9, 1798. "I hereby Certify that the bearer Alex Laughlen has been taken prisoner with us when endeavored to come to Canada in the spring 1777 and carried prisoner to Albany and from thence to New England where he suffered much for his loyalty and attachment to the British government."

⁷⁶ Great Britain Audit Office Records, Volume 29, reel number B-1162.

New York was given. Fraser was sentenced to one year in jail.⁷⁷

Shortly after these trials, Fraser's wife arrived at the jail with her husband's daily provisions. Inside a loaf of bread was a file and coil of rope. After some effort, Fraser and twenty of his men were able to break free of their shackles, remove at least one of the iron bars on the jail's window and escape.⁷⁸ Unarmed and without provisions, the men fled from Albany towards Fort Edward. Like McAlpin and his men, Fraser's company was forced to remain in hiding until the arrival of General Burgoyne.

V. "Come Gentlemen Tories, Firm, Loyal and True": The Arrival of General Burgoyne⁷⁹

When Burgoyne and his army departed Canada for the invasion of the American colonies, Colonel Ebenezer Jessup's Corps travelled south with him. On June 16, 1777 the corps advanced south from Pointe Claire to Fort St. Johns to join the expedition. Evidence suggests Jessup's Corps served with General Fraser's Advanced Corps. According to an order of battle set forth by Burgoyne, Edward Jessup's men were assigned as an advance party on the left flank. It is likely the corps was intended to serve as scouts and foragers, to bring in food, horses, wagons and cattle from the surrounding countryside. Likewise, as Burgoyne advanced further south, elements of Jessup's Corps were utilized in early operations against American forces stationed in and around Ticonderoga.

On July 2, 1777, a large force, including Jessup's, under the command of Captain Alexander Fraser of the Select Marksmen successfully secured Mount Hope, a rise located north

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid. Not all of Fraser's men were successful in the prison break. "This is to Certify all Gentlemen Whom It may Concern That Alexander Laughlen Was a good faithful Subject To King George during the Last Rebellion and Sufered Domstick Vilence by the hands of the Userpeis Was taking Prisoner Going to the British And Was keep three years In Close Confinement Which was a Very hard fate And Now means to maake his Residence under protection of King George." Statement of James Dearin in Support of Alexander Laughlen's Land Petition. February, 1798. After the escape, those prisoners who were left behind were transferred to jails in New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania.

⁷⁹ "Come gentlemen Tories, firm loyal and true. Here are axes and shovels and something to do!" Frank Moore, Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution (New York, 1856), p. 259.

of the American lines. That same day, Fraser dispatched his marksmen, Native Americans and Jessup's Corps to cut off American forces attempting to retire from Mount Hope to Ticonderoga. Unfortunately, as Burgoyne described "The Indians . . . attacked too soon . . . and the Enemy were thereby able to retire with the loss of one officer and a few men killed and one officer wounded."⁸⁰ Nevertheless, Burgoyne correctly observed the operation successfully cut the enemy "off from communication with Lake George."⁸¹



"A View of Ticonderoga from a Point on the North Shore of Lake Champlain," 1777
 Artist: James Hunter
 King George III Topographical Collection, British Library

The next day, Burgoyne dispatched Jessup's corps, as well as a contingent of British

⁸⁰ Burgoyne Papers, July 2, 1777; Anburey, *Travels America*, 1: 318; Stone, *Memoirs Riedesel*, 1: 110-112; S. Sydney Bradford, ed., "Lord Francis Napier's Journal of the Burgoyne Campaign." *Mayland Historical Magazine Volume 57*, Baltimore (#4 Dec. 1962)p. 298. Napier states that the casualties suffered by Captain Fraser's pursuit party were as follows: Lieutenant Houghton, 2 privates of the Marksmen (both from the 62nd Regiment), 1 private of Jessup's unit and 3 Indians wounded. In addition 1 Indian was killed and a1 private of the Marksmen (from the 47th Regiment) taken prisoner; Stevens, *Facsimilies Of manuscripts*. Document # 1571 pp. 7-8 Letter from Brigadier General Simon Fraser to John Robinson July 13th 1777 for confirmation of Captain Fraser's movements and casualties on July 2nd; For an American notation of action see William B. Weeden, ed., "Diary of Enos Hitchcock," in *Rhode Island Historical Society Publications Volume 7*. (Providence (1899), p. 116

⁸¹ Burgoyne Papers, July 2, 1777.

troops and Native American warriors, over to the eastern shore of Lake Champlain. For the next few days the contingent launched a series of raids against American settlements on Otter Creek, located east-northeast of Crown Point. Regrettably, the operation had little effect on the American populace and no influence on the military operations against Fort Ticonderoga, Mount Independence and Hubbardton.⁸² It appears no later than July 10, 1777, Jessup's rejoined Burgoyne's army at Skenesboro.

After much delay, Burgoyne resumed his advance south towards Fort Anne on July 22, 1777. The army, now advancing at a considerably slower pace, arrived at the fort on July 24th. On July 26th, the army advanced to Kingsboro, two miles north of Fort Edward. The next evening, American forces abandoned Fort Edward. By July 30th, Jessup's was once again with Captain Fraser's detachment and was located one mile south of Fort Edward. According to Loyalist Joshua Pell Jr., the unit conducted operations against the rebel forces over the next several days.

30th July we remov'd to the height one mile on the other side Fort Edward near the Road leading to Albany, the Rebels advanc'd post one mile in our front. Same evening the Indians, and Jessop's Corps of American Volunteers, attack'd their advanc'd post, and drove them on the other side of Hudson's River with the loss of one Man only. Same Night the whole Rebel Army retreated ; such is the natural bravery of our Indians, for they know nothing of the Art of War, they put their Arms into a Canoe, and swim over the River, pushing the Canoe before them, and many of them carried their Fuzees in their mouths, with their powder horns ty'd upon their Heads.

3rd August a party of Indians and American Volunteers, went on a Scout, they fell in with an advanc'd Guard of the Rebels, consisting of three hundred Men (under the command of a Major), at sunrise on the 4th the Rebels were defeated with the loss of four kill'd (amongst whom was the Major) and seven Prisoners ; same Day another party of our Indians defeated a body of the Rebels and kill'd eleven of them.⁸³

⁸² Although secondary sources assert Jessup's was present at the Battle of Hubbardton, no primary source exists confirming that the unit was present at this engagement. Instead, evidence suggests that the corps was still attached to Alexander Fraser's Select Marksmen and was still in the Otter Creek region conducting raids when the Battle of Hubbardton took place.

⁸³ Diary of Joshua Pell Jr., July 30, 1777 and August 3, 1777.

Meanwhile, on July 30, 1777, General Fraser's Advanced Corps arrived at Fort Edward. Immediately, the General dispatched a party of Native Americans to locate and escort Daniel McAlpin and his recruits safely into camp. Over the next few days, other Tories, including William Fraser and his men, trickled into camp "wishing to serve either for the duration of the campaign or until the end of the war."⁸⁴ As one observer noted "they came as they could, some from prisons, and some from committees . . . naked and barefoot, but with good hearts; no money being given to clothe them."⁸⁵

According to period accounts, only one third of the loyalists joining Burgoyne at Fort Edward were armed and equipped.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, these volunteers were quickly supplied. According to Thomas Anbury, an ensign in the 24th Regiment of Foot, many of the loyalists at Fort Edward were equipped with a "blanket, a haversack that contains his provisions, a canteen for water, a hatchet . . . accouterments, arms and sixty rounds of ammunition."⁸⁷ As with Jessup's Corps, it is likely these Loyalists were armed with 1728 French infantry muskets.

A. Captain Hugh Munro's Bateaux Company

Hugh Munro was a prosperous saw mill owner who owned property on the Upper Hudson. When war broke out, Munro actively recruited over a dozen men on behalf of his neighbor Ebenezer Jessup.⁸⁸ As Burgoyne's army advanced towards Albany, Munro initially served under Jessup's command. However, when it was deemed necessary to transport critical supplies from Canada via water routes, Munro was awarded command of a bateaux company and assigned to serve under Jessup. Men were drawn from Jessup's Corps as well as recruited from

⁸⁴ Burgoyne to Germaine, July 11, 1777.

⁸⁵ Haldimand to Colonel John Peters, October 27, 1780.

⁸⁶ Hadden, p. 71.

⁸⁷ With Burgoyne from Quebec, pp. 91 and 160.

⁸⁸ Payroll of Captain Hugh Munro's Company, July 13, 1777 to August 8, 1777.

the local Tory population to fill the ranks of the bateaux company.

The boatmen did not remain long in Jessup's Corps. While the British army rested at Fort Edward, General Fraser assisted McAlpin with the organization of his corps of volunteers.⁸⁹ Recognizing McAlpin's Corps was significantly short of recruits, General Fraser first ordered forty-two of the original fifty-six men recruited by McAlpin and enrolled in Jessup's Corps to be transferred back to McAlpin's command. These men were drawn from Captains Edward Jessup, Jonathan Jones and Joseph Jessup's Companies.⁹⁰ Naturally, Ebenezer Jessup objected to this decision.⁹¹

On August 16, 1777, General Fraser further ordered the bateaux company composed of Munro and his forty men reassigned to McAlpin's Corps. Fraser also established a pay scale and authorized McAlpin to utilize the men as he saw fit.⁹² Ebenezer Jessup became enraged and repeatedly protested to the transfer.⁹³ Likewise, Captain Munro protested the reassignment and refused to let his company muster with McAlpin's Corps.⁹⁴ However, McAlpin quickly moved to limit Jessup and Munro's influence over his newly acquired bateaux company. The loyalist leader appointed two of his own men to serve as subalterns to Munro. More importantly, he swelled the bateaux company's ranks with his own men to ensure the unit would remain loyal to him. In the end, McAlpin emerged victorious in the internal conflict.

⁸⁹ It appears that during the Burgoyne campaign, McAlpin's Corps was also known as "Voluntiers under the Command of Daniel McAlpin".

⁹⁰ Sixteen men were drawn from Captain Edward Jessup's Company. Six were drawn from Captain Jonathan Jones' Company. Twenty-two men were drawn from Captain Joseph Jessup's Company.

⁹¹ See Memorial of Ebenezer Jessup, February 1, 1778. Over the next few years, Jessup would repeatedly complain to Haldimand about the transfer of men from his corps to McAlpin's.

⁹² "A True Copy, of the Establishment for a Company of Batteau Men to be formed from the Men engaged by Captn. McALPIN, of the Royal Americans" General Simon Fraser, August 16, 1777. As Fraser ordered, "The Officers to have British Pay, the Non-commisioned Officers to have three Shillings Halifax Currency and the Privates to have Two shillings Halifax per Day, Captn. McALPIN will find fit Men to be employ'd on this Service, and is hereby authorised to engage them according to the Conditions above specefied."

⁹³ Ebenezer Jessup to Lemaistre, February 1, 1778.

⁹⁴ Hugh Munro to Haldimand, September 12, 1780.

Jessup's objections had less to do with the loss of men than the loss of commissions. As Burgoyne reflected "[Jessup's and Peter's] battalions are now in embryo but very promising; they have fought, and with spirit. Sir Guy Carleton has given me blank commissions for the officers, to fill up occasionally, and the agreement with them is, that the commissions are not to be so effective, till two thirds of the battalions are raised."⁹⁵ Thus, if Jessup was unable to secure authorized commissions, he and his officers would continue to receive minimal pay and would not receive the full benefits established for men of their respective ranks.

Over the next few weeks, Munro's bateaux company, under the protection of McAlpin's volunteers, transported supplies from Fort Edward to Burgoyne's army. Barrels of pork and flour came down Lakes Champlain and George and arrived at the fort. In turn, Munro's men carried the maggot infested casks to Fort Miller Falls where the supplies were then carried overland by other parties to Burgoyne. The task along the Hudson River was excessively difficult and dangerous. According to Charles Carroll, the "current is exceedingly rapid. Some places the bateau men were obliged to set up with poles and drag the boat by the painter . . . sometimes for whole days up to the waist in water or mire."⁹⁶ Complicating matters, rebel patrols continuously attacked the convoy and seize boats in an attempt to disrupt the supply line. No less than seven of McAlpin's men were captured during the month of August.⁹⁷

In response to the repeated attacks on Munro's watercraft, McAlpin and Jessup's Corps were ordered to attack an American post located at Saratoga Creek. According to Ebenezer Jessup

I had the honour to command the Party that retook the 18 Batteaux and scows of provisions etc. from the enemy near Saratoga Crick and ordered Major [Edward] Jessup with a part of the corps to ford the River to the Island under whose cover they

⁹⁵ Burgoyne to Lord Germain, July 11, 1777.

⁹⁶ Skulking at 48.

⁹⁷ Skulking at 128-132. See also Ebenezer Jessup to General John Burgoyne, 1778.

were brought up the Crick, with the remainder of the Corps I brought up the rear covering the Whole & was ordered to the Barracks from whence we were ordered to take post on the High Ground . . . Captain McAlpin left the ground between us and the Germans that afternoon & the 47th Reg't being recalled that night there was not a man but ourselves above the German lines Which you thought proper to order us into Camp as soon as it came to your knowledge.⁹⁸

VI. The Battles of Saratoga

By the beginning of September, Munro's Company had delivered a month's supply of food and provisions for the army. In turn, Burgoyne's force resumed its march southward. Munro's bateaux company was ordered to shadow the Hessians as they advanced down a road adjacent to the Hudson River. The remainder of McAlpin's Corps was assigned to the advanced corps under the command of General Fraser.⁹⁹

It appears that during the Battle of Freeman's Farm, General Fraser held the loyalists assigned to his command, including McAlpin's, in reserve. However, at some point in the engagement, Fraser ordered McAlpin's Corps forward. During the ensuing battle Lieutenant Peter Drummond was captured.¹⁰⁰ According to a memorial letter from McAlpin to General

⁹⁸ Ebenezer Jessup to General Burgoyne, July 17, 1778. The "barracks" Jessup is referring to is part of an unknown American fortification located near Saratoga Creek.

⁹⁹ "Organization of the Army from Canada commanded by Lieutenant General John Burgoyne, September 19 to October 7, 1777". It should be noted that Burgoyne referred to McAlpin's Corps as "Voluntiers under the Command of Daniel McAlpin." *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Memorial of Captain Daniel McAlpin, November 18, 1778. The full text of the Memorial reads as follows: "To His Excellency Frederick Haldimand, Esq. Governor General of Canada and Territories thereon depending General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces therein, etc. The Memorial of Captain Daniel McAlpin of the 60th Regiment humbly sheweth Your Excellency's Memorialist having in concert with Lieutenant Colonel William Edmonston of the 48th Regiment proposed a plan for raising a battalion of his Majesty's loyal subjects in Albany and in the neighbouring counties. Such plan was laid before General Sir William Howe and His Excellency was pleased to approve of the same and he gave this instruction to engage the men, taking care not to appoint more than one captain, two subalterns, three sergeants, three corporals, and one drummer to every 50 men. In consequence of General Howe's instructions your Excellency's Memorialist employed proper people at a considerable expense to engage volunteers for this service and he was so successful that in six months time five hundred and seventy-two men were engaged, two hundred of which number joined General Burgoyne's army as will appear by a certificate signed by the Deputy Commissary of Musters. Your Excellency's Memorialist did appoint Mr. Peter Drummond to be captain of a company and several other good men to be subalterns. Captain Drummond had the misfortune to be taken prisoner in the field of battle on the 19th September 1777 when he was exerting himself in the execution of his duty and he has since suffered much, being a long time confined in irons in a dungeon. As your Excellency's Memorialist did not appoint but one captain, five lieutenants, five ensigns, and one quarter master to the above

Haldimand, “Capt. Drummond had the Misfortune to be taken prisoner in the field of Battle on the 19th Sept 1777 when he was exerting himself in the Execution of his duty & he has Since Sufferd much being a long time Confined in Irons in a dungeon.”¹⁰¹

In the days that followed the battle, the weather turned cold. Recognizing that his forces were exposed to a fall campaign, Burgoyne ordered winter gear be prepared for his men. On September 25, 1777 McAlpin’s Corps was issued 168 blankets to make capotes, thread, material for 168 cloth leggings, thread for cloth leggings, 133 pairs of shoes, 168 “head coverings” and 164 pairs of mittens.¹⁰²

On the eve of the 2nd Battle of Saratoga, many of McAlpin’s men remained with Fraser’s advanced corps and were relegated to fatigue duty. Specifically, McAlpin’s most likely assisted in the construction of Balcarres Redoubt. Upon its completion, the fortification was “at least one hundred fifty chains [in length]. The walls in some places were six feet high. Eight cannons . . . were mounted in embrasures.”¹⁰³ When not working on the fortification, most of McAlpin’s Corps probably encamped at the Breymann Redoubt while Munro’s bateaux company remained positioned alongside the Hudson River, its boats bobbing gently at their moorings along the shore.¹⁰⁴

However, a select number of McAlpin’s men were chosen for a much more dangerous mission. According to Sergeant Joseph Beaty, he and other members of the American Volunteers were ordered to infiltrate the American lines “in order to connitire the works and

number of men he humbly hopes that your Excellency will be good enough to support them in those different stations as they have sacrificed all they had for their loyalty.”

¹⁰¹ McAlpin to Haldimand, November 18, 1778. It is unknown at this time the number of casualties McAlpin’s sustained during the engagement at Freeman’s Farm.

¹⁰² Haldimand Papers, manuscript number 21,874, footnote 12.

¹⁰³ Pausch to Baurmeister, November 26, 1777.

¹⁰⁴ Skulking at 49. Francis Clereke’s *A View of the West Bank on the Hudson’s River . . . (Shewing General Fraser’s Funeral)*” depicts Munro’s boats moored below the British camp along the banks of the Hudson River.

know what number of cannon and how supplied with provisions.”¹⁰⁵ The men successfully entered into the American camp and secured vital intelligence by interviewing an unsuspecting American officer.¹⁰⁶ Afterwards, Beaty travelled to New Scotland, located twelve miles west of Albany. Once there, the sergeant successfully rescued over a dozen loyalist officers, men and civilians and led them back to General Fraser.¹⁰⁷

On October 4, 1777, Sergeant Beaty was ordered by General Fraser to conduct a reconnaissance mission along the Hudson River to determine whether British reinforcements under Clinton or Pigot were marching or sailing north to aid Burgoyne. Beaty was able to avoid rebel patrols and travelled over sixty miles south to Catskill, New York. Upon learning no relief was on its way, Beaty returned to General Burgoyne and reported his findings on October 16, 1777.¹⁰⁸ That same day, Beaty was ordered to deliver to New York City correspondence from Burgoyne to General Clinton pleading for assistance. Beaty reached New York City on October 21, 1777 and personally delivered the correspondence to Clinton.¹⁰⁹ By then, it was too late.

It is unclear if McAlpin's Corps participated in the October 7, 1777 battle against General Horatio Gates. However, Joshua Pell Jr., a volunteer with the 24th Regiment of Foot, states “Canadian Volunteers and Provincials” joined Fraser in a probing expedition and “form'd the column of the left marching thro the wood, where the engagement of 19 September was fought.”¹¹⁰ Furthermore, John F. Luzader, author of *Saratoga: A Military History of the Decisive Campaign of the American Revolution*, indirectly implies that the loyalists assigned to Fraser's

¹⁰⁵ Memorial of Ensign Joseph Beaty, October 2, 1781.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. The party arrived back at the British lines on October 3, 1777.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Beaty continued his service to the Crown, but was captured by American forces in 1779 and condemned to death in 1780. However, he was rescued and delivered to Canada that same year. Beaty immediately enlisted in Roger's Corps. In 1782, he was captured again and subsequently executed. Prior to his death, Beaty gave a full confession to his captors.

¹¹⁰ Diary of Lieutenant Joshua Pell, 110-11.

advanced corps, including McAlpin's, accompanied him on the probe and may have engaged elements of Poor's New Hampshire Brigade in the opening shots of the 2nd Battle of Freeman's Farm that erupted southwest of the Balcarres Redoubt.¹¹¹

During a thirty minute engagement that followed, Fraser was mortally wounded and his troops were overwhelmed by a combined force of Morgan's riflemen and Poor's Brigade. Desperate, the British and provincial troops retreated back to the safety of Balcarres' Redoubt.¹¹² Despite several direct assaults by Continental troops and extensive hand to hand combat, the Americans failed to capture the fortification.¹¹³ Additional combat outside Breymann's Redoubt would ultimately lead to Burgoyne's defeat in the Second Battle of Freeman's Farm. As a result, the general finally concluded his expedition would not be able to reach Albany nor would reinforcements arrive from General Howe. That evening, a withdrawal was ordered and by dawn October 8, 1777, the British earthworks had been abandoned in favor of nearby hills located along the Hudson River. The retreat to Canada had started.



¹¹¹ John F. Luzader, *Saratoga: A Military History of the Decisive Campaign of the American Revolution*, (New York, 2008), pp. 281-285. I am unsure to what extent McAlpin's allegedly participated in the skirmish between Morgan, Poor and Fraser, especially in light of the fact McAlpin's Corps did not sustain any casualties nor are there any claims for compensation for military property lost or damaged as a result of the engagement.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

VII. Chosen Men: McAlpin's Race to Canada

As a result of battlefield casualties sustained at the Second Battle of Freeman's Farm, many British regular regiments experienced a decrease in combat strength. To rebuild his regiments, Burgoyne ordered the loyalist units under his command to draft a percentage of its men and turn them over to these depleted units. Over the coming days, many of the men from McAlpin's Corps were drafted into 9th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 47th and 62nd regiments. Although the loyalist drafts were likely issued updated arms and equipment, they were never issued regimental clothing.¹¹⁴

On October 8, 1777, Captain Munro was ordered to collect the army's provisions and follow the retreating army via the Hudson River. Unfortunately for Munro, the bateaux became the rebel's prime target. On October 9, 1777, the boats were attacked and several were captured.¹¹⁵ According to one rebel, "a few bateaux and scows were passing along as I arrived . . . they were loaded with military stores, the baggage of the officers and the women who followed (the British army). A few well-directed shots brought them to the bank. A rush took place for the prey. Everything was hauled out and carried back into a low swampy place in the rear and a

¹¹⁴ Interview with Eric Schnitzer, Saratoga National Historic Park.

¹¹⁵ One American officer who participated in operations against Burgoyne's watercraft was Major Nathan Good, a Stockbridge Indian. A monument to his service asserts:

To commemorate the service of
Major Nathan Goodale
Oct. 11, 1777
He bravely captured Burgoyne's
store boats in the face of the enemy
at the mouth of the Fishkill.
Under orders of General Gates
with 7 scouts he captured 129
prisoners before October 7th.
Distinguished services also in 1778.
Erected by Emma Jones
his great-Grand-Daughter

guard placed over it . . .the poor females, trembling in fear, were released and permitted to go in a boat to the British army, a short distance above on the other side of the river . . .such a group of tanned and leather visages were never seen before . . . poorly clad . . . and their persons war-torn and weary.”¹¹⁶

On October 10, 1777, the bateaux were attacked once again. As the convoy approached a narrow straight in the Hudson, rebels lined the shore and fired upon the convoy. In the heat of the battle, Captain Munro was wounded and “fifty bateaux loaded with provisions, stores and medicines, among which were 1000 barrels of pork and beef” were captured.¹¹⁷ The next day, the boatmen loaded the remaining barrels of flour and pork into carts and delivered them to the Burgoyne’s forces in Saratoga. Again, the Americans kept up a constant fire as McAlpin’s men tried to safeguard the provisions. As the day progressed, the rebels brought up artillery and opened fire on the bateaux and its men. The loyalists were forced to seek shelter from American cannon fire behind Schuyler Island on the Hudson River.

Things were becoming desperate for the loyalist men and women attached to Burgoyne’s army. As refugee Elizabeth Munro Fischer recalled

We retreated after the last battle to Saratoga, where we encamped a small distance from the river, to prevent their cannon having any command over us—having nothing to do, waiting General Burgoyne's orders. We were deprived of all comforts of life, and did not dare to kindle fire for fear we should be observed from the other side of the river, and they might fire on us, which they did several times. Being about the middle of October, we suffered cold and hunger; many a day I had nothing but a piece of raw salt pork, a biscuit, and a drink of water—poor living for a nurse. At this time I had my child at my breast, being eleven months old. One day, wearied of living in this manner, I told some of the soldiers' wives if they would join me, I would find out a way to get some provision cooked—seven of them joined me. I spoke to some of the soldiers that were invalid, and told them if they would make up a fire back in the woods, and get a large kettle hung on, we would fill it with provision, and cook it, which would last us some time. They consented to do it for a guinea ; they went to work and built up the fire, hung on the

¹¹⁶ John P. Backer, *Sexagenary or Reminiscences of the American Revolution*, (Albany, 1833), p. 102.

¹¹⁷ James Thatcher, *Military Journal of the American Revolution*, (Hartford: 1862), p. 104. Two days later, Ebenezer Jessup led a daring raid and recaptured some of the bateaux near the mouth of Saratoga Creek.

kettle, and put water in it, then we women put in what we pleased ; we soon filled it with a variety ; it began to boil ; we all kept a distance from the fire for fear of the cannon that were placed on the other side of the river on a high hill ; they soon discovered our fire, and saluted us with a cannon ball ; it struck and broke our kettle to pieces, and sent the provision in the air. We met with no hurt only losing our intended feast. The soldiers demanded their pay, which I paid ; but as the disappointment was so great, the rest declined paying any thing, saying they had lost enough by losing their provision, so for my folly I had to pay for all.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Elizabeth Munro Fischer, Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Fischer, (New York, 1810), pp. 13-19. An excellent account of the plight of Burgoyne's Army on the eve of surrender is described by the Baroness von Riedesel.

"October 10, 1777

The whole army clamored for a retreat, and my husband promised to make it possible, provided only that no time was lost But General Burgoyne, to whom an order had been promised if he brought about & junction with the army of General Howe, could not determine upon this course, and lost every thing by his loitering. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the firing of cannon and small arms was again heard, and all was alarm and confusion. My husband sent me a message telling me to betake myself forthwith into a house which was not far from there. I seated myself in the calash with my children, and had scarcely driven up to the house, when I saw on the opposite side of the Hudson river, five or six men with guns, which were aimed at us. Almost involuntarily I threw the children on the bottom of the calash and myself over them. At the same instant the churls fired, and shattered the arm of a poor English soldier behind us. Who was already wounded, and was also of the point of retreating into the house.

October 13, 1777

Our cook saw to our meals, but we were in want of water; and in order to quench thirst, I was often obliged to drink wine, and give it, also, to the children. It was, moreover, the only thing that my husband could take, which fact so worked upon our faithful- Rockel, that he said to me one day, "I fear that the General drinks so much wine, because he dreads falling into captivity, and is therefore weary of life." The continual danger in which my husband was encompassed, was a constant source of anxiety to me. I was the only one of all the women, whose husband had not been killed or wounded, and I often said to myself—especially since my husband was placed in such great danger day and night— "Shall I be the only fortunate one?" He never came into the tent at night; but lay outside by the watchfires. This alone was sufficient to have caused his death, as the nights were damp and cold.

October 15, 1777

In this horrible situation we remained six days. Finally, they spoke of capitulating, as by temporizing for so long a time, our retreat had been cut off. A cessation of hostilities took place, and my husband, who was thoroughly worn out, was able, for the first time in a long while, to lie down upon a bed. In order that his rest might not be in the least disturbed, I had a good bed made up for him in a little room; while I, with my children and both my maids, laid down in a little parlor close by. But about one o'clock in the night, some one came and asked to speak to him. It was with the greatest reluctance that I found myself obliged to awaken him. I observed that the message did not please him, as he immediately sent the man back to head-quarters, and laid himself down again considerably out of humor. Soon after this, General Burgoyne requested the presence of all the generals and staff officers at a council-of-war, which was to be held early the next morning; in which he proposed to break the capitulation... It was, however, finally decided, that this was neither practicable nor advisable."

On the evening of October 10th, Captain Munro was told by a ranking officer to escape while he could. The boat captain paid his men and departed for the safety of Canada.¹¹⁹ Following Munro's flight, Ensign Daniel Fraser was left in command of the bateaux company. On October 14, 1777, with his army surrounded at Saratoga, Burgoyne ordered all of his loyalist troops, including the drafts, to depart on their own for Canada. Prior to departing, Ensign Fraser paid his men.¹²⁰ Afterwards, many of his men deserted rather than risk capture with Fraser. Nevertheless, under the cover of darkness, Fraser led the remainder of his men cautiously out of Burgoyne's camp. Once outside, Fraser's men were joined by loyalists from Peter's Corps. Each man carried only two days provisions.¹²¹

On October 17, 1777, as the troops marched single file north towards Lake George, cannon fire could be heard coming from the direction of Saratoga. The fugitives stopped to listen. They realized that the end had come for Burgoyne and his army. At that moment, the weary regular troops were marching out in front of the victorious rebels to stack their arms and colors. The cannon fire heard were victory salutes fired by Gate's artillery. As one loyalist sadly stated "it went to my heart to hear it, though I knew it was to be the case."¹²²

Yet the most difficult task was given to McAlpin himself. On October 11, 1777, Burgoyne ordered remaining elements of Native Americans and McAlpin's Corps to take possession of the army's military chest and transport it back to Canada. That evening, the corps slipped out of camp and rushed north towards Lake George and the safety of the Royal Navy. On October 25, 1777, rebel militia intercepted McAlpin's party and a large skirmish erupted.

¹¹⁹ Munro to Haldimand, January 10, 1778.

¹²⁰ "List of McAlpin's Men Paid by Ensign Donald Fraser", October 14, 1777. Note that "Donald" was a Gaelic nickname for "Daniel"

¹²¹ Skulking at 55.

¹²² A Narrative of John Peters, p. 3.

When the battle ended, fifty of McAlpin's men were captured or left behind as casualties.¹²³

Nevertheless, McAlpin was able to push past the enemy and successfully reach Canada with the military chest.

Under the surrender terms Burgoyne accepted, Article 8 of the Saratoga Convention stipulated that all captured persons were British subjects rather than subjects of the Continental Congress. As a result, captured loyalists were required to sign paroles agreeing not to participate in future hostilities against American forces. In turn, the prisoners were permitted to return to Canada. A muster of McAlpin's men on January 12, 1778 revealed that the corps had 1 captain,¹²⁴ 2 lieutenants, 3 sergeants and 26 rank and file fit for duty. However, an additional lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 1 surgeon, 4 sergeants and 38 rank and file were under the Saratoga Convention as paroled prisoners of war.¹²⁵ If seven men were captured in the month of August, then the remaining 39 men and officers were likely captured during the First Battle of Freeman's Farm, during subsequent foraging and bateaux expeditions or after Burgoyne's surrender.

VIII. The Aftermath: "Loyalists in Great Distress"

In early 1778, McAlpin was promoted to major and was given the arduous task of overseeing the flood of refugees who poured into Canada following Burgoyne's defeat. For McAlpin this was a monumental task. The British government controlling Canada was ill prepared for the arrival of thousands of men, women and children who Haldimand fittingly described as "loyalists in great distress."¹²⁶

¹²³ New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, November 17, 1777.

¹²⁴ Daniel McAlpin

¹²⁵ "Present State of the Several Detachments of Royalists who Returned from Lieutenant General Burgoyne's Army to Canada after the Convention", May 1, 1778.

¹²⁶ Haldimand to Germain, October 14, 1778. Estimates place the number of non-military loyalists in Canada following the defeat of Burgoyne at over one thousand men, women and children. By 1780, the number of loyalist refugees in Canada had grown to five thousand. By 1784, the number would increase to seven thousand.

Under McAlpin's guidance, a loyalist refugee settlement was first established at Machiche, near Three Rivers. Conrad Guty, a Frenchman and companion of Haldimand, was named superintendant of the site.¹²⁷ As more refugees streamed in, additional refugee camps were established in Sorel, Chambly, Quebec and Saint John's.¹²⁸

Unfortunately, the efforts of the British government to provide asylum for the loyalists were often in vain and as the years progressed, existing difficulties were compounded with an ever greater influx of refugees. Housing was the greatest problem. On September 14, 1778, Guty complained about the lack of pine wood to construct necessary housing for the refugees.¹²⁹ By December and the onset of the Canadian winter, loyalist housing was not complete.¹³⁰ On January 7, 1779, Haldimand demanded to know why officials assigned to Machiche had not yet built a saw mill necessary for the construction of housing and military barracks.¹³¹ British authorities even experienced difficulties establishing a schoolhouse for refugee children.¹³²

Throughout the fall months of 1778, British officials likewise struggled to supply the loyalists with rations, candles and blankets.¹³³ Fresh meat was continuously scarce¹³⁴ and full rations often withheld.¹³⁵ By 1783, over three thousand loyalists were in need of basic clothing, including over three thousand pairs of stockings and shoes and sixteen thousand yards of linen

¹²⁷ A survey of Machiche was conducted by the British Government in 1779 and revealed that of the one hundred eighty refugees, one hundred twenty one were *children*. "List of those Loyalist refugees living at Machiche in 1779."

¹²⁸ In the Quebec refugee camp alone, one thousand, three hundred and thirty eight loyalists were being cared for by the British government.

¹²⁹ Guty to Haldimand, September 14, 1778. Construction of the first set of barracks was not completed until November 8, 1778. Guty to Haldimand, November 8, 1778.

¹³⁰ Guty to Haldimand, December 20, 1778.

¹³¹ Haldimand to Guty, January 7, 1779.

¹³² Guty to Haldimand, March 6, 1779; Guty to Haldimand, March 14, 1779.

¹³³ Guty to Haldimand, October 30, 1778; Guty to Haldimand, November 8, 1778; Guty to Haldimand, November 16, 1778.

¹³⁴ Guty made no less than two requests in November, 1778 for provisions of fresh beef for the loyalists at Machiche. Guty to Haldimand November 8, 1778 and November 16, 1778.

¹³⁵ Robert Matthews to Abraham Cuyler, November 18, 1782.

and wool.¹³⁶ The following year, British officials warned that several refugees had died “owing as they think for the want of provisions and clothing.”¹³⁷

From the refugee perspective, most were horrified at their living conditions and lack of provisions. As one group of loyalists opined, “we shall not be able to overcome the Seveir and approaching hard winter ...[in] a Strange and Disolate place where [we] can get nothing to Work to earne a Penney for the Support of Each Other . . . much more the Bigger part of us Without one shilling in our pockets and not a Shew on our feet.”¹³⁸ To contain the impact of refugees on the Quebec Province, British authorities restricted loyalists and refused to let them travel outside of their respective camps.¹³⁹ As a result, refugees quickly discovered that they could not supplement their meager supplies with trips to neighboring towns and villages. Services, including laundry, were subject to price fixing.¹⁴⁰ Likewise, requests to sell goods, including alcohol, to complement their meager living conditions were summarily denied.¹⁴¹

An even greater concern amongst refugees was the presence of camp fever which was quickly spreading through the refugee sites. Loyalists chaffed at the government’s downplay of the camp conditions and the assertion that their complaints were “frivolous”.¹⁴² According to a letter from Gagy to Stephen DeLancy, inspector of the Loyalist camps, he was “well aware of the uniform discontent of the Loyalists at Machiche . . . the discontent . . . is excited by a few

¹³⁶ “Estimate of Clothing Required to Clothe the Above Numbered of Refugees, Agreeable to the Proportions Heretofore Granted”, 1783.

¹³⁷ Stephen Delancey to Robert Matthews, April 26 and May 4, 1784.

¹³⁸ “Petition by His Majesty’s Faithful Subjects Emigrated Under the Conduct of Captain Michael Grass from New York to This Place”, Sorel, September 29, 1783.

¹³⁹ Gagy to Haldimand, October 30, 1778.

¹⁴⁰ “The loyalist women receiving rations are to wash for the non-commissioned officers and men of the volunteers at four coppers a shirt and in proportion for other things.” Haldimand to Lieutenant French, July 14, 1780.

¹⁴¹ Gagy to Haldimand, November 32, 1778.

¹⁴² Gagy to Haldimand, October 2, 1778.

ill-disposed persons. . . . the sickness they complain of has been common throughout the province, and should have lessened rather than increased the consumption of provisions.”¹⁴³

Responding himself to a loyalist complaint, Haldimand summarized the distaste British authorities had for the grievances from unappreciative loyalists when he told a prominent refugee “His Excellency is anxious to do everything in his power for the Loyalists, but if what he can do does not come up to the expectation of him and those he represents, His Excellency gives the fullest permission to them to seek redress in such manner as they shall think best.”¹⁴⁴ In short, the Loyalists were forced to choose between accepting their camp conditions or fend for themselves.

IX. “They Have Sacrificed All They Had for Their Loyalty”

When McAlpin’s Corps of American Volunteers returned to Canada, the organization was a decimated shell of what it had been months earlier. Worse yet, Captain Munro was once again making overtures to remove his bateaux company from the Corps. Yet McAlpin was prepared for the upstart Munro. When Munro refused for a second time to muster his men with McAlpin’s Corps, he was removed from his command, taken off the military payroll and relegated to the task of supervising the building of a bridge in Berthier.¹⁴⁵ McAlpin replaced Munro with one of his own men.

Over the next two and a half years, Munro would try in vain to regain his command and seek the return of his men to him. His final attempt occurred on December 7, 1780, six months after McAlpin’s death. In a letter to Robert Matthews, Munro outlined his grievances against McAlpin and demanded reinstatement as senior captain in McAlpin’s Corps. Munro went further and proposed that the corps be divided and a share of men be assigned to him. The

¹⁴³ Gagy to DeLancy, April 29, 1780.

¹⁴⁴ http://www.canadiangenealogy.net/chronicles/loyalists_quebec.htm

¹⁴⁵ Munro to Haldimand, January 10, 1778 and September 12, 1780.

requests were forwarded to Major Nairne, superintendent of loyalist forces in Canada, who summarily denied the requests.¹⁴⁶

While McAlpin was fending off Hugh Munro, the major still faced the daunting task of commanding several loyalist corps and rebuilding his own corps of volunteers stationed at Sorel.¹⁴⁷ Complicating matters were the Jessup brothers. Still reeling from losing a portion of their recruits to McAlpin in August of 1777, both brothers repeatedly complained to Haldimand and other authorities that their corps was significantly understaffed and recruits stolen by McAlpin needed to be returned. In one such attempt, Ebenezer Jessup wrote to Brigadier General John Powell and demanded almost seventy men recruited by the Jessups be returned to his corps.¹⁴⁸ The request was quickly denied. Almost a month later, Neil Robertson complained to Sir John Johnson about the Jessup brothers attempt to persuade him to return sixty-eight men currently enlisted with McAlpin's Corps. Robertson also rebuffed the demand, correctly pointing out the Jessups' ignorance that of the sixty-eight men requested, "25 of whom are among the rebels, 22 dead or deserted, the other 21 belong to Major Daniel McAlpin's corps."¹⁴⁹

McAlpin recognized his unit was in danger and could be broken up and dispersed amongst the other loyalist units stationed in Canada. McAlpin quickly petitioned Haldimand, arguing "that your Excellency will be good enough to support them in their different stations, as

¹⁴⁶ Munro to Matthews, December 7, 1780.

¹⁴⁷ "Quebec 17th May 1779 . . . Sir . . . As I Shall probably have Occasion this Summer to Employ You, & Your Regiment, upon Some active and important Service, I am anxious that you Should now be employed, in preparing them for this purpose, and in order to prevent other Business from interfering with this Principal Object, I have thought proper to appoint Captain McALPIN to have the Command and Direction of the Several Corps of Loyalists, including both those who are paid, and those who are not, and in a few Days Captain McALPIN will Wait upon you to Receive all Instructions, Lists, or any other Papers in Your Possession, which May assist him in arranging these Irregular Corps- and I request, you will give Captain McALPIN every private Information in Your Power relative to this part of the Service. It will be necessary that you Send Orders to the Heads of all Corps, and to the Individuals who belongs to no particular Body, that they immediately put themselves under the Command and Direction of Captain McALPIN. I am with great Regard Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant Fred: HALDIMAND."

¹⁴⁸ Ebenezer Jessup to Powell, July 26, 1780.

¹⁴⁹ Robertson to Johnson, August 6, 1780.

they have sacrificed all they had for their loyalty.”¹⁵⁰ As a result of his efforts, McAlpin’s Corps remained intact. However, McAlpin, like the Jessups, would spend the rest of his military career trying to bring his unit back up to its pre-Saratoga strength. Unfortunately, it would be a goal that would never be reached.¹⁵¹



A West View of Sorel, ca 1784 National Archives of Canada/C-002005 Artist: James Peachey

Throughout 1778 and most of 1779, McAlpin’s Corps remained in Sorel, a town located in southwestern Quebec Province. When not engaged in garrison duty, McAlpin’s men were employed in the construction and repair of earthworks around the town.¹⁵² By July, 1779, Sorel had become a refugee camp and active military base that was occupied by five provincial units. The roads leading to and from Sorel were frequently in poor condition. Coupled with Carleton’s belief that most, if not all, of the provincial forces in Canada would be reassigned to the main

¹⁵⁰ McAlpin to Haldimand, November 18, 1778.

¹⁵¹ It appears Haldimand attempted to supplement the ranks of McAlpin’s Corps with regular troops. For example, on August 30, 1778, General Haldimand ordered a company of the 34th Regiment of Foot not only to join McAlpin’s Corps, but to mix itself into the ranks and assist the Corps with its duties. The company remained attached to McAlpin’s Corps until December 18, 1778. By January 1, 1779, the 34th was back serving in the ranks of McAlpin’s Corps. It appears the unit remained with McAlpin’s until September, 1779.

¹⁵² McAlpin to Matthews, July 29, 1779.

American theater, resupply and soldier's pay was often intentionally withheld and thus difficult to obtain.¹⁵³

As a result, McAlpin struggled to ensure his men were properly armed and equipped. Recognizing that they were armed with a mix of old French military muskets, fowlers and commercial trade guns, McAlpin argued "I need not explain to His Excellency the figure an old grey-headed fellow will make at the head of a parcel of raw, undisciplined people with bad arms . . . I hope the General will be good enough to prevent me from appearing in this mortifying situation by ordering good arms to be delivered to us."¹⁵⁴ It appears McAlpin did make some progress and did receive some "good arms" in 1778. Nevertheless, as late as August 3, 1778, McAlpin still reported a "return of arms and accouterments wanting to compleat Captain McAlpin's Corps of Volunteers . . . 35 firelocks, 35 bayonets, 35 belts and frogs, 35 cartridge boxes."¹⁵⁵

Major McAlpin also repeatedly begged British authorities to properly clothe his troops. Despite his best efforts, his men would not receive new uniforms until November, 1778. Worse, this would be the only identified clothing the American Volunteers would receive over the next two years.¹⁵⁶ It is unclear whether these coats were likely the highly unpopular blue coats faced white that Jessup's Corps received in December, 1778.¹⁵⁷ If so, the men and officers of McAlpin's Corps followed the example of Jessup's Corps and elected to wear blanket coats instead of the coats often worn by their New England enemies.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ An effective list of all Loyalists in Canada receiving provisions. Report of Captain Daniel McAlpin, July 1, 1779.; McAlpin to Haldimand, May 4, 1779.

¹⁵⁴ Haldimand Papers, manuscript number 21,821, footnote 23. See also McAlpin to Matthews, July 29, 1779.

¹⁵⁵ Great Britain, Public Record Office, War Office, Class 28, Volume 10, folio 44.

¹⁵⁶ McAlpin to Haldimand, June 8, 1780.

¹⁵⁷ Jim Kochan theorizes that these blue faced white coats were "prize" clothing taken from seized rebel stores in Canada or Ticonderoga or from captured rebel supply ships.

¹⁵⁸ "With all Respect and due difference we the subscribing Officers of the Loyalists beg leave to represent to Your Excellency, that the Cloathing in Store at this Garrison being Blue faced with White, the same as

Life at Sorel was often difficult. Besides a lack of supplies, shelter was almost non-existent. As Sir. John Johnson correctly noted in correspondence to Haldimand regarding McAlpin's and other corps, "I have not mentioned Tents, or Camp Equipage, tho they [are] wanting for the whole Regiment – but should your Excellency think them Necessary, I shall immediately forward them."¹⁵⁹

Worse yet, the volunteers in McAlpin's Corps often found themselves at odds with their fellow refugees. Competition for limited supplies, including fresh food and clothing, proved to be a source of constant irritation. On more than one occasion, Major McAlpin described incidents of large groups of loyalist refugees engaged in fights with his soldiers.¹⁶⁰ Likewise, intoxication was an ongoing problem. In one instance during a visit to Sorel by the famed Robert Rogers and his recruiter named Pritchard, almost all of the loyalist troops assigned to Sorel got drunk, abandoned their posts and abused their officers. Naturally, Major McAlpin was horrified at the 'Pritchard Affair' and demanded that Rogers be prohibited from returning to Sorel.¹⁶¹

X. An Opportunity for Revenge: The Raid on Johnstown

It 1780, McAlpin's Corps of American Volunteers returned to New York. For these loyalists, participation in the 1780 military raids ordered by Carleton against New York was

the Uniform of many Regiments of our Enemies, we are apprehensive that should we be sent on service with this Cloathing, many fatal accidents might happen, from mistakes of Indians and our own Scouting Parties, as was actually the case several times last Campaign. We are aware that to expect this Cloathing should be totally laid aside, for such reasons, after the great expense the Crown has been at, must be deemed unreasonable; our wishes only are that Your Excellency will Order us, Red Clothing, as along as any remains in Store, and that the Blue may be made use of the last. Lieut Colonel St. Leger has been pleased at our request to suffer us to draw only half Mounting, for the present, the Blanket Coats we have purchased for the Men by his directions, supplying the place of the Coats, untill Your Excellency will be pleased to decide for us; and whatever that decision may be we shall be entirely satisfied – The Transporting the Cloathing at this Season, we are sensible will be attended with some Expense to Government, which we do not wish to burthen it with; but should Your Excellency Order us the Red Clothing we will chearfully defray the Expense of Carriage." Jessup et al to Haldimand, December 2, 1778.

¹⁵⁹ Johnson to Haldimand, May 20, 1779.

¹⁶⁰ For an example of a soldier-civilian dispute, see McAlpin to Matthews, January 16, 1780.

¹⁶¹ McAlpin to Brigadier Powell, December 26, 1779.

more than opportunity to get away from the boredom of garrison duty. Instead, these raids represented an opportunity of revenge for the failures of Saratoga.

In March, 1780, Ensign Walter Sutherland of the King's Royal Regiment of New York returned from a scout to Johnstown, New York. In his report to Haldimand, Sutherland disclosed that New York rebels intended to force all military age men, including loyalists, into military units stationed along the Canadian border. Those who refused would be arrested, their homes destroyed and their property confiscated. Alarmed, Haldimand ordered Sir John Johnson to organize a relief force with the intent to evacuate all military age loyalist men and their families from the Johnstown area.¹⁶²

In preparation for the raid, Haldimand ordered three separate detachments consisting of thirty four men and two officers from the 29th, 34th and 53rd regiments and one detachment composed of an officer and twenty men from the Hesse Hanau Jaegers to assemble at Ile-aux-Noix. One hundred and sixty-one men from the King's Royal Regiment were also recruited for the mission, as were fifty men recruited from McAlpin's Corps, Peter's Queen's Loyal Rangers and the King's Loyal Americans. On April 13, 1780, the loyalist detachments of the raiding party were ordered to also assemble at Ile-aux-Noix. Upon arrival, the entire raiding party, over five hundred and twenty-eight men in total, were placed under the command of Sir John Johnson and Captain Thomas Scott of the 53rd Regiment.¹⁶³

The troops were transported by water from Ile-aux-Noix down Lake Champlain to Crown Point. Once on land, the soldiers travelled to the south-west, skirting around Schroon Lake. On May 21, 1780, the raiders attacked Kingsborough Patent, located north of Johnstown, and

¹⁶² Gavin Watt, The Burning of the Valleys, (Toronto, 1997), p. 75.

¹⁶³ Ibid at 77-78.

rescued one hundred forty three loyalists, including women and children, and thirty slaves.¹⁶⁴

Johnson then led his troops into Johnstown, burned several buildings, rescued dozens of loyalists and captured twenty-seven rebels. Afterwards, the raiders burned one hundred and twenty barns, mills and houses located in a four mile arc south of Johnstown.¹⁶⁵

New York authorities rushed to stop the raids and dispatched over eight hundred Continental troops and militia to intercept Johnson and his men. A second force of nine hundred rebels was raised in New Hampshire and ordered west towards Johnstown. Over the next four days, the raiders, their prisoners and loyalist refugees were doggedly pursued by the Americans and forced to continuously change direction as they withdrew towards Crown Point. However, Johnson successfully reached the ruined fort and escaped by water just as two thousand rebel troops and militia arrived at the shoreline of Lake Champlain.¹⁶⁶ Fortunately, the rebels were unable to pursue and were forced to watch helplessly as their prey escaped north to Canada.

XI. O'er the Hills and Far Away: The Death of Daniel McAlpin

In the weeks following the Raid on Johnstown, Daniel McAlpin's health deteriorated drastically. Despite the efforts of physicians, the major never recovered from the long term exposure to the elements when he hid from rebel patrols in 1777. On July 22, 1780, McAlpin succumbed to his illness and passed away. The news of his death travelled quickly and by July 25, 1780, Haldimand was informed of the loss of his major.

McAlpin's passing was a tremendous blow, emotionally and financially, to his family. For the next two years Mrs. McAlpin and her children lingered in Canada. On March 15, 1781, Mary McAlpin personally appealed to Haldimand for a royal bounty. According to the general,

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. With Sir John Johnson's blessing, several of the raiders broke away from the main body, sought out several officers of Third Regiment, Tryon County Militia and killed them.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid at 79.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

Mrs. McAlpin pleaded that as a result of outstanding debts accrued by Major McAlpin “only the sum of £633 17s 3d remains for the support of herself and her two daughters.”¹⁶⁷ Surprisingly, it was the Jessup brothers who were among the first to step forward and donate funds to support the McAlpin family. Unfortunately, the monies raised were only sufficient in the short term and by 1782, the McAlpins were forced to sail for England. While in London, Mary McAlpin survived on a small pension. She would repeatedly petition British authorities for £6000 in compensation for personal and real property lost at the hands of New York rebels during the American Revolution. By 1788, her petition still remained unanswered. Mary McAlpin never returned to America.¹⁶⁸

McAlpin’s death also had a significant impact on his corps. Recognizing that their protector and sponsor could no longer shield them from the Jessup Brothers or Hugh Munro, the men of the American Volunteers wrote a petition to Haldimand on August 24, 1780. In their letter, the men informed the governor that they considered themselves “freed by his death” and requested that Haldimand dissolve the unit.¹⁶⁹ Haldimand quickly rejected the petition and the fate of McAlpin’s Corps of American Volunteers was quickly sealed. In less than eighteen months, the corps would cease to exist.

Major John Nairne of the 1st Battalion, 84th Royal Highland Emigrants was given command of the American Volunteers, as well as the other loyalist corps previously supervised by McAlpin. Recognizing the relative weakness of numbers of each of these corps, the major ordered the various units merged into a single corps that would become known as the “Corps of

¹⁶⁷ Petition to Haldimand, March 15, 1781. A partial smudge appears between the numbers 6 and 3. However, upon closer examination, it appears Mary McAlpin is claiming she has only £633 remaining.

¹⁶⁸ Skulking at 61.

¹⁶⁹ Petition to Haldimand, August 24, 1780.

Royalists”.¹⁷⁰ Each provincial unit composed a single military company within the corps. By November, 1780, Nairne turned command of the American Volunteers over to Captain Gideon Adams of Connecticut.



Major John Nairne

As John Munro correctly observed, many of the loyalist soldiers in Canada were still “in great want of Provisions; and was distressed for everything having wore out all their Shoes,

¹⁷⁰ By October 10, 1780, the numerical strength of the American Volunteers was 8 commissioned officers and 82 effective rank and files.

Mockosins, Trowsers, Leggings, &c...”¹⁷¹ Like McAlpin, Nairne quickly recognized that the men under his command needed to be properly clothed and equipped. According to Ebenezer Jessup “Major Nairn told me that he had sixty suits of clothing which he should distribute to the men [at] Yemeska Post and to the recruits for the Late McAlpin’s Corps . . . the severity of the weather makes me ask for [additional] cloathing.”¹⁷² Seven days later Nairne ordered “all the officers and Men belonging To the Several Corps of Royalists Quartered in this Parish to assemble at his quarters on thirsday 12th Instant...What ever arms and accutrments the officers and Men are Possessed of are to be Brought along with them that all Deficiences May appear and Proper applications Shall be made for Every Necessary Equipment for those who are ancious to Serve as Soldiers During the war...”¹⁷³

Following the inspection of his men, Nairne rushed to secure proper clothing for his troops. On January 4, 1781, he instructed “Mr. Titus Simons . . . to over look the Taylors belonging to the Corps of Royalists and Take Peticular Care that They Shall on No Pretences Do Any Other Work Till the Clothing . . . is finished.”¹⁷⁴ By April 1, 1781, Nairne had not only secured enough clothing for all of his troops, including green uniform coats faced red, but had accumulated a surplus of 100 additional uniforms and enough material for 30 more, 370 leggings and 756 stockings.¹⁷⁵ However, due to logistical issues that often plagued the British army, not all of the uniforms were issued to the Corps of Loyalists. As late as January 2, 1782, Edward Jessup begged “to acquaint the Commander in Chief That the men in the Corps of Royalists are in great want of Cloathing and that I Beg His Excellancy will pleas to give orders for their being

¹⁷¹ Captain John Munro to Captain Richard Lernoult, November 20, 1780.

¹⁷² Ebenezer Jessup to Captain Matthews, December 1, 1780.

¹⁷³ Jessup’s Orderly Books, Regimental Orders, December 9, 1780.

¹⁷⁴ Jessup’s Orderly Books, Regimental Orders, January 4, 1781.

¹⁷⁵ General Return of Stores and Batteaux in the Quarter Master Generals Department in Canada – Head Quarters Quebec, April 1, 1781. A review of the returns suggest that the soldiers under Nairne’s command should have also been issued Russian drill breeches or gaitored trousers, linen shirts, shoes, blanket coats and “rolers”.

issued of the green Cloaths as we understand there is a sufficient Quantity of that sort to Cloath the whole Corps.”¹⁷⁶

XII. The October Raids¹⁷⁷

On August 24, 1780, Governor Haldimand proposed a series of coordinated raids into New York to “destroy the enemy’s supplies from the late plentiful harvest and to give His Majesty’s loyal subjects an opportunity of retiring to this province.”¹⁷⁸ The projected raids also had a secondary objective of demonstrating to the residents of Vermont, who had been making questionable overtures of switching sides to Haldimand, the true strength of the British forces stationed in Canada.

The raids into New York would move in multiple columns down the Mohawk, Lower Champlain and Hudson River Valleys and would be carried out by troops under the command of Major Christopher Carleton of the 29th Regiment of Foot, Sir John Johnson and Captain John Munro of the King’s Royal Regiment of New York and Lieutenant Richard Houghton of the 53rd Regiment of Foot.

The attack of the Lower Champlain and Hudson River Valleys fell to Major Carleton. On September 27, 1780, Carleton’s forces assembled at St. John’s. Over 950 men from regular and loyalist units assembled for the mission. According to James Van Driesen, McAlpin’s Corps was one of the units drafted for service with Carleton.¹⁷⁹ On September 28th, the troops sailed to

¹⁷⁶ Edward Jessup to Captain Matthews, January 2, 1782.

¹⁷⁷ The following section describes McAlpin’s Corps role in Major Christopher Carleton’s raid during the month of October 1780. McAlpin’s participation in this raid is based upon a confession by James Van Driesen. On October 25, 1780, Van Driesen asserted to his captors that that McAlpin’s Corps was part of Carleton’s forces. It should be noted Gavin Watt questions the credibility of the claim and believes that Van Driesen was enlisted with King’s Rangers.

¹⁷⁸ Haldimand to Johnson, August 24, 1780.

¹⁷⁹ Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, Albany County Sessions, 1778-1781.

Ile-aux-Noix. By October 2nd, the expedition had reached Valcour Island. The next day, Carleton's men set up camp at Split Rock, where they remained until October 6th.

Under the cover of darkness, Carleton's men travelled south past Crown Point to Fort Ticonderoga¹⁸⁰. On October 8th, Carleton departed from Ticonderoga and travelled towards Fort Ann via bateaux. Two days later, the simple wooden blockhouse surrendered to Carleton without a shot fired. The fort was immediately destroyed and seventy-five officers and enlisted men were taken prisoner.¹⁸¹ The same day, Carleton continued south towards Fort Edward. En route, he burned every farm that he encountered, with the exception of two owned by loyalist yeomen. Once at the North Hudson River, Carleton turned west towards Fort George. Upon arrival at the Kingsbury District, he torched the town.

The next day, Carleton advanced on Fort George. Captain John Chipman, commander of the fort, quickly learned of Carleton's approach. Believing that the enemy was a small war party, Sill dispatched fifty soldiers under the command of Captain Thomas Sill to intercept Carleton. In turn, Carleton dispatched a large flanking party of Indians, King's Rangers, McAlpin's Corps and the 34th Regiment of Foot.¹⁸² The American party was ambushed at Bloody Pond and quickly surrounded. In the heavy combat that followed, twenty seven American soldiers were killed, two were wounded and eight captured. Only thirteen men escaped. Carleton's men sustained no casualties.

Carleton displayed most of his troops on Gage's Height. From his position inside Fort George, Captain Chipman ordered his artillery pieces to open fire on his opponent. After three ineffective shots, the Captain quickly realized he was in an untenable position and started negotiations with Carleton for the surrender. Within hours the garrison capitulated. On October

¹⁸⁰ Ticonderoga was abandoned by the British in November, 1777.

¹⁸¹ It is unclear whether the prisoners were sent back to South Bay or to Fort Ticonderoga.

¹⁸² Ibid.

12th, Fort George was burned to the ground. Carleton turned north and marched back towards Fort Ticonderoga. By October 25th, Carleton and his men were well on their way back to Canada. However, that same day the major received orders to return to New York and harass the rebels once again. By October 30th, Carleton had occupied Mount Independence. For the next two weeks, Carleton would engage in a “cat and mouse” game against rebel forces active in the “Narrows”, an area of Lake Champlain between Mount Independence and Fort Ticonderoga. On November 12th, Carleton withdrew his forces and sailed for Canada. By November 14th, he arrived at St. John’s.

The October Raids were a complete success. Not only had Carleton destroyed two forts, captured dozens of enemy soldiers, burned several towns and kept rebel forces in check, but Carleton had done so with minimal casualties. At the conclusion of Carleton’s raid, only two men were killed, three were wounded and two deserted. James Van Driesen was the only loss attributable to McAlpin’s Corps of American Volunteers. Shortly after the engagement at Bloody Pond, Van Driesen deserted and fled southeast towards Ballstown. Upon arrival, he alerted the local militia of Carleton’s activities. For his information, Van Driesen was rewarded with imprisonment, trial and a death sentence. However, Governor Clinton intervened on Van Driesen’s behalf and on February 27, 1781, he was released on bail.¹⁸³

XIII. 1781: The Final Year of McAlpin’s Corps

Following the October raids, McAlpin’s Corps returned to garrison life at Sorel. For most of 1781, the soldiers watched as an unending stream of loyalist refugees poured into the garrison town. In turn, many loyalists came to terms with their current status and concluded that they would never return to New York or New England. As a result, many of these men attempted to

¹⁸³ Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, Albany County Sessions, 1778-1781.

carve out some semblance of a new life at Sorel. On February 8, 1781, Haldimand reported that residents and soldiers alike cleared out wood lots around Sorel and started construction of a windmill.¹⁸⁴ By July, saw mill and brick kilns were constructed and fully operational.¹⁸⁵ That November, bakeries were approved by Haldimand.¹⁸⁶ By Christmas, the first Christmas tree appeared in North America at Sorel.

However, the reality of war was ever present and soldiers from the corps were recruited for various military operations outside of garrison duty. It is possible that soldiers from McAlpin's were drafted for "secret service" missions into Vermont and New York. These dangerous missions usually required loyalists, travelling alone or in small groups, to conduct operations of observation, establish contact with or deliver correspondence to loyalists behind enemy lines.¹⁸⁷

McAlpin's last official military operation outside of Sorel took place in October, 1781. As the Revolutionary War raged in Virginia, Haldimand began to secretly make overtures to the representatives of Vermont republic to abandon the revolutionary cause and declare loyalty to Britain. As a result, on October 14th, Haldimand ordered Barry St. Leger to deliver a proclamation to Vermont seeking reunification with England. At the same time, the general was ordered to conduct a diversionary action in support of John Ross, who had launched a raid into the New York interior via Fort Oswego. Per Haldimand, St. Leger was expected to lead troops to the upper end of Lake Champlain and establish a base of operation at Crown Point. Although St. Leger was ordered not to engage in hostilities from Crown Point unless attacked, the general was expected to dispatch raiding parties towards Lake George. Within a week, St. Leger had

¹⁸⁴ Haldimand to Twiss, February 8, 1781.

¹⁸⁵ Haldimand to Twiss, July 1, 1781.

¹⁸⁶ Haldimand to Twiss, November 22, 1781.

¹⁸⁷ For an accurate description of secret service operations into Vermont, see Stevens to Haldimand, February 6, 1782.

assembled over 900 regular, German, Native American and Loyalist troops. Among those soldiers and under the command of Captain Jessup were the volunteers of McAlpin's Corps.

On October 17, 1781, St. Leger's force sailed for Ile la Motte. Two days later, the small army arrived at Crown Point. On October 20th, St. Leger departed Crown Point and pressed southward towards the ruins of Fort Ticonderoga. Once secured, loyalists and rangers maneuvered towards the Lake George landing. Over the next twenty-four hours, provincial soldiers moved the expedition's boats overland from Lake Champlain to Lake George.

On October 24, 1781, two hundred and five loyalists, sixty light infantry and forty Jaegers under the command of Captain Jessup assembled at the fort's landing with fourteen day's rations and fifty rounds each. At nine o'clock in the evening, the detachment "sailed most peaceably three miles, landed on a small island, built many fires and without taking the least precaution against surprise, slept undisturbed and passed the night thus." ¹⁸⁸ After two nights on the island, Jessup's detachment set sail.

For unknown reasons, Jessup stopped at three separate islands and lit large signal fires on each of the islands. This action, coupled with a brief firefight with a rebel patrol, alarmed the countryside. Nevertheless, Jessup's detachment continued operations on Lake George unchecked. According to St. Leger, the expedition primarily focused on intelligence gathering between Stillwater and Saratoga and establishing contact with local Mohawks. By November 1st, the expedition rejoined St. Leger at Fort Ticonderoga and by November 4th, the entire force withdrew towards Crown Point. Due to severe weather, the force did not arrive at Crown Point until November 8th. By November 13th, the expedition passed Ile aux Noix and retired into Canada.

XIV. The Loyal Rangers

¹⁸⁸ Von Kreutzbourg at 37-39.

While the men of McAlpin's Corps were travelling north to Canada, Haldimand finally concluded that the various loyalist units left over from the Burgoyne campaign and still under his command had utterly failed in their recruiting efforts. On November 12, 1781, Haldimand released his *Proposal for Forming the Several Corps of Loyalists*. In his order, Haldimand instructed that Jessup's, Peter's and McAlpin's Corps be amalgamated into a single battalion and *Edward* Jessup, Ebenezer's brother, was promoted to major and placed in command of the battalion. The men and officers of McAlpin's Corps were dispersed amongst the ten companies. In support of his decision, Haldimand asserted "His Excellency . . . robust constitution, his personal activity, merit and experience having served last war, are circumstances which render him a fit person to command the above mentioned corps."¹⁸⁹

As with Nairne and McAlpin, Major Jessup also struggled to cloth his troops. A little more than a month after assuming command, Jessup complained "Pleas to acquaint the Commander in Chief that the men in the Corps of Royalists are in great want of Cloathing and that I Beg His Excellency will pleas to give orders for their being issued of the green Cloaths as we understand there is a sufficient Quantity of that sort to Cloath the whole Corps. – Capt Sherwood tells us that his Coat is approved of as a pattern for our uniform which we shall Immetate but shall need some green Cloath for facings (as the Present facings are Red) I thought it would be but Little Expence if any Rat eaten or Damaged Coats Should be in the Store."¹⁹⁰ Ten days later, Jessup ordered "The Captains and Commanding Officers of Companys are to Deliver without delay to Acting Adjutant an Exact Return of their non Commissioned Officers Drummers and Private Men in their respective Company for whosoever it will be Necessary at Present to give Cloathing."¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ "Proposal for Forming the Several Corps of Loyalists", November 12, 1781.

¹⁹⁰ Edward Jessup to Captain Matthews, January 2, 1782.

¹⁹¹ Jessup's Orderly Book, January 12, 1782.

By February 14th, the major was still submitting requests for additional clothing.¹⁹² On February 21, 1782, Jessup was able to report that only one hundred and seventy-four green regimental coats faced red had been issued to his men.

Following the formation of the Loyal Rangers, the battalion was transferred from Sorel to Verchere, Yamaska and Dutchman's Point.¹⁹³ The Loyal Rangers did not participate in any raids into New York and spent most of its time garrisoning the blockhouses at these three posts. However, as Jessup correctly reported "we are obliged to keep up a Constant round of Scouts . . . and that I have already been obliged to furnish several of the men . . . for Secret Service and must furnish Several More Soon or not get any Scouting from them."¹⁹⁴

XV. Ernestown

When peace was declared in 1783, the most pressing issue for Haldimand was what to do with the thousands of loyalist refugees who occupied the Quebec Province. Many were without clothing and few had received sufficient supplies.¹⁹⁵ Haldimand contemplated a forced removal of the refugees to parts unknown. Instead, by July 1783 many loyalist officers, including Edward Jessup, proposed the settlement of land south-west of the Quebec Province. The suggestion was quickly adopted and land grants were issued to loyalist soldiers and refugees alike.

On September 5, 1783, Jessup reported that many of his rangers were interested in settling tracts of land north of Ottawa, known initially as the "Second Town" and renamed in

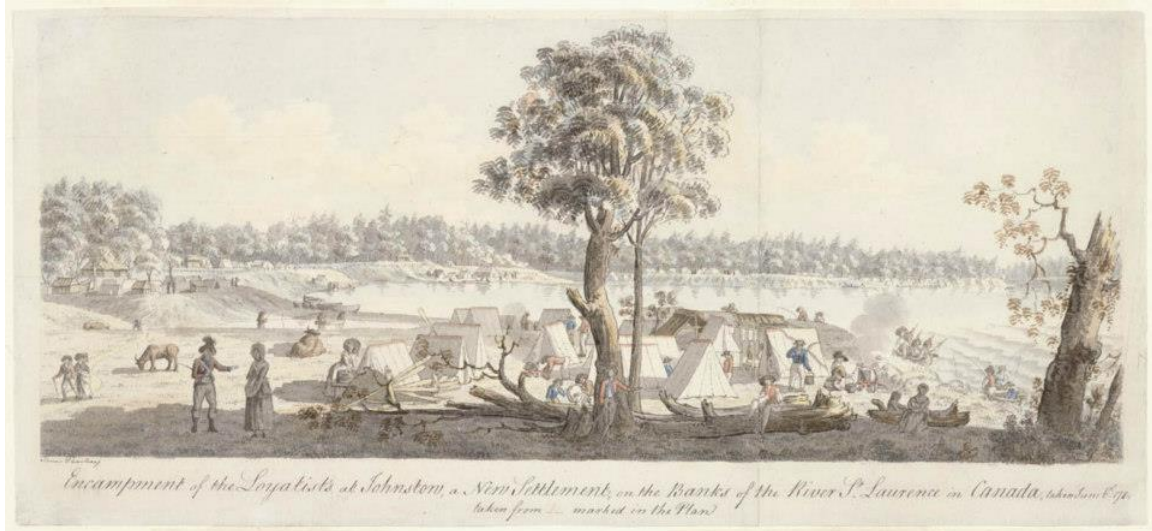
¹⁹² Jessup to Matthews, February 14, 1782.

¹⁹³ Three lieutenants, nine sergeants and two hundred and six soldiers were stationed at Verchere. Two ensigns, four sergeants and fifty-seven soldiers occupied Dutchman's Point. One lieutenant, five sergeants, one drummer and seventy-seven soldiers garrisoned Yamaska.

¹⁹⁴ Jessup to Matthews, February 14, 1782.

¹⁹⁵ Jessup to Matthews, April 12, 1783.

1784 as Ernestown in honor of King George's fifth son Prince Ernest Augustus.¹⁹⁶ Six days later, a plan of settlement was drafted for Jessup.¹⁹⁷ Surprisingly, the plan called for settlements to be established for each company from the Loyal Rangers.¹⁹⁸ On December 11, 1783, the Loyal Rangers were disbanded and its soldiers and families were permitted to depart for the grants of lands issued to them.



Loyalist Encampment at Johnston, Ontario 1784

Life on the Canadian frontier was difficult at best. Money was scarce and markets for supplies were almost non-existent. By June 1784, Jessup reported that development of the settlement was behind schedule.¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, a month later, Justus Sherwood asserted “that the people have got on their farms, are universally pleased, are emulating each other so that every lot in the front of the three townships and many of those in the back townships are improved and the country bears a very promising appearance.”²⁰⁰ By September, Jessup informed officials “the settlement is going on much better than he expected from the lateness of

¹⁹⁶ Jessup to Matthews, September 5, 1783. The settlement area of Ernestown also included the area of modern day Bath, Ontario, Canada

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Jessup to Matthews, January 29, 1784.

¹⁹⁹ Jessup to Matthews, June 24, 1784.

²⁰⁰ Sherwood to Matthews, July 23, 1784.

the season and the reduction of provisions. The allowance made by His Excellency made a great change and the people act with resolution and spirit, but if the allowance is discontinued they will be much distressed.”²⁰¹

By October 1784, the development of Ernestown had progressed to the point Jessup reported the discovery of iron ore and proposed the construction of iron works, saw mills and corn mills.²⁰² Seven months later, Jessup reported the towns of his settlement had grown large enough to include over one thousand men, women and children.

During the years before the War of 1812 Ernestown grew rapidly, partly because of its location at the mouth of the Bay of Quinte and partly because of its role as the supplier of foodstuffs to Kingston. Several decades later the historian William Canniff asserted that in the pre-war period Ernestown rivaled even Kingston itself, in respect to rapid increase of inhabitants, the establishment of trade, building of ships, and from the presence of gentlemen of refinement and education.

In the years following the American Revolution, the threat of a second armed conflict with the United States loomed. Fearful that American troops would invade Canada and drive loyalists from their home, the residents of Ernestown joined neighboring towns in drafting *From the Inhabitants of Upper Canada to the People of the American States*. Although most of the document described the brutality and violence the average loyalist refugee faced during the American Revolution and reaffirmed their loyalty to the King, the final sentence correctly surmised the changed attitude of the loyalists towards their American counterpart. Gone was the

²⁰¹ Jessup to Matthews, September 8, 1784.

²⁰² Jessup to Matthews, October 5, 1784.

hope of returning to their lives and homes before the Revolution. Instead, the residents of Ernestown and other townships simply declared “we want nothing of yours”.²⁰³

~The End~

²⁰³ *Kingston Gazette*, October 31, 1812.

Appendix A

Muster Roll of Jessup's Corps at Point Clair, January 24, 1777

Captain Edward Jessup's Company

Lieut.	Peter Drummond	Privates	Samuel Perry
Ensigns	William Lamson		Christopher Bennett
	William Snyder		George Tuttle
Sergt.	John Buel		Thomas Loveless
Corp.	Martin Kelly		Silas Hamblin
Privates	James		Alexander Munro
	Ames More		Daniel Camron
	Thomas Barns		Archibald Nicholson
	John McDonald		Samuel Camron
	John Siley		John Maloy
	Daniel Robertson		Gespor More
	John McFarson		Peter McGregor
	John Perrey		Angus Canedy
	Ebenezer King		Peter McCallum
	John Stiles		Abraham Crozier
	Robert Dickson		William Forbes
	Simon Snider		Zachariah Snider

Thomas Barton

Captain Jonathan Jones' Company

Lieut.	Peter McLaren	Privates	Daniel Rose
Ensign	Neil Robertson		William Rogers
Surg. Mate	Solomon Jones		John Williams
Sergt.	Francis Scott		
			Armstrong Williams
Corp.	John Dickson		Matthias Rose
Privates	Carath Brisbon		Patrick Carrigan
	Jeremiah Myers		John Sanders
	Nicholas Amey		John Scott
	Martinus Stover		Peter Maybee
	Jonas Amey		David Miller
	Peter Lane		Adam Earhart

Captain Ebenezer Jessup's Company

Lieut.	Joseph Jessup	Angus McCornuch
	David Jones	John Gamble (d. 30/11/1776)
Ensign	George Thomas Bulsan	John Sea
Sergt.	Peter Carrigan	Duncan Carrigan
Corp.	John German	Simon Shereman
Privates	Simon Earhart	James Sea
	John McDonie	Jeremiah Snider
	Ralph Spooner	Richard Wood
	Abraham Brown	James Wilson
	Adam Waggoner	Duncan Campbell
	Peter Carpenter	Hiramus Lea

Jeremiah Storms

Appendix B

List of Loyalists Refugees Living at Machiche 1779

Mrs. Holt	no children	
John Holt	an able young man	
Mrs. McLaren	no children	(husband Lieut)
Mrs. Naughton	3 children	(husband Ensign)
Mrs. Munro	1 child	(husband Ensign)
Mrs. Froom	2 children	(husband artificer)
Mrs. Shorey	3 children	(husband soldier in R.H. Emigrants)
Mrs. Dixon	2 children	(Jessup's Corps)
Mrs. Hamelin	2 children	(Jessup's Corps)
Mrs. Perry	8 children	(Lieut)
Mrs. Adams	4 children	(husband Lieut)
Mrs. Lovelace	7 children	(husband Ensign)
Mrs. England	3 children	(husband Cap't McAlpin's Corps)
Peter Gilchrist		(Labourer)
William Fergusson		(Labourer)
Mrs. Fergusson	4 children	(Labourer)
Mrs. Johnston	3 children	(husband in Adam's Corps)
Mrs. Lee	2 children	(husband in Jessup's Corps)
Mrs. Stover	2 children	(husband in Jessup's Corps)
Mrs. Beatts	1 child	(husband in Adam's Corps)
Mrs. Amey	2 children	(husband in Jessup's Corps)
Mrs. N. Amey	3 children	(husband in Jessup's Corps)
Mrs. Snyder	4 children	(husband Ens. in Jessup's)
Mrs. Hawley		
Mr. Hawley	0 children	(Cooper)
Isaac Briscow	3 children	(Adam's)
Mrs. Seevot	1 child	(Peter's Corps)
Mrs. Henderson	1 child	(Peter's Corps)
Mrs. Grey	2 children	(husband in Peter's)
Mrs. Moshier	1 child	(husband in Peter's)
Mrs. French	5 children	(Lieut. in Peter's Corps)
Mrs. Hard (Hurd)	2 children	(husband in Peter's Corps)
Mrs. Hard (Hurd)	1 child	(husband in Peter's Corps)

Mrs. Reddenback	4 children	(Corp'l in McAlpin's)
Mrs. Wragg	6 children	(husband prisoner with rebels)
Josiah Cass		(Schoolmaster)
Mrs. Cass	6 children	
Mrs. Robertson	3 children	(husband Private in Adam's)
Mrs. Strider	0 children	(husband soldier in Sir John's Reg.)
Mrs. Defrige	6 children	(a widow)
Mrs. Benedict	1 child	(Adam's Handmaid)
Mrs. Hawley	5 children	(husband in Adam's Corps (Lieut)
Mrs. Timy	4 children	(husband in Adam's Corps (Lieut)
Mrs. Perry	3 children	(husband in Peter's Corps)
Mrs. Sherman	5 children	(husband in Jessup's Corps)
Jeremiah Hilliker		(no corps)
Mrs. Hilliker	0 children	
Mrs. Brown	2 children	(husband in Jessup's Corps)
Mrs. Beech	3 children	(husband Sgt. in Peter's Corps)
Mrs. Hopson	0 children	(husband Ensign)
Mrs. Brooks	1 child	(husband Corporal in Peter's Corps)
Mrs. Anderson	1 child	(husband Cap't In Sir John's Reg.)
Mrs. Lampson	2 children	(husband an Ensign)
Mrs. Campbell	0 children	(husband Ensign in Cap't McAlpin's Corps)
Mr. & Mrs. Nicholas Brown	0 children	(silversmith... no corps)

Appendix C

Statistical Breakdown of 41 1777 Recruits of McAlpin's Corps of American Volunteers as Drawn from a 1783 Muster Roll of the Loyal Rangers

Ethnic Makeup

- A. 12 Men from Scotland (30%)
- B. 6 Men from Ireland (15%)
- C. 1 Man from Germany (2%)
- D. 1 Man from England (2%)
- E. 21 Men from America (51%)

Ranks in 1783

- A. 2 Captains
- B. 1 Lieutenant
- C. 5 sergeants
- D. 1 Corporal
- E. 32 Privates

Age Distribution

- A. Oldest: 2 men 61 years of age
- B. Youngest: 1 man 19 years of age
- C. Average: 35 years of age
- D. Breakdown of ages:
 - a. Teens: 1
 - b. 20's: 14
 - c. 30's: 14
 - d. 40's: 4
 - e. 50's: 2
 - f. 60's: 3
 - g. Unknown: 3

Height Distribution:

- A. Tallest: two men at six feet
- B. Shortest: two men at five feet four inches
- C. Average: 5'7"
- D. Breakdown of height:
 - a. 5'4": 2
 - b. 5'5": 2
 - c. 5'6": 6
 - d. 5'7": 8
 - e. 5'8": 8
 - f. 5'9": 3
 - g. 5'10": 6
 - h. 5'11": 1
 - i. 6': 2

j. Unknown: 3

Company Distribution in the Loyal Rangers:

- A. Captain Jonathan Jones' Company: 1 Corporal, 8 privates
- B. Major Edward Jessup's Company: 2 Privates
- C. Captain John Peter's Company (Invalids): 1 Sergeant, 6 privates
- D. Captain William Fraser's Company: 1 Captain, 1 sergeant, 5 privates
- E. Captain John Jones' Company: 3 Privates
- F. Captain Peter Drummond's Company: 1 Captain, 1 Sergeant, 9 privates
- G. Captain Justus Sherwood's Company: 1 sergeant
- H. Captain Thomas Fraser's Company: 1 sergeant

Appendix D

**Return of the Officers of the Corps of Loyal Rangers
Commanded by Major E. Jessup²⁰⁴**

NAME	ORIGIN	LENGHTOF SERVICE/REMARKS
Major Edward Jessup	Connecticut	7 years Served the last war a volunteer in the Militia, and the campaign 1759, a company of Provincials, which he raised at his own expense; has been for some years a Justice of the Peace for the County of Albany, where he possessed a considerable property, until deprived of it by the late rebellion.
Captain Ebenezer Jessup	Connecticut	7 years Was a Justice of the Peace for the County of Albany, in the Province of New York, where he possessed a considerable property, until he was deprived of it by the rebellion. He began to raise a corps and served as Lieut.-Colonel in the campaign under Lieut.-General Burgoyne in 1777; from that year he received pay as a captain, and owing to infirmities when the corps was again formed in the year 1781, he was continued as captain and the command given to Major Jessup.
Captain John Peters	Connecticut	7 years Was a Justice of the Peace for the County of Gloucester, on Connecticut River, where he possessed property. He began to raise a corps, and served under Lieut.-General Burgoyne in the campaign of 1777 as Lieut.-Colonel, but from that year to November, 1781, he was paid as captain, and from the impossibility of his filling a corps and his own infirmities he was continued as captain in ye loyal Rangers.

²⁰⁴ J.F. Pringle, Lunenburg or the Old Eastern District, (Cornwall, 1890).

Captain Justus Sherwood	Connecticut	7 years Was a farmer of property in what is now called the New Vermont State, and deprived of it by the late rebellion, through which he has been both active and zealous in opposing it.
Captain Jonathan Jones	Connecticut	7 years Was a Justice of the Peace for the County of Albany, in the Province of New York, where he had a farm, mills, and other property, of which he was deprived by the late rebellion.
Captain William Fraser	Scotland	6 1/2 yrs A farmer of property in the Province of New York, of which he was deprived by the late rebellion.
Captain John Jones	Connecticut	6 1/2 yrs A farmer of property in the Province of New York, which he was deprived of by the late rebellion.
Captain Peter Drummond	Scotland	7 years A farmer of property in the Province of New York, of which he was deprived by the late rebellion.
Captain John W. Meyers	New York	6 1/2 yrs A farmer in the Province of New York, of which with other property to a considerable amount lost by the rebellion.
Captain Thomas Fraser	Scotland	6 1/2 yrs A farmer of property in the Province of New York, lost by the rebellion.
Lieut. Guisbert Sharp	New York	6 1/2 yrs A wealthy farmer in that Province, lost by the rebellion.
Lieut. Henry Simmonds	New York	6 1/2 yrs A farmer of property in that Province, lost

by the rebellion.

Lieut. David Jones	Connecticut	7 years A farmer of property in the Province of New York, lost by the rebellion.
Lieut. James Parrot	Boston	7 years A farmer of property in the Province of New York, lost by the rebellion.
Lieut. Alex'r Campbell	New York	6 1/2 yrs A wealthy farmer of some considerable property in that Province, lost by the rebellion.
Lieut. David McFall	Ireland	7 years Was many years a sergeant in the 26th Regiment, where he served with credit.
Lieut. John Dulmage	Ireland	7 years A farmer of property in the Province of New York.
Lieut. Gershom French	Connecticut	6 1/2 yrs A young man of some property who had commenced business as a merchant just at the beginning of the trouble in America.
Lieut. Gideon Adams	Connecticut	7 years A young farmer of property.
Lieut. John Ritter	N. Yk.	6 1/2 yrs A farmer of property in that Province.
Lieut. James Robins	Old England	6 1/2 yrs A country merchant in the Province of New York.
Lieut. Edward Jessup	N. Yk.	6 1/4 yrs Major Jessup's son, and entirely dependent on his father.
Ensign John Dusenbury	N. Yk.	6 1/2 yrs A wealthy farmer's son in that Province.

Ensign John Peters	Connecticut	6 1/2 yrs Son of Col. Peters, and dependent on his father.
Ensign Elijah Bottom	Connecticut	6 1/2 yrs A farmer's son in that Province.
Ensign Thomas Sherwood	Connecticut	4 1/2 yrs A farmer in the Province of New York.
Ensign Thomas Mann	N. Yk.	6 1/2 yrs Son of a gentleman farmer in that Province.
Ensign Harmonius Best	N. Yk.	6 1/2 yrs A farmer of property in that Province.
Ensign William Lawson	Connecticut	7 years A farmer in the Province of New York.
Ensign Conrad Best	N. Yk.	6 years A farmer in that Province.
Adj. Matthew Thompson	Ireland	2 years A sergeant-major in the 31st Regiment, where He had served Line many years as a non-commissioned officer with credit.
Quarter Master John Fergnson	Ireland	1 year A sergeant-major in the 29th Regiment, where he had served many years as a non-commissioned officer with credit.
Surgeon George Smyth	Ireland	2 1/2 yrs A physician in the Province of New York.
Mate Solomon Jones	Connecticut	7 years Student of his profession in Albany, in the Proy. of New York.

Appendix E

On Relations Between the Men and Related Refugees of McAlpin's Corps of American Volunteers, and the Six Nations

One mystery that shrouds the Provincial Corps of the Burgoyne Expedition was its exact relationship to that of the Native Americans from the Six Nations²⁰⁵. It should be noted that when Jessup's Corps (Kings Loyal Americans) and McAlpin's Corps were created, neither organization was assigned to the "Indian Department". As a result, one would assume that the men and officers of both organizations had no contact with Native Americans during the course of the war. However, as outlined in this work, both military units engaged in several joint operations with warriors from the Six Nations. Such examples included the 1777 operations against Fort Ticonderoga, the escort of Burgoyne's back to Fort Ticonderoga prior to his surrender and the 1780 raids into New York.

Likewise, one may assume that because there were no Native American settlements in the vicinity of the Albany-Stillwater region that the men of Jessup's Corps and McAlpin's Corps had little contact with the Six Nations prior to the commencement of the American Revolution. However, research suggests that on the eve of the war, many of the men of McAlpin's and Jessup's Corps had some interaction with the Six Nations, specifically the Mohawks. Most of these encounters were limited to business dealings where Native Americans or Loyalists would travel to each other to engage in economic trades. Loyalist recruiter Alexander McDonald and his brother actively traded with the Mohawk Nation prior to their flight to Canada. Daniel McAlpin's second in command, William Fraser, apparently was fluent in the Mohawk language and also traded with the Six Nations. The Jessup brothers also had business dealing with Native

²⁰⁵ The Six Nations consisted of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Tuscarora tribes.

Americans. Secondary sources suggest that Daniel McAlpin himself interacted and hunted with Mohawks on his property near Saratoga Lake.

Of course, one must also ask whether or not member tribes of the Six Nations assisted loyalist refugees with their escape to Canada. According to Mohawk historians Doug George and Darren Bonaparte, the Mohawks did assisted loyalists in their flight north on at least one occasion. Specifically, oral legend of the Six Nations suggests when rebels sought to arrest Sir John Johnston, Mohawk guides led him across the Adirondack Mountains to the settlement of Akwesasne. Afterwards, Mohawks and Onondagas led the Loyalist leader to Montreal. Whether Mohawks assisted other loyalists fleeing north is unknown, but is highly plausible.