

The Loyalist Regiments of the American Revolutionary War
1775-1783

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Abstract

This dissertation is about the Loyalist Regiments of the American Revolution, 1775-1783. These were the formal regiments formed by the British, consisting of Americans who stayed Loyal to the British crown during the American Revolutionary War. They fought in most of the main campaigns of this war and in 1783 left with the British Army for Canada, where many of them settled.

The Loyalist regiments have been neglected by academic historians with only one major work on them as a group. The intention of this dissertation is to give them their proper place in the historiography of the American Revolutionary War and of eighteenth century military history.

The dissertation is laid out in the following way. Chapter one, will be an overview of the history of Regiments, from their origins in Colonial days until 1783. It will assess how they were dealt with by the British and examine both organisation and combat. Chapter two is a thematic chapter looking principally at the organisation of the regiments as well as their motivation and composition. The next four chapters are case studies of three Loyalist regiments. Chapters three and four are a case study of the Queens Rangers. A database of all the soldiers who served in this regiment was created and is included with this dissertation. Chapter five is about the controversial regiment, the British Legion. Chapter 6 is a case study of the frontier regiment Butler's Rangers.

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The Loyalist Regiments of the American Revolution

Introduction

On 25 November 1783, the last British soldiers remaining in America at the end of the Revolutionary War left New York City for Canada. With them went several regiments of troops that the British Army officially designated as Provincial Regiments and historians remember as Loyalist Regiments. Their counterparts in the British line regiments were returning home, but for the Provincials going home was little more than a dream; after American independence home was now a foreign country to the Loyalists of the Provincial units and few were ever able to return to America.¹ The term “Loyalist” refers to anyone who in some way supported the British during the American Revolution. This support could manifest itself in several ways, from pre-Revolutionary political activity to leaving the colony or serving in a Loyalist regiment. Service in a Loyalist regiment is one of the best ways to determine if a resident of the American colonies was a Loyalist, although there has been some controversy over this mode of definition. Some of the soldiers were not exactly volunteers, and many were recent immigrants. Alternatively a claim for compensation for loss of property to the British Government is another way of working out if a person was a Loyalist. In Canada, the Loyalists are known as the “United Empire Loyalists,” and in the United States are commonly referred to as “Tories.” This term derived from a contemporary derogation unrelated to the British political party of that name. A “Patriot” is anyone who rebelled against the British Government. The British and the Loyalists referred to them as “Rebels”.

The Loyalist Regiments of the American Revolutionary War consisted largely of Americans and British-born immigrants who fought for the British Crown in America in

¹ The term home means where the Loyalist soldiers had grown up and lived. Many of their families still remained in the new United States.

the American Revolutionary war of 1775-1783.² This dissertation provides the first in-depth study of the Loyalist Regiments within the dual historiographical context of the American Revolution and British military history in the eighteenth century. While the Loyalists as a political group have been dealt with by historians extensively in the last hundred years, the militant Loyalists have been largely neglected, partly because they are less well-documented and partly because of a decline in the serious study of military history.

Until the twentieth century, the Loyalists were popularly reviled and generally ignored by scholars in the United States and no serious attempt was made to understand why they opposed the Revolution. In the past hundred years historians have attempted to do this but there is still work to be done, as this thesis, hopes to show. Most histories of the American Loyalists cover the political, social, intellectual and economic facets of Loyalism or concentrate on Loyalism within a single colony and state.³ William H. Nelson's, *The American Tory* was not the first major American work on the Loyalists, but its sympathetic portrayal of the Loyalists' predicaments as "conscious minorities" significantly changed the historical interpretations of the opponents of the Revolution in a way that no previous work had done before. Nelson's superb study roused significant historical interest in the Loyalists and in essence paved the way for historians to write more widely on the Loyalists. Wallace Brown's 1964 study of the

² This thesis will define Loyalist regiment as a multi company formal regiment administered by the British army's Provincial department. There were numerous other Loyalist units who did not fit this exact definition, these include, Militia, Associators or Refugees. Many of these units did become Provincial regiments. These units will be discussed in the sections on the origins of the Regiments as they were the first gatherings of armed Loyalists.

³ William H. Nelson, *The American Tory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of The American Revolution* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 1967, 1992 edition); Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson*, (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 1974).

Loyalist claimants similarly evaluated the nature of what it meant to be a Loyalist.⁴ Bernard Bailyn once stated that he could not understand why anyone would have wanted to be a Loyalist, although he would later write more sympathetically about the Loyalists in his biography of Thomas Hutchinson. The decision to oppose friends and colleagues was not an easy one and did not always come down to political ideology. Philip Ranlet in his 1986 work on the New York Loyalists posited that other factors such as the presence of the British army was often a factor.⁵ More recently Gary Nash's work "The Unknown American Revolution," while not wholly about Loyalists brought a sympathetic view towards the Loyalists and suggested that their local situation was often a key factor in their choices.⁶ Land rivalries and landlord tenant relations were also vital. There were cases of Loyalists settling scores with old rivals over these issues and of tenants settling scores with their patriot landlords. Recent historians such as Alan Taylor, Leslie Hall and Thomas Humphrey have focused on these issues and argued that the circumstances that created Loyalists were often less about ideology and more about material issues.⁷

The body of work covering militant Loyalism is far less extensive and for many years was the preserve of amateur historians and genealogists, many of whom produced some excellent work. The first historian to call for an urgent reassessment of the Loyalists

⁴ Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence: Brown Univ. Press, 1965).

⁵ Phillip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1986).

⁶ Gary Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, (London 2005).

⁷ Leslie Hall, *Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia*, (Athens, GA, 2001,); Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*, (New York NY, 2006); Terry Bouton, *Independence on the Land: Small Farmers and the American Revolution*, in *American Revolution, People and Perspectives*, Andrew Frank, ed. (Santa Barbara, CA, 2008) ; Thomas J Humphrey, *Land and Liberty: Hudson Valley Riots in the Age of Revolution*, (DeKalb, IL, 2004).

military operations, Albert T. Klyberg, was quickly answered.⁸ Paul Smith's *Loyalists and Redcoats* (1964) was a groundbreaking study of the Loyalists' role in British military strategy that changed the way in which historians viewed the militant Loyalists by finally establishing the centrality of the Loyalist Regiments in British military operations.⁹

Smith's findings may be summarised as follows. The central thesis of *Loyalists and Redcoats* is that Loyalists were important to the British military planners at various stages of the war but that the British never had a coherent plan about how to use them. The Loyalists generally were not well-regarded or well-used by senior British officers in the field, and the British made crucial errors in their handling of the Loyalists. Early in the war, especially in 1775 and 1776, the British commanders assumed that most Americans had Loyalist sympathies and needed only a little encouragement to rally to British flag. This overly optimistic view grew out of the opinion that the rebellion was a troublesome insurrection and not anything like the continental conflict it would become. Organizational ineptitude can also explain the British failure to deploy the Loyalists properly. "The early failure to utilize Loyalists, however, resulted not from a want of Loyalist enthusiasm but primarily from unpreparedness and the inability of the administration to co-ordinate them with other plans emanating with Whitehall."¹⁰ His conclusion is that the British did not do enough about the Loyalists until it was too late, because although after 1777 they did take them seriously, the French had allied with the

⁸ "By failing to regard or record the military role played by the Loyalists, the intellectual school has failed to grasp or portray one of the most important characteristics of the Revolution, its civil war quality. The role of the armed Loyalist is perhaps one of the most important and least discussed aspects of the Revolution." Although Klyberg gives justification for writing about the armed Loyalists, he was harsh on Nelson. See, Albert T. Klyberg, "The Armed Loyalists as seen by American Historians," *the Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 82 (1964): 101-108 at pp. 105-106.

⁹ Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats: Study in British Revolutionary Policy* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina press, 1964).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp.10-11.

Patriots by this time and the whole character of the war was altered.¹¹ Thus, Smith proposed that had the British been more effective in utilising the Loyalists the outcome of the war might have been different. Such a view runs counter to the dominant military narratives which supposed that after the British defeat at Saratoga in October 1777, and on the eve of the French intervention, British victory was extremely unlikely.¹²

Despite Smith's study, the military aspects of Loyalism have still not been as well covered as other aspects. Several issues and problems remain unresolved, as this introductory chapter will now demonstrate.

First, the military history of the Loyalists has suffered largely because military history is not a popular area of study amongst professional academic historians. Despite the rise of the New Military History since the 1970s, exemplified by the work of James McPherson, John Keegan and Stephen Ambrose, little progress had been made in Loyalist military studies. By contrast, Sylvia Frey produced valuable work on British soldiers, and Don Higginbotham and Charles Neimeyer on the Patriots: their conclusions regarding composition and social attitudes are particularly relevant when asking similar questions of the Loyalists.¹³ Questions and answers provided by New Military historians of the wars concerning motivation, socialisation and militancy shed light on the experiences of the Loyalists. The Loyalists, while having much in common with their

¹¹ Although the Southern expedition of 1776 was partially mounted to recruit Loyalists, its failure changed the opinion of many British officers towards Loyalists. Smith states that when the British did decide to treat the Loyalists more seriously, in 1777, it was in many cases, too late. He contends that the British treatment of civilians during the New York and southern campaigns deterred potential recruits. *Ibid.*, p.58.

¹² For a discussion of this view see, Piers Mackesy, *War for America* pp. 512-13.

¹³ Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America* (Univ. of Texas Press, Austin 1981); Don Higginbotham *The War of American Independence: military attitudes, policies and practice, 1763-1789* (Northeastern Univ. Press: Boston, 1983); Charles Patrick Neimeyer, *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army*, (New York, NY, 1997).

British and Patriot contemporaries, had characteristics which set them apart and which demonstrates that they are as worthy of study as the British and Patriots.¹⁴

Second, the demography of the Loyalist Regiments is a problematic area of investigation. The most reliable estimate suggests that there were 19,000 Loyalist soldiers who served in the Loyalist Regiments.¹⁵ There are brief reliable regimental histories also useful for genealogy and biographical history.¹⁶ There is no comprehensive statistical analysis of the Loyalists as whole (who Smith estimates at 513,000 or sixteen percent of the colonial population) against which a social profile of the Loyalist regiments may be

¹⁴ These characteristics will be discussed in depth in the subsequent chapters. See James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (Oxford, 1997); John Keegan, *Faces of Battle*, (London, 1976); Stephen A. Ambrose, *Citizen Soldiers*, (London 1997).

¹⁵ His figure of 19,000 Loyalist soldiers is based on regimental returns, muster books, and other records and thus carries some authority. His figure is really as accurate as it is possible to get although it is possible to criticise Smith on the issue of categorisation. He mentions that he could not take the Black Pioneers into consideration as Loyalists as they were not strictly Loyalists, presumably because many of them were escaped slaves and their reason for enlisting was to secure a promised freedom. This is a flawed judgment as there were many free blacks that served. All Loyalists had widely different reasons for fighting but those who volunteered did so because they believed that in some way it was best for America to remain under the British Crown. This makes them all Loyalists. It is also interesting that while Smith disqualifies the Loyal Highland Emigrants because of their recent immigration he does not disqualify other recent immigrants within other regiments. This is an issue that has been prevalent in recent Loyalist literature, should a European born immigrant be considered a Loyalist? Historians like Philip Ranlet would say that they should not, while Paul Smith counts many of them in his calculations of serving Loyalist soldiers. The Black soldiers, that Smith does not count, were all American born. The issue of origin is a definite issue in any survey of the Loyalist regiments and it will be an area that the thesis will look at. There were just too many European born recruits to ignore the issue. Paul H. Smith "The American Loyalists: Notes on their Organization and Numerical Strength," *William and Mary Quarterly* 15 (1968): 259-277, esp. 268-274.

¹⁶ William O. Raymond, "Loyalists in Arms," *The New Brunswick Historical Society Proceedings* 5, (1904): 189-222; Hazel Mathews, *The Mark of Honor* (Toronto 1967) Raymond worked on the muster rolls in Canada and wrote an article detailing the experiences of nine regiments. It is interesting to note that Raymond, a Canadian writing in the 1900s, was also critical of the British generals for their under use of the Loyalists. Smith's article comments that Raymond's figures are incomplete but Raymond is one of Smith's major sources. *Loyalists and Redcoats*, 268; Smith "Notes on the Loyalists," p.271.

compared; what exists, pre-eminently Wallace Brown's influential *King's Friends* (1965), is based on the claims for losses submitted to the British government by Loyalist exiles, but these claimants constitute a small sample and provide questionable data on property values.¹⁷ Bearing in mind that it would take years of exhaustive research to undertake a fully comprehensive study of all the Loyalists recruited into the regiments, this dissertation aims to address the issue by looking at three important regiments from which wider conclusions may be drawn. In short, historians still do not know enough about the social composition of the Loyalists, and this dissertation will go some way to addressing this issue.

Third, understanding of the Loyalists' motivation could be enhanced were scholars to take a much closer look at the "voluntarism" of the Loyalist soldiers. Wartime armies are different from peacetime armies in the respect that the people who serve are more likely to be varied in background and experience than the peacetime regulars. This is as true of the largely volunteer eighteenth century armies as it is of later conscripted armies. The central task, then, is to understand the voluntary militarism behind paramilitary activity. Ideology provides some direction: the notion of defending life liberty and property is one of the main facets of the Loyalists conservative Whig ideology.¹⁸ Not all Loyalists were property owners; particularly the ordinary soldiers and

¹⁷ Brown's study of the Loyalist claims on the British Government was an excellent study of the composition of the Loyalists. However if it has a flaw it is that the main source upon which it was based, by its very nature only concerns a limited number of Loyalists. By studying the claims Brown limited himself to studying those rich enough to put in a claim to the Royal commission on the Loyalist losses. Henry Young criticized the scope of the work, claiming that it merely provided a "buttress" "rather than sufficient foundations for a future study of Loyalism". See, Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence: Brown Univ. Press, 1965); Henry Young, Review of *The Kings Friends*, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 23 No. 3, July 1966, pp. 503-505 at p. 505.

¹⁸ *The Liberty We Seek: Loyalist Ideology in Colonial New York and Massachusetts* (Cambridge, MA.1983)

they had many other reasons for fighting. They were, mostly, volunteers and by volunteering they were often going against the prevailing view of their local area. Smith questioned the voluntarism of many Loyalist recruits after 1777, and Philip Ranlet's 1986 study of the New York Loyalists delivered a convincing argument that the British often pressed New Yorkers into service in the Loyalist Regiments, and widely recruited from among recent immigrants and American prisoners of war.¹⁹ In short, Ranlet's findings contradict the assumption that New York province was a bastion of Loyalist voluntarism. It is extremely difficult to assess why individual Loyalists volunteered but there are some pieces of evidence that shed some light on this and the thesis will consider these.

Fourth, the Loyalist experience was not uniform across America. All the existing colonies had Loyalists, but for varying reasons some states had more than others, as Wallace Brown and others have clearly shown.²⁰ The colony that had the largest number of organised Loyalists was undoubtedly New York, which consequently is responsible for a rich historiography, including Ranlet's recent study, which seeks to downplay the local prevalence of Loyalism.²¹ Studies of Loyalists in the Southern colonies, which witnessed an upsurge in support for the British between 1779-1781, among other things criticise the

¹⁹ Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1986), pp. 106-108, 268.

²⁰ Brown, *The King's Friends*, p. 249.

²¹ Alexander Flick was the state historian of New York in the 1900s and he restored credibility to the Loyalists that had long been missing, as Klyberg points out. Alexander Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press 1901); Klyberg, "The Armed Loyalists" 102; Ranlet, *New York Loyalists*. Other Works on New York Loyalists include Rick Ashton, "The Loyalist Experience: New York, 1765-1785," Unpublished PhD Diss. Northwestern University, 1973; E. A. Cruickshank, "The King's Royal Regiment of New York," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* 27 (1931) pp. 193-323; John, W. Poucher, "Dutchess County Tories of the Revolutionary Period," *Dutchess County Historical Society* 29 (1944) pp.68-75.; Joseph H. Vielbig, "Loyalism in Nassau County," *Nassau County Historical Journal* 13 (1951) pp. 10-19; Oscar Zeichner, "The Loyalist problem in New York after the Revolution" *New York State Historical Association* 21(1940): 284-302; Rick Ashton, "The Loyalist Experience: New York, 1765-1785," Unpublished PhD Diss. Northwestern University, 1973.

British strategists of their utilisation of the local Loyalists.²² In many respects, the study of the Loyalist Regiments will address commonalities of military experience albeit with acknowledgement to local variations governing composition and voluntarism.

Perhaps the most important commonality was the unfortunate circumstance of civil war. Robert Calhoun's comprehensive survey, *Loyalists in Revolutionary America 1760-1781* (1973), ranged across all the colonies from 1760-1783, and "at every point the Loyalists became enmeshed in the tragedy of an ill-conceived exertion of national power."²³ The Revolutionary War, Calhoun observes, is a "Special Kind of Civil War" for the Loyalists never really enjoyed the substantial support of the civilian population and that they "thrust up no charismatic leaders,[or] carried into battle no fully developed and widely shared vision of what America might become under continued British rule."²⁴ If the Loyalists invite comparison with the "pre-emptive" revolution that was behind this Secession Movement in 1860-61, then, compared to the Confederacy, the Loyalists failed in energising the local population in sustaining a civil war.²⁵

Fifth, how similar were the Loyalist Regiments to their fellow country men in the Continental Army? While the dissertation will not attempt any large scale comparisons to the Continental Army regiments there are undoubtedly areas throughout the dissertation where comparison is necessary. Like the Loyalists the Continental Army was raised

²²Robert W. Barnwell, "Loyalists in South Carolina 1765-1785", Unpublished PhD Diss Duke University, 1941; Cathy Coker, "The Punishment of Revolutionary War Loyalists in South Carolina," Unpublished PhD Diss., Univ. of South Carolina, 1987; Robert Dumond, *The North Carolina Loyalists* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press 1940); Robert G. Mitchell, "Loyalist Georgia," Unpublished PhD Diss. Tulane University, 1964; Chris New, *Maryland Loyalists in the American Revolution* (1996); Richard O. Curry, "Loyalism in Western Virginia during the American Revolution" *West Virginia History*, 14 (1953) pp. 265-274.

²³ Robert M. Calhoun, *Loyalists in Revolutionary America 1760-1781* (New York: Harcourt Inc., 1973) p. 500

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 500-502.

²⁵ James McPherson has demonstrated how the Confederacy motivated the local population to encourage volunteers. See James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*.

rapidly but was organised in a way that aped the professional European armies in terms of form and structure. Many of the problems faced by the Loyalists: such as inexperience, financial issues, and whether to embrace American or European style strategy and tactics were shared by the Continental Army. The intervention of European professionals in the Continental Army is similar to the intervention of British officers in the Loyalist forces if less overt.²⁶ The work of historians such as Robert Wright, Wayne Carp and Charles Neimeyer investigated the vast problems in creating and maintaining the Continental Army. This thesis will demonstrate that the Loyalist faced equally complex problems, if not the same ones, and with radically different solutions.

Sixth, the Loyalist Regiments have rarely been considered from the perspective of British military history. Over the course of the eighteenth century the British fought several wars on the American continent and had to adapt to this style of warfare. In December 1773, Allan MacLean, a former Jacobite and a half-pay major in the British Army, met the Secretary of War Lord Barrington and discussed plans for a Regiment of Scottish emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland lest military force be needed in America. This proves that the British establishment was conscious that not only was American support crucial should affairs in America take a military nature but that they had plans in place to cultivate it. While the British responded to MacLean's initiatives, and those of other Loyalist commanders, and in consequence adapted military techniques to the American theatre, historians generally echo Smith's findings that the British were

²⁶For a comprehensive study of the organisation of the Continental Army see Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army*, (Washington, 1983); see also E Wayne Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure: Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775-1783*, (Chapel Hill, NC, 1990); Charles Patrick Neimeyer, *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army*, (New York, NY, 1997); Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence, Military Attitudes Policies and Practice 1763-1789* (Boston, 1983 edition).

disrespectful of the Loyalists and unmindful of their military potential.²⁷ Moreover, British arrogance possibly discouraged many potential Loyalist recruits.²⁸ However, this remains a fallow area of inquiry in major histories of the Revolutionary War.²⁹ More important to this study are the classic histories dealing with military organisation by Charles M. Clode and J.A. Houlding; among other things, Houlding has proven that two innovative commanders of the Loyalist regiment the Queens Rangers, Robert Rogers and John Simcoe—who will be studied at length in this dissertation—were widely read by subsequent generations of young British officers.³⁰ John Fortescue’s multi-volume history of the British Army, barely mentions the Loyalists, but when does he reserves his strongest praise for two of the regiments studied closely in this dissertation: the Queens Rangers and the British Legion.³¹ These regiments were commanded by British officers, which was rare for the Loyalist Regiments, and this dissertation will examine how such leadership issues shaped the regiments’ battle-field effectiveness and organization.³²

²⁷ Cuneo states that the Loyalists were “shocked” by the attitude the regular officers had towards them., John Cuneo, “The Early Days of the Queens Rangers,” in *Military Affairs*, vol. 22, no. 3, 1958, pp. 65-75, at p.74; Calhoon, *Loyalists in Revolutionary America*, pp.327-328.

²⁸ Calhoon, *Loyalists in Revolutionary America*, pp. 327-328.

²⁹ Mackesy mentions the Loyalists role in British strategy but not at length, as does Conway. Piers Mackesy, *The War for America* (London, Bison 1963); Stephen Conway, *Britain and the American Revolution* (London, 2000); Stephen Conway, *The War of American Independence 1775-1783* (London, , 1995; David Chandler, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford Univ. Press 1995);

³⁰ Clode’s work on the administration of the British army written in 1869 is a list of regulations with some commentary provided and is invaluable to scholars of the period. Charles Matthew Clode, *The Military Forces of the Crown; their Administration and Government* (London, 1869); Houlding’s work on the training on the British army is invaluable as it details not only how the British soldiers were trained-and this included the Loyalists- but the published works that the junior officers used to aid them with their training of their troops.. J.A. Houlding, *Fit For Service* (London 1980).

³¹ John W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army* Vols. II (London, 1910), Vol. III (London 1911). See comments on Fortescue by Albert T. Klyberg, “The Armed Loyalists as seen by American Historians,” *the Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 82 (1964): 101-108 at 103.

³² They are American historians who argue that the British misused the Loyalist regiments. They think that because the Loyalists risked and eventually lost so much they deserved to be treated better than they were. They also argue that by staffing the Loyalist regiments with British officers and British-born

Furthermore, as Smith demonstrated, Loyalists were a major part of the British army in the Revolutionary War after 1777, but the military organization and military operations of the Loyalist Regiments have not been subject to close scrutiny, an issue which this dissertation intends to address.

Historians have traditionally viewed the Loyalists as an additional body of Americans or provincials attached to the British Army, with little distinctive features regarding their military operations. This dissertation, however, demonstrates that while in some ways the Loyalists were typical of eighteenth century provincial troops, in other far more important ways they constituted a significant development in the organization and deployment of light infantry units, in the refinement of light infantry tactics, as J. F. C. Fuller once hinted and in the creation of new kinds of self-contained and self-reliant units.³³ While the Loyalist regiments are part of the American military tradition, equally the formation of these new kinds of units had a considerable influence in British military organization and tactics: the Loyalists emerge as a model of light infantry should be deployed, especially when conducting raids and fighting skirmishes. In a superficial and limited way, this transfiguration influenced European armies in the Napoleonic wars. This dissertation does not seek to emulate the New Military History, but to focus upon the military organization and military effectiveness of the Loyalist Regiments. To that the evidence has been accumulated selectively from a wide range of military records, muster rolls, military reports, private papers and correspondence, principally. By their very nature, wars are messy and unpredictable affairs but the records that are left behind are often anything but. Much of what happens in an army is recorded, often for economic

recruits the “American” identity of the regiments was eroded. John Cuneo, “The Early Days of the Queens Rangers, p. 74.; Harry M. Ward, *The War of Independence* (London, 1999), p. 41.

³³ The only monograph relevant to the period of study is J. F.C. Fuller, *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth Century* (Hutchinson, London 1925). Fuller gives high praise to the Queens Rangers and the British Legion but makes no mention of their Loyalist status, suggesting that he viewed them as being little different from the British light infantry regiments.

reasons. The British military establishment became much more centralised and efficient in the eighteenth century and as a result of this their standard of recording information also improved.³⁴ In the late eighteenth century the British Army meticulously recorded all sorts of things relating to its soldiers, such as their names, age, and status in the army and in some cases their fates. The Revolutionary War was no exception and all those who served on the side of the British Government in whatever capacity were in some way documented, including the Loyalists. British military records are held mainly at the National Archives in London, and other repositories in the UK and Ireland, as well as in Canada and the US, mentioned below.³⁵ In addition, while there is no comprehensive army list or biographical directory for the Loyalist Regiments, there are several useful published reference works.³⁶

³⁴ The best work on the expansion of the British state is John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, (London 1989).

³⁵ The National Archives was until recently known as the Public Record Office. It is now known the National Archives at the Public Record Office. The citations in this thesis will use the shortened version PRO to refer to the above repository. The papers in the National Archives are organized by government department: the Colonial Office, the War Office, the Audit Office and the Treasury. The Colonial Office was responsible for everything that happened in the Colonies and during the Revolutionary War its Secretary of state was Lord Germain. Most of the material in the War Office relates to the army, although there is some duplication with the Colonial Office and the Treasury. In the Admiralty Papers, there are records relating to ships which transported the Loyalist regiments which often contain lists of personnel of those on board. The muster rolls mention what ship the men are on board. The Treasury papers are useful for payments made to Loyalist units, and identify officers and men by name. In WO 65 and T 64 there are the British American half-pay lists, which record every officer who served in the Loyalist Regiments. Also, T 50, relating to North Carolina Militia, gives details of the soldiers' origins. The military records kept in the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, relate to the Loyalist Regiments that were demobilised in Canada.

³⁶ Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of the Loyalists of the American Revolution* (New York: 1864, 1966); Gregory Palmer, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (London, Meckler, 1984); Gregory Palmer, *A Bibliography of Loyalist source material in the United States, Canada and Great Britain* (London: Meckler, published in association with the American Antiquarian Society, 1982); Philip Katcher, *An Encyclopaedia of British, Provincial and German Army Units, 1775-1783* (Harrisburg, 1973) Professor Henry Young of the University of Michigan attempted to

To get an idea of how the records can be interpreted it is necessary to describe the records themselves. One of the most useful sources in the study of the Loyalist Regiments is the muster rolls. The muster rolls are spread throughout various archives.³⁷ Each regiment produced one muster roll per company. There was no set number of companies in a regiment in this period, although it was often more than ten. The vital information contained on the muster rolls provides the names of everyone serving in the regiment at the time, but reveals nothing about the age or the background of the troops and guesswork is a dangerous past-time in trying to fill the gaps.³⁸ The muster rolls then, like most sources, are best used not in isolation but in combination with other sources. What these sources are depends on what is needed to be known about the regiments. The muster rolls will be analysed in this dissertation principally to amplify analysis of military organization, rather than the social composition of the regiments.

With regard to military operations, several sources should be mentioned at the outset. In both the Colonial Office and War Office papers there are several reports on the state of the Loyalist regiments as a body at various times during the Revolutionary War. While these reports do not contain anything like the same detail about individual regiments as the muster rolls, they are extremely useful in measuring attrition rates (via figures for wounded, sick, deserted and killed) and battlefield preparedness and

produce a directory of officers but died before he could complete his work, although the I have read and used his notes. Young Papers, William L. Clements Library University of Michigan. The Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist studies has a vast array of primary documents relating to individual regiments, at <http://www.royalprovincial.com> accessed 22/2/2009.

³⁷ British Army Muster rolls are held in WO 1. Most Loyalist muster rolls are in C Series Muster Rolls RG 8, 1867, but there are also some in the Treasury Solicitor's Office at TS 11/221 and in British Library Manuscript Collections, Haldimand Collection 1756-91 Add Mss 21661-21892..

³⁸ Some things can be worked out by guesswork, for example if an officer is listed as being on home leave in Britain it is more than likely that he is British. There were some officers in the regiments who were seconded from the regular British army and are therefore not any more of a Loyalist than an officer serving in a regular British Regiment. However if they were on leave in America this does not necessarily make them American.

effectiveness.³⁹ It is easy to see the limitations of these tables as military sources yet these sources help historians appreciate just how rapidly regiments were prone to change during wartime. For example, both sides regularly lost men to desertion, many of who would later return or would serve in another regiment, as the muster rolls reveal.

The papers of senior Loyalist officers and British generals are useful in varying degrees for researching the experiences of the regiments. Although Paul Smith worked on the regiments from the perspective of the British High Command, there is still useful material to be exploited in the papers of the British commanders. Seven years after Smith's book, the British State Papers for the Revolutionary War were published in series.⁴⁰ The papers of the British generals are held in various sources in the UK, notably the Carleton Papers, the Cornwallis Papers and the Amherst Papers in the PRO, and in the US, notably the Clinton Papers and Gage Papers at the William L. Clements Library, which are related largely to administrative matters.⁴¹ The papers of many Loyalist

³⁹ The reports in CO5/181 and 184 were sent from America in 1780 and 1781 at the request of the America Secretary Lord Germain. They are signed by General Henry Clinton, the commander of the British Army in America, and the Inspector General of the army in America, Alexander Innes. They are essentially tables, listing all the Provincial regiments that were serving in the Americas (modern day Canada, the USA and the West Indies) at that time. They give numbers serving in the regiments and those sick, or otherwise absent. They also give the locations of the regiments and, crucially, in some cases they have lists of those taken prisoner, killed, discharged or deserted. While these reports are of little use for finding out who served in the regiments they are useful comparative sources. For example, by comparing the sick lists it is again possible to deduce that the northern regiments serving in the south were more prone to sickness than those recruited in the south. Also provided are total numbers of enlistment, something not contained in the muster rolls.

⁴⁰ K. G. Davies., *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783*, 21 vols. (Shannon, 1972-1981).

⁴¹ The William L. Clements Library contains some of the best material on the Loyalists outside Britain. The Clinton Papers contain many documents relating to the Loyalists, covering combat operations and casualty rates. The McKenzie Papers contain documents relating to the supply situation of the British Army in America. The Loyalist Regiments are covered in these records which will be used in Chapter 2.

commanders, including those of Robert Rogers, are held in the US.⁴² The Haldimand Collection at the British Library, which is also a major source for muster rolls, contains letters written to General Frederick Haldimand, by noted Loyalist officers like Lord Rawdon, Robert Rogers and John Simcoe.⁴³ Simcoe's papers are in the William L. Clements Library.

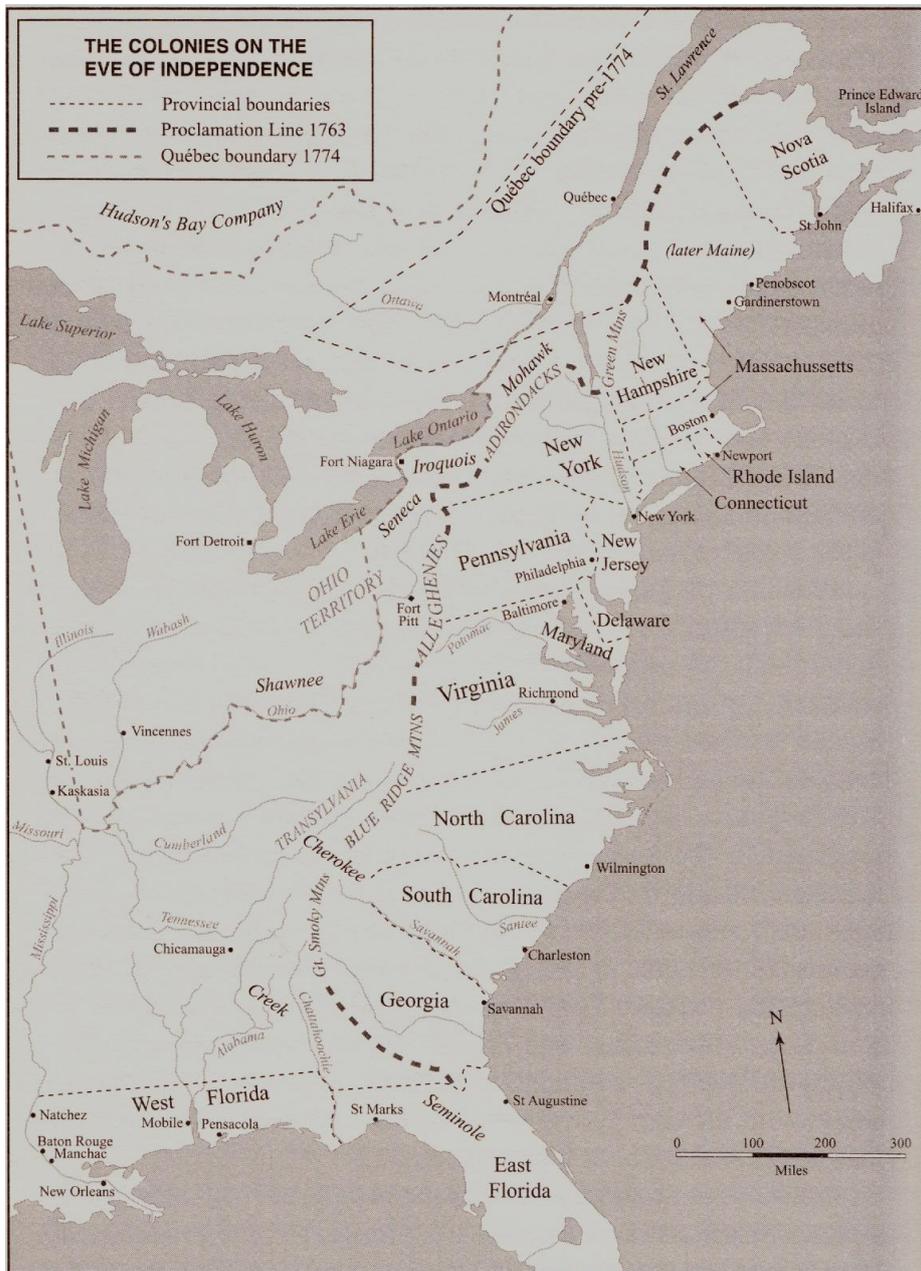
Chapter one provides an overview of the Loyalists Regiments from the initial formations in 1775 until the end of the war in 1783, outlining issues concerning militant Loyalism that pertinent to the investigation that follows. Chapter Two assesses the organization of the Loyalist regiments in thematic fashion and also discusses composition and motivation. Chapters three and four provide an in-depth examination of the Queens Rangers, probably the most important of the Loyalist Regiments in terms of battlefield effectiveness and organization. These chapters will serve to establish a control group from which conclusions may be drawn and tested against the case studies that follow. A database on the Queens Rangers has been constructed using principally the muster rolls of that regiment. This enables a prosopographical analysis on the service of the soldiers of a type which has not previously been attempted on a Loyalist regiments. Chapter five examines the British Legion. The British Legion was one of the most notorious units on any side in the Revolutionary War. They were very successful in combat but were accused of brutal vengefulness toward the Patriots. This chapter will examine both their battlefield effectiveness and assess their reputation. Chapter five will examine Butler's Rangers. Butler's Rangers operated with the Native Americans on the frontiers and they were accused of killing civilians. The chapter will discuss the organization of the regiment as well as evaluating their reputation. The appendices will include tables

⁴²These papers relate to Rogers command in the French and Indian War. Robert Rogers Papers, Detroit Public Library; Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

⁴³ British Library Manuscript Collections Haldimand Collection, Add Mss 21661-21892.

relating to the organization and numbers of the regiment. It will include tables of calculations from the database.

Map1: The Colonies on the Eve of Independence.



Source: Hugh Bicheno, *Rebels and Redcoats*, (London, 2003) p. 10

Chapter 1

The Loyalist Regiments of the American Revolution 1775-1783

Introduction

In the spring of 1775 across the American Colonies individuals began to organise units in support of the British Crown. While most of these units remained relatively informal until 1776 it demonstrated that the Patriots were not the only American raised military force in the Colonies. By the end of the war in 1783 some 19,000 soldiers had served in 38 Loyalist regiments and had taken part in many of the major campaigns and engagements. This chapter provides a historical synopsis of the Loyalist Regiments during the American Revolutionary War, contextualising the principal themes and issues relative to their formation, composition, organisation, discipline and military effectiveness that will be explored in further depth in case studies given in subsequent chapters.¹ It is apparent that in all of these respects the Loyalist regiments changed considerably over the course of the war. By evaluating these issues this thesis hopes to improve the existing historiographical record on the Loyalist regiments.² The Loyalist regiments have never been investigated as an entity in their own right, rather than as an adjunct of the British Army, or how their presence impacted on British strategy.³ By

¹This thesis will define Loyalist Regiment as a formal regiment administered by the British Army's Provincial Department. They were also known as Provincial Regiments. There were numerous other Loyalist units who did not fit this exact definition, these include, Militia, Associators or Refugees. Many of these units did become Provincial regiments and many others continued to exist out with the control of the Provincial Department, while still being supported in some way by the British administrative system. The earliest of these informal formations will be discussed in the sections on the origins of the Regiments as they were the first gatherings of armed Loyalists. The later informal units will be referred to in the relevant sections of this and other chapters, where their existence impacted on the Loyalist Regiments.

² The historiography of the militant Loyalists has been discussed in the introduction.

³ Smith's work placed the Loyalist regiments in the context of they fitted into British strategical thinking and how the decisions the British made affected the Loyalists. The chapter will deal with

doing this the thesis will change the view of Loyalist regiments within eighteenth century military history and provide new criteria for the study of Revolutionary War units that goes beyond regimental histories to place them with similar studies of the British and Continental Armies such as those by Wright and Frey and Mayer.⁴

Section 1 The Origins of the Loyalist Regiments

Loyalist Militancy.

Loyalist militarism can be defined as armed resistance to the Patriot authorities in support of the British crown. By defining the American War of Independence as a revolution, Loyalist activity can be defined as counter-revolutionary activity. The main question that this first section of the chapter will ask is why is Loyalist militant activity attractive to historians? To truly understand a revolution you need to understand all aspects of that revolution, including opposition to it. Armed counter revolutionary activity can be seen as the apogee of counter revolution because of the risk it involves. Armed Loyalists risked their lives, homes and families to support British authority and therefore their reasons for doing this are worthy of examination. However, Loyalist military activity is also worthy of historical study because of the light it sheds on the military effectiveness of irregular volunteers in the eighteenth century. Were these men as effective as the long serving regulars, and could the Loyalists participation in the war have been decisive? This will be discussed with relevance to their antecedents in Colonial and British military history in the section below.

Smiths arguments in the relevant sections. See, Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats* (Chapel Hill, 1964).

⁴ These three studies added important contributions to the study of military units in the American Revolutionary War. Wright evaluated the Continental Army in an administrative, military and political context. Frey conducted a social study of British soldiers in America and Mayer studied the camp followers and non combatants who served on all sides of the conflict. See Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army*, (Washington, 1983); Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America: A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period* (Houston, TX, 1981); Holly Mayer, *Belonging to the Army*, (Charleston SC, 1997).

Loyalist militancy in the American Revolutionary War took several forms. These are uprisings, guerrilla units, brigands, refugees, militia units and formal regiments. The earliest form of militancy was the uprising.⁵ These were informal gatherings of Loyalists, often those who because of political or demographic circumstances had been oppressed by the Patriot majority and gathered together in support of the crown. They were usually ineffective and crushed rapidly.⁶ Many of the survivors fled their homes and joined more formal Loyalist units. At various time throughout the war there were also loose gatherings of guerrilla units and brigands. Brigands existed without formal aid from the British government but can sometimes be classified as Loyalists if they attacked Patriot property or gave some statements of Loyalty. Guerrilla units are more obviously loyal than brigands as they did not operate for pecuniary advantage but waged war on the Patriots. They operated exclusively behind enemy lines. It is almost impossible to identify who these people were as their activities were rarely recorded.⁷ Their existence was sometimes

⁵ Uprisings will be discussed in greater detail below.

⁶ The biggest Loyalist uprising occurred largely amongst Highland Scottish Emigrants in North Carolina in the spring of 1776. It was crushed at the Battle of Moore's Creek in March 1776. It will be discussed later in this chapter. Many of the survivors became soldiers in Allan MacLean's Royal Highland Emigrants, although some of the officers would later serve in the British Legion in the South in 1780 and 1781. See, Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, pp.30-31.

⁷ The exception is the legendary James Moody, 1744-1809, who left an account of his activities as a guerrilla leader and Loyalist spy. Moody was a neutral farmer from Sussex County New Jersey who forced into militant action because he refused to sign a pledge of Loyalty to the Patriots in New Jersey. He held a commission in the New Jersey volunteers, but most of his war was spent behind Patriot lines in New Jersey, spying on and harassing the forces there. In July 1780 he was captured and sentenced to death. He managed to wriggle out of his manacles and escaped continuing his career in espionage until November 1781. In 1782 whilst in London he published his account of his experiences which made him a popular hero in Britain and Canada where he later settled. His account is an exciting, almost novelistic account of stirring deeds which would seem almost unbelievable had Moody not been careful to include in his book statements of authentication from his superiors, including Sir Henry Clinton, testifying to his activities and usefulness as a spy. See Motivation section, Chapter 2 of this thesis; James Moody, *Lieut. James Moody's Narrative of his Exertions and Sufferings in the Cause of Government, Since the Year 1776*, (London, 1782); Dictionary of Canadian Biography, online at

more hoped for by the British than actually present in any great numbers but they certainly did exist.⁸ The next step up from Independent guerrilla units was Refugees. These were loose gatherings of Refugees who served behind British lines. They were armed but they were usually short lived as the best of them were usually recruited into the formal Loyalist regiments. Militia units existed throughout the Revolutionary War in various forms.⁹ They were formal in the sense that they were organised into separate units with a structure and appointed ranks but they did not always have separate companies and they varied greatly in size. They often served behind Patriot lines and were not always paid or clothed in uniforms. They differed from Guerrilla units in that they were financially supported by the British. The later Southern militia units served under an appointed British commander, Major Patrick Fergusson. Their soldiers were not expected to serve out-with their local areas. The militia were prominent until 1776 when many of their units became more formal Loyalist regiments. They came to prominence again in the Southern campaign of 1780. The Loyalist regiment was the most formal designation of Loyalist soldiers. They served in a formal multi company structure administered by the Provincial Department or else directly by the Local British Army commander, in the case of the Northern Department (Canada and the Canadian Frontiers). They wore similar uniforms to British regular soldiers (sometimes identical), carried the same weapons and used similar equipment.¹⁰ They were known as Provincial Regiments and they fought

http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2564&&PHPSESSID=v3aghm1gg5sj7o31ai903romn1 accessed 4/6/09.

⁸ Sabine includes a number of reputed guerrillas and brigands in his biographical directory, but the information on them is understandably extremely sketchy. See Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1864).

⁹ Eighteenth century militia will be discussed in depth in the next section, as they have considerable bearing on the subject of Armed Loyalism.

¹⁰ The weapons were the Land Pattern Musket (Brown Bess) or else a variety of Rifled muskets, some of which were provided by the regimental commander or the troops themselves. See table in Chapter Two for a list of the standard clothing and equipment for Loyalist Soldiers.

alongside the British Army in most of the major engagements of the war after 1776. This chapter (and the dissertation as a whole) will concentrate on the formal Loyalist Regiments but it will refer to the other units, as their existence often impacted on the Regiments, either as pre-cursors to the regiments or as an alternative source of combatants for the British.

The Loyalists in Colonial and British Military History

It is important to consider the military antecedents of the Loyalists, placing them in a wider historiographical context that relates to Colonial militarism and British military history. By looking at the antecedents of the Loyalists it is possible to show their connections to previous military groups as well as being a separate entity. As mentioned above, the military effectiveness of volunteers is paramount to the study of the armed Loyalists. The Loyalists were a force of volunteers, temporary soldiers who joined the army for the duration of a war.¹¹ This makes them different from regular British soldiers who signed on a long period of time (usually upwards of twenty years) for career purposes and who could expect to serve in numerous wars and location throughout their period of service.¹² The British did raise temporary war-time troops and militia whose terms of service were different to the long term regulars and who have more in common with the Loyalist soldiers.¹³ While the British Army preferred to rely on its regulars,

¹¹ Philip Ranlet has disputed the extent to which all Loyalists were volunteers. While referring exclusively to Loyalists in New York he made the case that the British and the Loyalist commanders often forcibly recruited troops into regiments to meet quotas. His arguments will be discussed in chapter 2 but it is enough to state here that drafted Loyalists did not stay long and that the vast majority of Loyalist soldiers were volunteers. See Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, (Knoxville KY, 1986), p. 105.

¹² The best account of the regular eighteenth century soldiers is Houlding's work, which assesses all aspects of the lives of ordinary British soldiers, from training until they reached the battlefield. Sylvia Frey's work is also informative on the day to day lives of Revolutionary War British soldiers. See J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service*, (London 1980); Frey *The British Soldier in America*.

¹³ Temporary wartime troops were raised in Britain for the duration of a war. They were usually demobilised at the end of this war. They were sometimes grouped into new regiments but often existing

during the course of a long war, temporary troops became essential and their effectiveness was crucial to the outcome of any war. The Patriots relied exclusively on temporary troops and were ultimately successful, which demonstrates that if given time to acclimatise to combat these troops could just be as efficient as the much vaunted British regulars. Thus, the use that the British made of their temporary wartime troops and particularly the American raised Loyalists-who became vital to them in the latter stages of the war- is crucial to understanding the reasons why the British eventually lost the war.

Colonial Militia

The first Loyalist regiments were formed in response to the early battles of the Revolutionary War in the spring of 1775 but their origins go back much further than this. The traditional form of defence in America was hastily organised units raised in time of war and longer standing part-time militia regiments. There were both Loyalist regiments and Loyalist militia. Although this thesis will concentrate on the organised Loyalist regiments, or Provincial Regiments, it is important to briefly discuss the Colonial militia as well as temporary regiments as they had a crucial role in defining the Colonial military mentality. The recent historiography of American colonial society is strongly focused on the violent nature of Early American society.¹⁴ This is a matter of debate but it is without

regiments were simply augmented by new troops. Militia were local troops consisting of draftees whose served for a limited amount of time on a part-time basis. They will be examined more fully below. See John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, (London, 1990), pp.30-31; Hugh Strachan *European Armies and the Conduct of War* (London, 1983), p.28.

¹⁴The main recent works on Colonial militarism are the following: Fred Anderson and Andrew Clayton, *The Dominion of War: Empire and Conflict in America, 1500-2000* (London, 2005); John Ferling, *The Struggle for a Continent, The Wars of Early America*, (Arlington Heights 1993); James A. Henretta, Michael Kammen and Stanley N. Katz, *The Transformation of Early American History : Society, Authority and Ideology* (New York, 1991); Don Higginbotham 'The Early American Way of War' in *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 44, No. 2 (1987); Douglas Leach, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677-1763*, Chapel Hill, 1986); Bruce Lenman, *Britain's Colonial Wars 1688-1783* (Harlow, 2001);Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars 1689-1762* (Chicago, 1962); John Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed*, (Ann Arbor, 1990);John Shy, *Towards*

doubt that frontier wars and regular acts of violence necessitated some form of organised military grouping.

There had been organised military units in America as far back as the seventeenth-century and American troops had fought for the British throughout the eighteenth century. The earliest form of American defence was the Colonial Militia. The Loyalist regiments owe part of their origins to this group. The militia, were part-time soldiers who were called upon to defend their local areas when there was a threat. They were raised by ballot in every town and village where they were organised into formal groupings under appointed officers. Their service ranged from a few nights a month to full-time service in times of war. There had been militia in the colonies in America from the seventeenth-century onwards with the result that many Americans had some form of military training.¹⁵ John Shy is the principal authority on Colonial militia. He argues that the independence of the Colonial militia was gradually undermined by the increasing presence of regular British troops in America as the eighteenth century progressed. In the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth centuries they had considerable independence in operations but that the Seven Years War saw them gradually pushed into a secondary role.¹⁶ The militia still existed at the time of the Revolutionary War and indeed many militia regiments were transferred directly into the Continental Army. The Loyalists also had considerable connections to the militia. Although there are no documented figures on pre-war militia service many Loyalists had received this form of military training.¹⁷

Lexington, (Ann Arbor 1981); Matthew C. Ward *Breaking the Backcountry : the Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765*, (Pittsburgh, 2003).

¹⁵ John Shy, A New Look at the Colonial Militia, in *the William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. XX (1963) pp. 176-185; *A People Numerous and Armed*, (Ann Arbor, MI, 1990), ch. 2.

¹⁶ Shy contends that the success of the Louisburg expedition in 1745 was dependant on the militia who played a crucial role see John Shy, *Towards Lexington*, p. 19

¹⁷ Lt. Col. John Butler, commander of Butler's Rangers, was a pre Revolutionary War militia Colonel. See Howard Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, (New York, 1933), p. 10.

Loyalist militia regiments were amongst the first Loyalist military formations in the Revolutionary War before they were formed into Loyalist Regiments. For reasons of economy the British would resurrect the concept of militia in the Southern Colonies in 1780 and would rely greatly upon them until their defeat at Kings Mountain in that year.

British Militia.

Although not directly related to the Loyalists the existence of an organised British Militia from 1756 had a bearing on how the British perceived their early Loyalist soldiers. The British had had several incarnations of militia stretching back hundreds of years but there was no proper legislation to make it compulsory until the militia act of 1756.¹⁸ The militia was to be raised in England and Wales, not in Scotland or Ireland and it was to be compulsory, men being drafted by a ballot. From 1762 the Militia was required to train at least 28 days a year.¹⁹ However, as Conway points out, the Revolutionary War was the first time many areas had used their militia.²⁰ Militias and temporary troops were undoubtedly part of the British and American military tradition, although they were often held in disrepute by regular officers. Modern historians have challenged contemporary views as to the effectiveness of local militia. Hew Strachan has argued that the local knowledge of militia was beneficial to commanding officers when they deigned to use it. He also argues that many of the men who served as militia and as irregular troops were

¹⁸ Militia had existed in various forms since the middle ages, but it was during Tudor times that a militia in most towns and villages became the norm. However, although it still existed it lapsed into disorganisation during the early Stuart period and was overtaken by the establishment of a standing army in the 1690's. The 1756 Militia Act gave the militia a legal status it had previously not enjoyed and made it compulsory in England. See Ian Roy, *Towards a Standing Army 1485-1660*, in David Chandler (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Army*, (Oxford, 1994), pp. 39-40; John R Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth century*, (London, 1965), p.104; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power, War, Money and the English State 1688-1783*, (London, 1990), pp.32-33.

¹⁹ In 1763 there were 28, 000 militiamen in England and Wales, by 1779 the figure had risen to 40,000, see John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, pp. 32-33.

²⁰ Stephen Conway, *The War of American Independence*, (London 1985), pp. 37-39

often of higher intelligence than those who served in regular armies.²¹ While this is of course a potentially improvable statement, it is possible to qualify it by saying those men in local militias and volunteer troops were often men who had held down regular occupations in civilian society. All of this is relative to the Loyalists as they would fit many of the criteria that Strachan uses. However, Stephen Conway argues that as the local British militia at the time of the Revolutionary War were not strictly volunteers and people could pay someone to take their place it meant that often the lowest strata of society would be taken into the militia, Shy argues that the situation was similar in the American militia before the Revolution.²² However, in both cases their officers and NCOs were men of property or standing in their community.²³ Militia commissions were often almost hereditary both in Britain and in the Colonies. If the father was a senior militia officer then his sons would often expect to get commissions.²⁴ However, it is possible to state that a man's background in civilian life is not a deciding factor in what makes him a good soldier. The British Army, which included men from the lowest walks of life, generally performed well and rarely broke under the severest pressure. Strachan's statement makes sense in terms of the fact that intelligent men are — and again this is a dangerous assumption — more likely to use initiative in combat. In the kind of battle the British high command would have preferred to have fought, on a flat field, with brigades and divisions manoeuvring in neat lines, initiative was not a necessary or indeed always a desirable quality. However, in the kind of skirmishing in wooded or broken terrain that

²¹ Hugh Strachan *European Armies and the Conduct of War* (London, 1983), p.28

²² Stephen Conway, *Britain and the American Revolution* (London 1997), p. 39; John Shy, *Towards Lexington*, p. 19

²³ Paul Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798*, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1991), p.295-296

²⁴ The above mentioned John Butler's son Walter gained a commission in Butler's militia unit while still under 20. See Howard Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, (New York, 1933), p. 10.

that so often occurred in the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War it became a desired quality, as successful commanders would find out quickly.²⁵

Temporary War Time Regiments

In terms of being temporary full-time soldiers, the Loyalist regiments clearest antecedents are the temporary regiments raised in America during wartime. These ranged from loosely organised formations similar to the militia units, to uniformed highly disciplined regiments based upon regular regiments. They evolved during the course of the wars fought in America in the eighteenth century until by the French and Indian War there were several American regiments raised that were essentially regular in form.²⁶ One of them, the Royal American Regiment, commanded by Colonel Henry Bouquet became a regular British regiment, the 60th Royal Americans in 1757. The regiment would serve in the Revolutionary War as a line regiment and eventually became the Kings Royal Rifle corps and later, the Royal Green Jackets.²⁷ Another, Rogers Rangers, would inspire several Loyalist Ranger units; including one commanded by Rogers himself, the Queens Rangers.²⁸ Rangers were a uniquely American designation of troops that had developed in the early part of the eighteenth century. They were light troops designed to “range” over

²⁵ The term French and Indian War is used in this dissertation to refer to the conflict in America from 1754-1763. The term Seven Years War will be used only when referring to the global war that Britain fought from 1756-1763.

²⁶ The following works chronicle the development of the Colonial Wartime regiments. Don Higginbotham ‘The Early American Way of War’ in *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 44, No. 2 (1987); Douglas Leach, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677-1763*, (Chapel Hill, 1986); Bruce Lenman, *Britain’s Colonial Wars 1688-1783* (Harlow, 2001); Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars 1689-1762* (Chicago, 1962); John Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed*; John Shy, *Towards Lexington*, (Ann Arbor 1981).

²⁷ Edward Hutton, *A Brief History of the King’s Royal Rifle Corps 1755-1915*, (London, 1917), pp. 2-6.

²⁸ This unit will be covered fully in the Chapter Queens rangers Part 1. Robert Rogers, *Journals of Maj. Robert Rogers* (London J Millen 1765, repr. New York 1964); Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America: containing a description of the several British colonies. Also of the interior, or westerly parts of the country*, (London, J. Millen, 1765).

vast distances and to fight irregular guerrilla style warfare. They were highly paid specialists who were often equipped with more accurate hunting rifles rather than muskets, and they were attired in clothing that would help them blend in to their surroundings.²⁹ They often were equipped with companies of Native Americans or men who spoke Native American languages. The Loyalist ranger units were slightly different in form from the ranger units of the French and Indian War, not always sharing all the above characteristics. The original incarnation of the Queens Rangers and Butler's Rangers were the closest approximation to the French and Indian War units.³⁰ As well as inspiring Loyalist ranger regiments the French and Indian War regiments had considerable influence on British light infantry regiments and companies.³¹ Robert Rogers instructed Lord George Howe in ranger tactics and he created his own light infantry companies –the first in the Regular British Army–drawing strongly from Rogers' ideas.³² George Howe's younger brother, William Howe, would continue his brother's innovations and would set up the first Light Infantry training camp in Sussex in 1774.

Volunteers and MacLean's Proposals

The French and Indian War had a great influence on the British Army. Their success on one level built over-confidence but it also convinced many young officers of the need for changes in the military tactics adopted in the British Army.³³ It is often hypothesised that the major mistake that the British made in the Revolutionary War was

²⁹ Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War*, (New York, 2001) p.181

³⁰ See chapters 3 and 5.

³¹ The origins of the British light infantry will be discussed in full in chapter 2. See J.F.C Fuller, *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth century*, (London 1925), p. 87.

³² Lord George Howe, 1725-1758, Commander of the 3rd Foot in the French and Indian War, was an acting Brigadier General at the time of his death at the siege of Fort Ticonderoga in 1758, see *ibid.*, p. 86; Fred Anderson *The Crucible of War*, (London, 2000), pp 233-234.

³³ Fred Anderson *The Crucible of War*, pp 729-734; Tony Hayter *The Army and the First British Empire* in David Chandler (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford, 1993) p.125; J.A. Houlding *Fit for Service*, pp. 230-235.

failing to learn the most important lesson of the French and Indian War, that the American landscape could be used against the enemy. However, although the British in practice did not make many material changes to their army in the years between the French and Indian War and 1775 there were changes in the way people thought about the army, which shows the influence of the tactics used in the French and Indian War and that they were thinking about the best way to go combat American tactics. The problem is that in the rush to go to war many of the plans formed in the early 1770's were forgotten. In the early 1770's when American resistance to British measures increased several proposals were sent to the British War office offering to raise men in the event of a war.³⁴ One of these was from Major Allan MacLean a former Jacobite and serving British officer had served in America with distinction with the 60th Americans and successfully recruited troops for them. He was to become of the first Loyalist commanders and ultimately as a Brigadier General was second in command of Northern Command in the latter stages of the Revolutionary War.³⁵ MacLean submitted plans to Lord Barrington in 1771 for recruiting Highland troops in the event of war.³⁶ Although these were not to be Loyalist troops, his plans reveal that MacLean was thinking of ways to combine traditional Highland/Jacobite tactics of light warfare with American style light tactics. Many of the proposals he came up with four years before the war would eventually be applied to Loyalist troops in the years ahead. His proposal was for "Ten Companies of men" consisting of "skilled boatmen" to be used "at sea and otherwise."³⁷ This idea of combined service — troops who would be adept at various skills — would inspire two of the most successful Loyalist units, the British Legion and the Queens Rangers both of

³⁴ See various proposals for raising Regiments sent to Lord Barrington at the War Office, Add Mss 73629 BL ff. 6-60.

³⁵ Mary Beacock Fryer, *Allan MacLean Jacobite General*, (Toronto, 1995)

³⁶ This document will be given as an appendix, Maj. Allan MacLean to Lord Barrington 10 November 1770 Add Mss 73629 BL ff. 6-7.

³⁷ Memorial of Allan MacLean to Lord Barrington, 10 November 1770, Add Mss 72629 ff 10-11.

whom combined infantry, cavalry and artillerymen in the one regiment. MacLean wrote that he “had served all the last war in North America and the West Indies” and “hath acquired some knowledge of sea or expedition service and all the Country people where his connections lie are boatmen. On the strength of this whereof he undertook to raise “a Battalion of Highlanders who in three months would be ready to serve by sea or land as his Majesty’s service may require.” MacLean also says that the regiment should consist of men “between the ages of fifteen years of age to and thirty and not older.”

This document is remarkably similar in form to the later beating order that would be drawn up for MacLean’s own Loyalist regiment the Royal Highland Emigrants, as well as to other later beating orders for other Loyalist Regiments.³⁸ Because of MacLean’s role in the establishment of one of the first Loyalist regiments it is possible to argue that the proposals serve as a model for the Loyalist regiments. However, the proposals did not get beyond the planning stage. Had MacLean’s proposals and others like them been acted upon before the war then it is possible that the British could have engaged the Patriots with their own tactics in 1775 rather than later on. Yet Barrington did not ignore MacLean’s proposals completely. In 1773 he asked him back to the War Office and made him an offer. He still wished him to raise a regiment of Scottish Highlanders but this time it was to be recruited from men who had immigrated to America. This was to be the first proposal for a regiment of Loyalists.

In the autumn of 1774 at the same time as the first Continental Congress was meeting in Boston, plans were already afoot to arm volunteers to fight for the British if

³⁸ A Beating Order was a document officially forming a regiment and listing the regulations by which that regiment would be formed and administered. Most Loyalist regiments had some form of this document although the forms they take often vary. The Royal Highland Emigrants Beating Order is at Beating Order given to Lt. Col. Allan MacLean by Thomas Gage, Boston. 12 June 1775, WO 28/4, ff. 211-213, PRO.

events took a martial turn. Smith argues that the first formal proposal for an “Association” of Loyal Volunteers was by Timothy Ruggles in October 1774, but MacLean’s proposals pre-date them.³⁹ Lord Barrington, felt that MacLean, with his Jacobite connections was the ideal man to recruit Highlanders who Barrington hoped would choose Britain over their new country.⁴⁰ This demonstrates that at senior levels of the British government there were those that were thinking that a force of Loyal Americans would be necessary. However, at this point the plans were for recent Emigrants, who were presumed to be loyal and trustworthy rather than American born men. The regiment that MacLean would form in June and July of 1775 would be granted special status that set it aside from other Loyalist regiments from its earliest days.⁴¹ It was made plain that although the regiment would be composed of men serving in America they would be officered by British veterans or sons of veterans and be given status similar to that of a British regular regiment. In later years several Loyalist Regiments, including the Queens Rangers, the British Legion and the Volunteers of Ireland would follow a model very similar to that followed by MacLean in 1775. It is no coincidence that these regiments were the most successful Loyalist regiments and arguably among the most successful fighting units on any side in the Revolutionary War. Therefore the role of Allan MacLean in the genesis of Loyalist regiments cannot be underestimated. He defined many of the rules by which they would be administered under and the type of men who they would ideally recruit. Also despite the fact that Barrington was no longer present in cabinet at the height of Loyalist recruitment, the similarity of his plans to later regiments shows that the two men had an undoubted influence on the Loyalists.

The Effectiveness of Irregulars and Volunteers

³⁹ Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, (1964) p. 14; Mary Beacock Fryer, *Allan MacLean Jacobite General*, (Toronto, 1995), p. 117.

⁴⁰ Mary Beacock Fryer, *Allan MacLean Jacobite General* p.118.

⁴¹ WO 5/28 Allan MacLean’s Commission April 1775.

As the Loyalists fit into the category of temporary volunteer troops it is necessary to assess opinions on volunteers and to raise the question of how professional soldiers felt about amateurs. The oft quoted Wolfe comment that the Provincial soldiers who served with him in the French and Indian War “were the worst in the universe” is arguably not a comment about American soldiers but on amateur volunteer soldiers.⁴² The difference between career soldiers and temporary volunteer soldiers is one that has produced some interesting historical work. Fred Anderson’s study of Massachusetts troops in the French and Indian War is an excellent study of men who fit into the latter category. Anderson goes into depth on the minutiae of military life as well as speculating on what motivated the soldiers to fight. Anderson’s methodology in constructing his study is a useful guideline to how to study a large group of soldiers. In his appendices he gives detailed calculations on the numbers of Massachusetts soldiers as well as their previous backgrounds and social composition. Anderson contrasts the Massachusetts volunteers of the French and Indian War, men with trades and occupations, with the “marginal members of British society” that served in the regular British units.⁴³ He argues that regular soldiers were men who could be “spared” from civilian life, whereas short-term soldiers were men who were “temporarily available.”⁴⁴ He argues that their class background varied immensely and that their reasons for fighting differed from the regulars who were simply ordered to fight as part of their terms of service. Loyalist soldiers in general terms, meet many of Anderson’s criteria. In many cases they were men with trades, occupations and social standing in their community who had more to lose than gain by serving. Other historians surveying volunteerism in the Revolutionary War

⁴² James Wolfe to Walter Wolfe, 19 May 1759, cited in Matthew C. Ward, *The Battle For Quebec 1759*, (Stroud, 2005), p.37.

⁴³ Fred Anderson, *A People’s Army*, p.27.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p.28.

and later wars have come to varying conclusions about it.⁴⁵ While ideals are often vital in getting the men to join it is often other reasons that keep the men there, such as group loyalty and comradeship. Does a temporary soldier have the same motivating factors as a professional soldier? A professional presumably joins the army for career reasons, particularly those who join in peacetime. Although a temporary soldier may do this, he may also be motivated by a cause. In the case of the Loyalist soldiers, they were risking their livelihoods and reputations as well as their lives.

Looking at British military history, making use of hastily raised irregulars was nothing new. The British Army had always massively increased in size at the outset of any major war. For example in the Seven Years War, parliament voted to maintain 92,000 men in the British Army yet the Army had been reduced to 45,000 by 1765.⁴⁶ This meant that at the beginning of any war Britain had to engage in large scale recruiting and at the end of a war, in large scale demobilisation. The military historian and strategist J.F.C. Fuller argues that this practice put Britain at a disadvantage in the first few years of a war, as they had to raise irregular troops so quickly. He talks about these troops being “hastily improvised” and just as “hastily disbanded” on peace.⁴⁷ However, it is difficult to see how they could have done it differently. It was extremely expensive to raise and maintain a large army and while it could be justified in wartime it was harder to do so in peacetime, especially as taxes would remain high to pay for it. This hasty recruitment did have an undoubted effect on the effectiveness of any army Britain put into the field. Houlding

⁴⁵ John Shy, *Towards Lexington; A People Numerous and Armed*; Holly Mayer, *Belonging to the Army*, (Charleston SC, 1997); Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America*; J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service*, (London 1980); James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (Oxford, 1997); Stephen Ambrose, *Citizen Soldiers: The U.S. Army from the Normandy Beaches to the Bulge to the Surrender of Germany*, (London, 1998)

⁴⁶ British Parliamentary Papers, vol. 35 (1865-9) in BR Mitchell and Thomas Deane, *Abstract of British Historical statistics* (Cambridge, 1962) pp. 401-2; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power* (London, 1989), pp. 31-32

⁴⁷J. F.C. Fuller, *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth century* (London 1925), p.77

argues that with the exception of the American Revolutionary War, the performance of the British Army was generally poor for the first two years of every war it fought in the eighteenth century. He further suggests that the British were only successful against the Patriots because they were “innocent of training, buoyed merely by enthusiasm.”⁴⁸ This judgement is harsh on the Patriots as in their “innocence” they still managed to avoid being decisively defeated, not only during these two years but after 1777 when to go by Houlding’s reasoning the British Army was supposed to have been at its most efficient.

British Strategies Towards the Loyalists 1775-1776

When the British clashed with Massachusetts Militia at Lexington and Concord in April 1775, they could little have envisaged a war that would last eight years and eventually see the might of France and Spain arrayed against them. The British military reaction to the coming war has often been categorised as slow and unheeded of the threat that the Rebellion posed to their Empire. While this is a matter of debate it is important to note that the British did not establish an administrative structure to manage militant Loyalists until the winter 1776. Thus there is an argument that the British were indeed slow in organising the Loyalists into a cohesive military force and only did so when thousands of refugees flooded into their territories which gave them an opportunity to exploit this source of manpower. Also, the Loyalists themselves had asked for an opportunity to fight. Many of the early military organisations were raised by individuals in uprisings against the Patriots who had assumed the power of government. Thus the strategic problems that the British faced between 1774 and 1776 were whether or not to utilise the militant Loyalists and then how to organize the Loyalists as effective military units.

These problems are shown by the fact that there was not one view of how the Loyalists should be used and that not all Loyalists were viewed as being of similar status.

⁴⁸ J.A. Houlding *Fit for Service* p. 394-395

The initial British view of the Loyalists was that there were to be two models of recruits. Those recruits deemed to make the best soldiers were to be entered into the three Nova Scotia Regiments raised in 1775; Col. MacLean's Royal Highland Emigrants, Col. Francis Legge's Nova Scotia Volunteers and Lt Col. Goreham's Royal Fencible Volunteers.⁴⁹ Smith states that these units received fifteen hundred recruits between 1775 and 1776 and that the vast majority of their recruits were Highland Scots who had settled in Canada after 1763.⁵⁰ They were raised in the British settlements in Canada and principally based there.⁵¹ Those recruits not enlisted into these Regiments were to be formed into regiments who were to act mainly as auxiliaries for the main British Army.⁵² They were initially to be used as scouts and pioneers and occasionally for light infantry duties, initially Howe did not envisage them in battle standing shoulder to shoulder with his line troops.

It is possible however, to argue that the British recognised the importance of the Loyalists early on- as recognised by Lord Barrington's proposal to Allan MacLean in 1773- and that it was the circumstances of the first year of the war that dictated their slow reaction.⁵³ The circumstances were: that from April 1775 until the landing at New York in the summer of 1776, the British Army was based in the city of Boston — they left Boston in spring 1776 — and in Canada. They had no other representation in the thirteen colonies except for a brief abortive expedition to Charleston in South Carolina in the

⁴⁹ See section on the Nova Scotia Regiments.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.67; Beating Order for Royal Fencible Americans, Gage to Goreham, 15 April 1775, Gage Papers Vol. 28 Clements Library, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/rfa/rfaprop.htm> accessed 11/11/2008

⁵¹ The Royal Fencible Volunteers and the Nova Scotia Volunteers, despite being favoured with status above other Provincial regiments were confined to garrison in Canada duty for the duration of the war and saw little service, see DCB http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2010&interval=25&&PHPSESSID=u1dd28utjqte67vsmgjpg3917 accessed 10/11/08.

⁵² Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats* pp. 66-67.

⁵³ See the Section below on the Nova Scotia Regiments.

spring of 1776. This restricted their ability to form regiments, except the three units they would form in Canada in 1775. So it was not unwillingness to form regiments but an inability to attract large numbers of recruits, while they only occupied a small part of the American colonies. Therefore it can be argued that the British always intended to use the Loyalists as soon as they had the opportunity. There is considerable evidence — detailed in this chapter — to suggest that this was indeed the case. In early 1776 the British planned an expedition to the Southern Colonies to link up with planned Loyalist insurrections there.⁵⁴ It was a complete failure but it is proof that the British were mounting military expeditions based on the recruitment of Loyalists early in the war. Indeed the invasion of New York, in August 1776, was at least partially motivated by expectations of large scale Loyalist support.⁵⁵ In this they were proved right. Once the British were safely established in New York they were able to start forming Loyalist Regiments in earnest and began attracting large numbers of recruits. It was in response to this that an administration was set up to deal with the Loyalist regiments.

There is however, a strong counter argument to the importance of the Loyalists to the British, in the early part of the war. This is based on the belief prevalent among many politicians, and senior officers that held that the existing forces could handle the war perfectly adequately. Large scale recruitment of new troops was thought to be very expensive. The King was largely opposed to this because of the financial outlay it would cause and preferred to augment existing regiments. He held that new units needed at least a year to be trained whereas existing units only took three months to augment with replacements and that raising too many new units would “totally annihilate all chance of

⁵⁴This expedition, will be discussed later in the chapter see, Clinton Papers, March –May 1776, Clements Library; Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, pp.18-33
Piers Mackesy, *The War For America*, (London, 1964), pp.43-45.

⁵⁵ New York was of course a vital prize to the British, in terms of its location and importance to trade routes. With the loss of Boston the British needed one of the major American Ports, so the invasion was certainly not wholly motivated by Loyalist Recruitment.

compleating the regular forces which alone in time of need can be depended upon.”⁵⁶ Thus, if George III believed this, most of his Ministers were bound to follow, meaning that large scale recruitment of any kind was not a priority in the first two years of the war. This does not mean that recruits were discouraged but that beating the Americans with regular regiments became the main strategic aim.

Another issue which hampered large scale recruiting of Loyalists early on was the issue of the extent to which the war was to be prosecuted. The British were dealing with a rebellious subjects rather than a foreign power. Ultimately they wanted to get those subjects back to being loyal again. It was thought that too vigorous an approach to the war, especially any kind of attack on the civilian population would make reconciliation far more difficult. There was a fear that if Loyalists were let loose on their fellow Americans on a large scale then a bloody civil war could develop which could be hard for the British to control.⁵⁷

The financial implications of large scale recruitment were also of vital importance to the British. As mentioned above, even augmenting the existing army in times of war was an expensive affair and raising new regiments would raise costs to alarming levels. With House of Commons debates raging on the costs of the war, expenditure by the government on the war was closely scrutinised and anything which raised costs would have to have been considered entirely necessary by those in power before it was fully committed to.⁵⁸ A letter from Germain to General Howe, in March 1776 underlines this financial caution towards Loyalist recruitment. Germain wrote that the Loyalist officers were “not to be entitled to half-pay or to have any other rank than what was allowed to

⁵⁶ George III to Lord North, Aug 26 1775, John Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III*, vol. III No 2164.

⁵⁷ For summaries of these debates see Smith, *Loyalist and Redcoats*, ch. 1-2 and Piers Mackesy, *War For America*, pp.120.

⁵⁸ Financial issues were vital to the story of the Loyalist regiments. They were always at the mercy of those in control of the budget in London. The relevant issues will be dealt with in Chapter 2.

the like corps in the last war.”⁵⁹ Germain goes on to say in the same above mentioned letter that Howe was not to given any additional funds to pay the Loyalist regiments and must find the money to pay them in his existing budget.⁶⁰ This meant inevitably the Loyalists would not be Howe’s first priority. If he could win the war without over-relying on the Loyalists then it would be economic for him to do so. It also put the responsibility for raising and maintaining Loyalists in the hands of the British officers commanding in America. This was problematic as it meant there was no unified policy for dealing with Loyalists; it was purely at the behest of the generals. This was to be the case until the formation of the Provincial Department in November 1776.

The budgetary issue is important because a general’s natural inclination would be to use the bulk of his budget on the tried and trusted British troops rather than go to the time and expense of training new ones who might not be initially successful in combat. It is to General Howe’s credit that he did raise Loyalist battalions and did somehow find the money to raise and equip them. This could have been far sighted on his part in that he saw that there would come a time when he would need reinforcements and it was better to have them close to hand rather than wait months for them to come from Britain. John Brewer’s work on the fiscal and military state shows that expenditure on the war from 1775 to 1777 was far less than what it was after Saratoga and the French intervention.⁶¹ So as well as having to manage his own budget Howe had considerably less money to spend than Clinton would after 1778. Despite this several attempts were made before the invasion of New York to raise Loyalists and to encourage them to rise up in Patriot

⁵⁹The issue of Half Pay for Loyalist officers will be discussed in Chapter 2. See, Lord Germain to General Howe 29 March 1777 in K. G. Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783* (Irish Academic Press, Shannon, 1972-1981) 21 vols Vol. 12 pp.96.; Smith suggests that Allan MacLean mislead his officers by suggesting that they were entitled to half pay on entry to the regiment Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, p. 65.

⁶⁰ K. G. Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*, Vol. 12, p. 96.

⁶¹ John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, (London, 1989), p. 156.

occupied areas. As well as the Nova Scotia battalions, some other units were raised in 1775 and early 1776 notably, the New York volunteers who served for the length of the war, but in general the next big formation of units did not occur until after the invasion of New York in the late summer of 1776 which coincided with the establishment of the Provincial Service.⁶²

All of these issues meant that the recruitment of Loyalists, while important, was not the prime strategic consideration of the British in between 1774 and 1776. However, as the above section has shown this does not mean that it was not a consideration and that the issue was ignored. Arguably the British always thought that they would have to raise local help, it was just the extent to which they needed that help that was in doubt.

Section 2: Loyalist Militancy 1774-1776.

The Boston Association

Massachusetts has long been regarded as the birthplace of the Revolution. However, it is ironic that it is also the birthplace of militant Loyalism. There were two early attempts to form regiments in 1774 and 1775. The first was in October 1774, by Colonel Thomas Gilbert at Freetown, Massachusetts.⁶³ The second and longer lasting

⁶² The New York Volunteers were first raised in Boston in the summer of 1775 but not formally instituted until January 1776. They remained as two companies until the August of 1776 when they recruited new soldiers in the aftermath of the British invasion of New York. The regiment was formed by Lt. Duncan Grant and Lt. Alexander Campbell but their first formal commander was George Turnbull see General Thomas Gage to Lt. Duncan Grant and Lt. Alexander Campbell, 18 July 1775, Boston, Gage Papers, Vol. 131, Clements Library, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/nyv/nyvform.htm> accessed 5/12/2008; Raymond names Campbell as Archibald Campbell, who was killed at Westchester with the New York Volunteers on 19 March 1777, see W.O. Raymond, *Loyalists in Arms*, p. 204.

⁶³ Colonel Thomas Gilbert raised three hundred men, who were supplied with weapons by Gage, but they were disbanded in April 1775 after Gilbert was declared “an enemy to his country” by the newly formed congress of Massachusetts. 2000 men marched to crush his organisation of Loyalists, at

formation was the Boston Association, or the Loyal American Association, which was formed by Timothy Ruggles in the summer of 1775. In December 1774 Ruggles submitted a proclamation calling for volunteers, which appeared in several Massachusetts newspapers.⁶⁴ Ruggles was an experienced soldier and one of the most influential men in pre-war Massachusetts politics, having initially been a critic of the Stamp Tax, being elected President of the Stamp Act Congress in New York in 1765. He refused to go along with the proposals that were voted on there and from then on increasingly became identified as a defender of the Crown. As a Brigadier General of Provincial forces in the French and Indian War, he was eminently qualified to command the Boston Association.⁶⁵ He had commanded a Massachusetts Provincial Regiment which fought at

Freetown Bristol County. Thomas Gilbert 1714-1796, was a resident of Freetown, Massachusetts, Justice of the Peace and Member of the House of Representatives, and the Council, he served as a Colonel and Regimental commander in the Provincial Service in the French and Indian War. See Colin Nicolson Otis and Adams are Our Demagogues, Nathaniel Coffin and the Loyalist Interpretation of the American Revolution in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 108 (1996): pp. 73-114, at pp112-113; David E. Maas, *Divided Hearts, Massachusetts Loyalists 1765-1790, Biographical Directory*, (New England Genealogical Society, 1980), p.64; Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, (Boston, 1864), Vol. 1, pp468-474; Gregory Palmer, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, (Toronto, 1984), p.314; Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, pp.12-13

⁶⁴ Proclamation in the Boston Gazette 5 December 1774; Boston Evening Post 26 December 1774. See appendix 1.

⁶⁵ Brig. Gen. Timothy Ruggles 1711-1795, was from Rochester Massachusetts. He was a lawyer and Judge. He was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and Justice of the Superior Court. In 1765 he was President of the Stamp Act Congress, although he reneged on sanctioning the addresses the delegates planned to send to the King. In 1763 he was made Surveyor General of His Majesty's Forests. See David E. Maas, *Divided Hearts, Massachusetts Loyalists 1765-1790, Biographical Directory*, (New England Genealogical Society, 1980), pp.130-131; Fred Anderson, *A People's Army*, pp47-49; *The Crucible of War* (New York, 2000), pp. 240, 660, 679; Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, (Boston, 1864), Vol. 2, pp.583-586; Gregory Palmer *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, (Toronto, 1984), p.753.; American National Biography, (Oxford, 1999), Vol. 19, pp.56-57; *Dictionary of American Biography*, (New York, 1935), Vol. 18, pp221-222.

the battle of Lake George in 1755, and in 1758 he commanded a division of Provincial Troops during the fighting at Ticonderoga. He was a Brigadier in Amherst's Canadian campaigns of 1759-60. All of this gave him a knowledge and familiarity with American warfare which would have made him a desirable figure for the British to have in their forces.

The proclamation itself was a declaration of principles which set out the reasons for forming the association and affirming their Loyalty to the crown.⁶⁶ Declarations like this from Loyalist soldiers are rare and this one provides a good example of what motivated men to take up arms in defence of the Crown. There is sometimes a tendency to separate the political Loyalists from the militant Loyalists; with the latter being a less articulate grouping that have left few declarations of their Loyalty to posterity, but this document in some ways bridges the gap.⁶⁷ The Boston Association were admittedly a less soldier-like group than later units being older, consciously part-time soldiers but they were still a militant grouping. Later soldiers would provide similar sentiments in letters and journals but rarely provided such proficient collective sentiments of Loyalty like this.⁶⁸

There was a six month delay between the proclamation and the actual assembling of the unit in June 1775. There is no documented reason for this, except to speculate that there was more of a need for them in June with hostilities having broken out in earnest in April. There are several major works on the Loyalists in Massachusetts, but there is no single study on the Boston Association as a military unit, possibly because they were

⁶⁶ Boston Evening Post 26 December 1774. See, appendix 1.

⁶⁷ See William Nelson, *The American Tory* (Oxford, 1961); Wallace Brown, *The Kings Friends* (Providence RI, 1965).

⁶⁸ See later chapters of this thesis for examples of other declarations of loyalty and justifications for fighting.

never used in combat.⁶⁹ However, as one of the first Loyalist units it is surely deserving of study.

The Boston Association consisted of Massachusetts men who patrolled the streets of Boston. It was an entirely voluntary unit and was essentially a militia. It consisted of gentlemen soldiers, often very elderly gentlemen indeed, including several in their sixties and several of Boston's richest citizens served as private soldiers.⁷⁰ This was of course different to the British line regiments and indeed to most of the later Loyalist regiments where recruitment consciously targeted relatively young men.⁷¹ The fact that they contained recruits of that age may explain why they were not used as a fighting unit by the British.

Although they were radically different to the later Loyalist regiments, they bore similarities to some of the last Loyalist units that were formed, the militias in the South. The Boston Association was an organisation of undoubted political commitment; it was in a unique situation in that it consisted, not of young men who had had little to do with pre-war politics like the later regiments, but some of Massachusetts' most prominent and wealthy citizens whose pre-war careers are reasonably well documented. Many of its recruits were members of the "Friends of Government", before the war, which meant that the men of the Boston Association fit into the category of politically motivated Loyalist

⁶⁹ William Pencak, *War, Politics & Revolution in Provincial Massachusetts* (Boston, 1981); Janice Potter, *The Liberty We Seek: Loyalist Ideology in Colonial New York and Massachusetts* (Cambridge, MA, 1983); Colin Nicolson, "Governor Francis Bernard, the Massachusetts Friends of Government, and the Advent of the Revolution," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 101 (1991) pp.24-113 ;Colin Nicolson, McIntosh, Otis & Adams are our demagogues: pp.73-113; Colin Nicolson, *The "Infamous Govener": Francis Bernard and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Boston, 2001).

⁷⁰ Colin Nicolson identified the ages of 47 of the recruits, the average age was forty see Colin Nicolson, *Prosopography of Massachusetts Loyalists*, pp. 64-113 in *Governor Francis Bernard, the Massachusetts Friends of Government* (1991) pp. 24-113, at pp. 64-113.

⁷¹ For an example MacLean's proposal mentioned earlier in the chapter mentions a maximum age of 30 for recruits. See, Memorial of Allan MacLean to Lord Barrington, 10 November 1770, Add Mss 72629 ff. 10-11.

soldiers. A good example of a politically motivated Loyalist would be Adino Paddock. He was 48, a French and Indian War veteran, Boston's only chase maker and a prominent and wealthy citizen with a sound knowledge of artillery.⁷² He was offered a senior post with the Patriots but turned it down to serve as a Captain in the Boston Association. After the evacuation he took no further military part in the war and went to live in England. Paddock could have joined the Patriots and preserved his estate and his livelihood yet chose to become a Loyalist.

Many of the men in the Boston Association suffered similar fates to Paddock in terms of losing their property.⁷³ Yet, at the time they served their property had not yet been confiscated, they were actually fighting to protect it. This makes them different from later Loyalist soldiers, many of whom who had already left their homes and lost their property when they joined their Regiments.

In Ruggles, the regiment had a prominent local personality in command, which is something that was echoed with other regiments. Eminent American men formed their own regiments and often financed them. However, because of this, the commanders expected a certain degree of autonomy denied to the commanders of British line regiments. The British found this disagreeable and would attempt to limit this "cult of personality" later on in the war. British generals often took on the role of Colonel in Chief of Loyalist units and the commanders were often youthful British officers who were willing to command Americans because they were too inexperienced to be given British commands.

⁷² Gregory Palmer, *Biographical sketches*, pp. 664; Colin Nicolson, *Prosopography of Massachusetts Loyalists*, pp. 94-95.

⁷³ Of the two hundred and thirty five men in the regiment, fifty-four appear on the Commission for Loyalist losses see Colin Nicolson, *Prosopography of Massachusetts Loyalists* pp. 64-113 ; *Massachusetts Tax List 1771* (Boston, 1978); Muster Rolls of Boston Association 5 July 1775, Gage Papers Vol. 121 Clements Library online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/musters/loyamassoc/mrlaamain.htm> accessed 11/11/2008.

The Boston Association was short lived. On 17 March, 1776, Boston was evacuated and the regiment left for Halifax, with many civilians and the main British Army. Most of the soldiers eventually went to London or remained in Canada but some of the younger men would join the newly formed New York Volunteers. The British involvement in the Boston Association was minimal. They provided some financial support, although Ruggles made the initial outlay. They provided little in the way of formal training and the Boston Association would see no combat. Yet to have used them in combat, the British would have to have radically overhauled them. This would have involved training which necessitated a lot of time and money. With Boston under siege, Howe did not have the men or resources to do this. However, less than a year later he would attempt a radical change of the Queens Rangers which would demonstrate exactly how he felt a Loyalist unit should be run. So the Boston Association lived out their short life-span with the kind of autonomy that no Loyalist unit would have again until the Southern campaigns of 1780-81.

The Nova Scotia Regiments.

In June 1775 at Halifax, Nova Scotia, Colonel Allan MacLean, acting on an order from Lord Barrington — as discussed previously — formed the Royal Highland Emigrants. In the autumn of 1775 Nova Scotia Volunteers and the Royal Fencible Volunteers were also formed in Nova Scotia.⁷⁴ The significance of the formation of these three regiments

⁷⁴ Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, pp. 14, 67; Francis Legge 1719-1783 Governor of Nova Scotia see DCB online at http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2010&interval=25&&PHPSESSID=4pthrplhvie6a1pflgscjdtak7 accessed 11/11/2008. The Nova Scotia Volunteers were ordered to be raised in October 1775. They remained in Nova Scotia for the duration of the War. See Legge's Warrant to raise the regiment, Earl of Suffolk to Francis Legge 16 October 1775, WO 1/681 ff.59-60. Joseph Goreham, 1725-1790, Goreham had served with distinction as a Ranger in the French and Indian War. He raised the Royal Fencible Americans in June 1775 in Nova Scotia sending out recruiting parties to Boston. They served as the Garrison of Fort Cumberland in New Brunswick until 1780 when they returned to Halifax, see DCB <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01->

is that from the very start they were raised and administered by the British Army. They were the first regiments to be formed under the strict control of the British and they had a very different status to that of other Loyalist regiments, which meant from their earliest days they were treated similarly to British Line Regiments.⁷⁵

The Royal Highland Emigrants, as the first such regiment, will be discussed here. The regiment was to be composed of Scottish Highlanders living in America and they were to be officered by British veterans or sons of veterans and be given status similar to that of a British regular regiment. The Beating Order (a document issued to the regiment's commander ordering him to raise a regiment) entitling Allan MacLean to raise two battalions of ten companies, states "the whole Corps to be Cloathed, Armed, and Accoutred in Like manner with His Majesty's Royal Highland Regiments."⁷⁶ Other Loyalist units raised in 1775 were not "armed and accoutred" by the British Army in this way, for example, the Boston Association was distinguished from Civilians only by a "white armband" and they provided their own weapons and equipment.⁷⁷ The Royal Highland Emigrants were also to be "paid as his Majesty's Other Regiments of Foot," unlike the Boston Association of whom no evidence exists to suggest they were paid at all, other than by their commander Timothy Ruggles.⁷⁸ The British spent a considerable sum on the Royal Highland Emigrants. From the unit's inception in

[e.php?id_nbr=1918&interval=25&&PHPSESSID=s2t6klvng3psp71api3kjifkn3](http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/rfa/rfaprop.htm) accessed 11/11/08; Beating Order for Royal Fencible Americans Beating Order for Royal Fencible Americans, Legge to Goreham, 15 April 1775, Gage Papers Vol. 28 Clements Library, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/rfa/rfaprop.htm> accessed 11/11/2008

⁷⁵ The Commission given to Allan MacLean makes this status clear from the outset, see WO 5/28 Allan MacLean's Commission April 1775.

⁷⁶ This meant they would be clothed in redcoats and kilts and armed with muskets and bayonets see Beating Order given to Lt. Col. Allan MacLean by Thomas Gage, Boston. 12 June 1775, WO 28/4, ff. 211-213, PRO.

⁷⁷ Timothy Ruggles to Francis Green, 15 November 1775, AO 13/45 f.476, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/loyaa/laalet1.htm> accessed 20/10/2008.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

June of 1775 until June of 1776 the cost of raising the unit and its subsistence costs were £7247, 10s, 0d.⁷⁹ From 14 June 1775 until April 1777 the Royal Highland Emigrants cost £16,230 9s, 11^{1/4}d.⁸⁰ This considerable expenditure so early in the war demonstrates that the British felt that they would get return from at least some of their Loyalists.⁸¹ The other two regiments were raised along similar lines to the Royal Highland Emigrants, although their recruits were not exclusively Scots Highlanders.

The case of the Nova Scotia regiments brings up a major theme of the thesis. This is that a small number of Provincial regiments had a higher status than others. These privileged regiments were given benefits denied to many other Loyalist regiments. They were paid in line with British regulars, supplied with the best arms and accoutrements and used in combat alongside British line regiments. As the war progressed their officers achieved half-pay status. The Royal Highland Emigrants, Lt. Col. Goreham's Royal Fencible Volunteers, and Col. Legge's Nova Scotia Volunteers were all to be considered almost as regular regiments and were composed as much as possible of ex-regulars and British born troops.

Of the three Nova Scotia regiments the Royal Highland Emigrants achieved the most and were awarded accordingly. In 1779, the Royal Highland Emigrants became a line regiment, the 84th Highlanders, the first Loyalist regiment to achieve this honour.⁸² The influence of MacLean's ideas on other Loyalist regiments is massive. A letter of July

⁷⁹Expenses of the British Army in America for the period 14 June 1775 to 24 June 1776. AO 1/325/1287, PRO.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ To put this into context, although the British only raised one new regular regiment, Fraser's Highlanders, before 1778 and their existing ones, needed massive augmentation so the fact that that they spent this money shows their faith in MacLean. For an adept summary of the state of the British Army and the problems facing the Government in terms of augmenting it see Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, pp.38-41.

⁸² The British Legion, the Queens Rangers and the Volunteers of Ireland were all put on the British Line in 1783.

1776 from John Robinson of the Treasury to General Howe states that Legge's Regiment were to be "regulated in the same manner as Col MacLean and Colonel Goreham's Corps."⁸³ This suggests that MacLean's unit was already serving as a model for other regiments. It would take until 1779 when even the next group of elite Loyalist regiments the Queens Rangers, the British Legion and the Volunteers of Ireland (all commanded by British regulars) would achieve the status that the Nova Scotia regiments would be given in 1775 and many Provincial regiments would never achieve it. However, of the Nova Scotia regiments, only the Royal Highland Emigrants had a successful combat record. The reasons for this are complex and hard to fathom. Both Legge's and Goreham's regiments had the same advantages as MacLean's but apart from some combat in 1775 and 1776 their service was largely confined to garrison duty in Canada. Legge had fallen out of favour with the British Government in Canada by 1779, but his regiment could still have been utilised. As for Goreham's unit, there is no explanation given in any source. It is only possible to speculate, that garrisons were needed in Canada and his regiment fulfilled this function well. What is certain is that the three Nova Scotia regiments created an administrative structure for regiments which would be followed by the newly set up Provincial Department from August 1776.

Section 3: The Provincial Service 1776-1783

The Provincial Service 1776-1778

This section will discuss the innovations and changes made in respect of the Provincial regiments after the British Occupation of New York in 1776. After the

⁸³ John Robinson to General Howe, 25 July 1776, Whitehall, PRO 30/55/3 f.45, PRO.

formation of the three regiments raised in Canada, there was a hiatus in regiments formed by the British of nearly a year. The reasons for this have been discussed above.

In the summer of 1776 the British landed in New York and this led to the biggest recruitment of Loyalists thus far. According to early Loyalist historiography, the area where the Loyalists were strongest was New York. In the mythology of the Revolution, if Massachusetts was the birthplace of the Revolution then New York was the bastion of Toryism. One of the major reasons for invading New York was the reasoning that the support there was so strong, not just in terms of recruits but financial and material assistance.⁸⁴ Certainly it was to be in New York where Loyalist regiments were organised under the banner of the Provincial Service.

Once the invasion of New York City in August 1776 had been accomplished, General Howe set about forming a number of new units, as well as creating a formal department for administering these new Loyalist units.⁸⁵ Two initial administrative appointments were made in August 1776, to create a centralised system for administering and financing the Loyalist regiments. These were the Muster Master General Lt. Col. Edward Winslow and Paymaster General Captain Robert MacKenzie. Winslow was deputed to collect and organise muster rolls of extant and future Provincial regiments.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Piers Mackesy *The War For America*, pp. 80-82.

⁸⁵ See section below.

⁸⁶ Edward Winslow, 1746-1815, Winslow was born in Plymouth Massachusetts to a prominent Massachusetts family, he served as clerk of the Court of Session at Plymouth from 1768. He fought with the British regulars as a volunteer at Lexington and served as a private in the Boston Association. Under General Gage he had served as Collector for the Port of Boston and registrar of Probate for Suffolk County. He was appointed Muster Master General on 30 July 1776, with the rank of Lt. Col of Provincials. He held his post for the duration of the war. He became one of the leading figures in the establishment of New Brunswick, W.O. Raymond Roll of Officers of the British American or Loyalist Corps, p228; W.O. Raymond, *The Winslow Papers*, (St Johns, New Brunswick 1901); Lorenzo Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution, Vol. 2*, pp. 445-6; Palmer Biographical Directory of Loyalists of the American Revolution, p. 94; Daniel Parker Coke *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists 1783-1785* (Ayer Publishing, 1971,) pp333-334; Winslow Papers National

Winslow had held a number of administrative posts under Governor Thomas Hutchinson in pre-war Massachusetts and notably changed the record keeping system for Provincial records.⁸⁷ Winslow then, was more than just a political appointment, to appease high ranking New England Loyalists, but a vital contributor to Loyalist administration with a vast experience of record keeping and maintenance. Winslow held his appointment until 1783. Muster rolls keep records of every soldier serving for pay and supply purposes. It was a very demanding task; each regiment had to appoint staff to deal with paperwork and to take musters approximately every two months from wherever they were serving in America. Although there are extant muster rolls for 1776, the vast majority of them exist from the summer of 1777, which would suggest that the system took nearly a year to become fully established. Whilst record keeping may have been a distraction from soldiering at times, it put the Provincial units on an equal administrative footing with regular units and ensured that they were recorded accurately which in turn assured they were paid properly. It brought them into the community of the British Army. Provincials may have been denied half pay for officers and equal footing with regular regiments, but they were at least beginning to be administered the same way as the rest of the British Army.⁸⁸

The next major administrative appointment was in January 1777 when Alexander Innes, a regular British officer, was appointed Inspector General of the Provincial

Archives of Canada; C Series Muster Rolls National Archives of Canada: DCB online at

http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2717&&PHPSESSID=jn09qjup8f0fdeu4j8khcd0ua1

⁸⁷ See DCB http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2717&&PHPSESSID=jn09qjup8f0fdeu4j8khcd0ua1

http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2717&&PHPSESSID=jn09qjup8f0fdeu4j8khcd0ua1

⁸⁸ Capt. Robert MacKenzie was Gen. Howe's secretary, he was Paymaster General until 1778 when he was replaced by Captain John Smith, see Daniel Parker Coke *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists 1783-1785* (Ayer Publishing, 1971)p 127 ;Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats* p. 49.

Corps.⁸⁹ While Winslow was an important figure in the organisation of the Provincial Corps his role was essentially that of record keeper, Innes, whose role as Inspector General was to recommend changes to the Commander in Chief, was a far more influential figure. Although individual commanders had the greatest role in influencing their regiments, Innes had a wider role in that he was able to advise the commanding generals on the best ways to use the Loyalist regiments and which ones were the most efficient.⁹⁰ This makes his role more than that of just an administrator. Innes was also a fighting soldier and in that capacity he was trusted to make military recommendations. His main task was to make the Loyalist Regiments “fit for service.” This is a common phrase but Innes would use it as his justification for the major changes he made to the Queens Rangers in March 1777. The fact that he kept his appointment until 1783 shows that in the eyes of Howe and Clinton, he succeeded. Innes’ first major task was the re-

⁸⁹Col. Alexander Innes was originally from Banff, Scotland, the son of the Rev. James Innes. In the 1760’s he served as a Lt. in the 63rd Foot. He immigrated to America in 1774, where he served as secretary to Gov. Lord William Campbell in South Carolina. When the Revolution started he went undercover to send intelligence to the British before leaving for New York in 1776. He was commissioned as a Major (Provincial) in August 1776. In January 1777 he was appointed Colonel of Provincials with the role of Inspector General. In 1779 he was appointed to form and command the cavalry regiment, the South Carolina Royalists. After the war he returned to Scotland and died there in 1805. Innes left no collections of personal papers. See Innes’ testimony in Daniel Parker Coke, *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists 1783-1785* (Ayer Publishing, 1971) p.148, for other biographical information see W.O. Raymond, *The Winslow Papers* (St Johns, New Brunswick 1901) p. 161; W.O. Raymond *Roll of Officers of the British American or Loyalist Corps*, p227; J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Kings Mountain, The Letters of Colonel Isaac Shelby in *The Journal of Southern History*, Vo. 4 No. 3 Aug 1938 pp. 367-377, at p. 372; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, Vol. 2. p.566; brief genealogical summary of Innes online at <http://www.thepeerage.com/p20274.htm#i202737> accessed 10/12/2008; State of the South Carolina Loyalists commanded by Col. A. Innes, 24 April 1780 Clinton Papers Vol. 94 f43 Clements Library online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/scroyal/scrstate.htm> accessed 10/12/2008.

⁹⁰ Innes sent numerous reports to Howe and Clinton on the state of the Provincial regiments, for a good example, which demonstrates Innes’ advisory role as well as his administrative one, see Alexander Innes to Lord Germain 15 December 1780 CO5 /101/ff.178-179.

organisation of the Queens Rangers.⁹¹ This intervention involved Innes recommending the dismissal of the commander of the regiment, two thirds of the officer corps and some two hundred of the rank and file. This contradicts Smith's view that the British did not really commence active interventions to make the Loyalists more efficient until the winter of 1777-1778.⁹² Smith does mention the affair but does not discuss the significance of Innes' actions in the context of making the Loyalists more capable of fighting alongside the British, portraying it as an incident which increased misunderstanding between the British and the Loyalists.⁹³ While to an extent this may be true, it surely demonstrates that the British took the Loyalists seriously far earlier than they were often supposed to have done. This was the largest scale intervention that Innes would make in a Loyalist regiment and after this his conduct seems to have been to act as an advocate for the Loyalists. He was certainly influential in seeing that they were used in combat and that they were well supplied.

The next major appointment to the Provincial Service was Governor William Tryon to be Major General of Provincials in March 1778.⁹⁴ Tryon would command all the New York Provincial Troops in 1777 and would lead a campaign of his own in New Jersey in 1779 but his forces were predominantly British regulars and in most cases the Provincial regiments would serve alongside British regular regiments under a British commander.

⁹¹ This is discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁹² Paul Smith, *Loyalist and Redcoats*, pp. 74-78

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp 70-71.

⁹⁴ Tryon was English born but had been resident in America since 1764 which qualifies him as a Loyalist. Raymond credits him with being Commander in Chief of all the Provincial forces in America. Smith, however, claims that he was offered that post but turned it down in March 1778, an opinion which the DNB agrees with. See, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.webfeat.lib.ed.ac.uk/view/article/27784>; W.O. Raymond, *Roll of Officers of the British American or Loyalist Corps*, p227; Paul Smith *Loyalists and Redcoats* p.75.

The New Units of 1776-7

In the aftermath of the occupation of New York and New Jersey in the late summer and autumn of 1776, and with the creation of the Provincial Service, the British set about creating new units. In all, nine new Provincial regiments were formed in New York in the autumn and winter of 1776.⁹⁵ With the liberation of a large amount of territory in New York, and with numerous volunteers expected, the British had to form regiments quickly, but given the financial restrictions on recruiting they also had to do this cheaply. The quickest way of doing this was to follow the model of the appointment of Timothy Ruggles in Boston. Rich, prominent local men were appointed to the command of the new regiments. The reason for this was that they could partially finance their regiments and it was felt that would have the local celebrity to be able to bring in recruits. These were men like Oliver Delancey of New York and Cordlandt Skinner of New Jersey.⁹⁶ They were prominent wealthy individuals in their colonies with a lot of experience in their respective colonial governments. The fact that had little in the way of military experience was overlooked. Skinner and Delancey were both appointed Provincial Brigadier Generals and ordered to raise several battalions each. Other prominent men were given commands. Of these commanders, only Robert Rogers of the Queens Rangers was in any way renowned as a soldier.⁹⁷ Ability to recruit seems to have

⁹⁵ The new Regiments were: Delancey's Regiments; The Guides and Pioneers; The King's American Regiment; The Kings Orange Rangers; The King's Royal Regiment of New York; The New Jersey Volunteers; The Prince of Wales Volunteers; The Queens Rangers. See appendix 2.

⁹⁶ Oliver Delancey, 1717-1785, briefly commanded a regiment of Provincials in the French and Indian War (only in 1758) and served as a Judge in the 1760's. His brother James was Lt. Governor of New York. He was appointed Brigadier General in 1776. Although two of his battalions would serve in the Southern Campaigns from 1778-1781, he remained on Long Island until 1783 when he settled in Yorkshire, see Lorenzo Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, Vol 1, pp.363-366; William S. Stryker, *The New Jersey Volunteers in the Revolutionary War* (Trenton, NJ, 1867), pp.4-5; Paul H. Smith, "New Jersey Loyalists and the British Provincial Corps in the War for Independence" in *New Jersey History*, 87 (1969), pp.69-78.

⁹⁷ Chapter 3.

been given priority over military experience. For example of Skinner's six original battalion commanders, only one had any military experience but all six were prominent men in the New Jersey counties that they recruited their men from.⁹⁸ While this proved useful for recruiting, it was gradually realised that these men were not always the most efficient or able soldiers. As the war progressed the British tended to give commands to more experienced soldiers and if this was not possible, to appoint ex regulars as subalterns. This practice caused Muster Master General Winslow to complain about the "coxcombs, fools and blackguards" who had been foisted on the Provincial Service from the regular ranks.⁹⁹ Generals appointing regular officers to the Loyalist ranks would continue to be a topic of contention right up until the end of the war, although it was certainly not done extensively and in general, regimental commanders usually had the final say on appointments as too much outside interference caused discontent.¹⁰⁰

The number of volunteers raised in 1776 is hard to gauge as there are virtually no muster rolls extant for that year, so it is a topic of controversy.¹⁰¹ In 1903, Alexander Flick contended that Loyalism in New York was particularly strong, claiming that "15,000 New Yorkers fought on land or sea" during the course of the war.¹⁰² Bernard

⁹⁸ Isaac Allen 1741-1806 6th Batt. Later 3rd see Sabine vol 1 p159 Elisha Lawrence 1st Batt Sherriff of Monmouth County 1740-1811 Sabine Vol 2 p.3; Joh Morris 2nd Batt Sabine Vol 2p.107 ; Edward Van Donger of Essex County, Killed August 1777 Sabine, Vol 1 pp.384-85: Abraham Van Buskirk of A Surgeon of Bergen County Sabine Vol. 1 pp.277-78: Joseph Barton of Sussex County, see Todd Braisted a History of the 5th Battalion New Jersey Volunteers online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/njv/5njvhist.htm> accessed 12/5/2009.

⁹⁹ Edward Winslow to? 13 November 1778 quoted in W.O. Raymond, Roll of Officers of the British American or Loyalist Corps, p. 225.

¹⁰⁰ For an example of this and the discontent it could cause in a regiment see the controversy surrounding Major Potts to Butler's Rangers in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

¹⁰¹ The Collection of Loyalist Muster Rolls in the Library and Archives of Canada start in 1777. There is an incomplete set of musters for the Queens Rangers from December 1776 in the National Archives, see C Series Muster Rolls Library and Archives Canada; TS 11/221 PRO.

¹⁰² Alexander Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution* (New York, 1901), pp.1112-113.

Mason argued that it would have been impossible for New York to supply this amount of men and Phillip Ranlet concluded that Loyalist support in New York was vastly exaggerated.¹⁰³ What is certain is that the nine new regiments were successfully established in 1776 and had recruited enough men to be viable.¹⁰⁴ Of all the units, the biggest by far was the New Jersey Volunteers. They consisted of six battalions and numbered nearly 2000 men by the end of the war.¹⁰⁵

An additional nine new regiments were formed in 1777, although three of them were subsumed into other Loyalist units at a later stage in the war.¹⁰⁶ The formation of regiments tended to follow the progress of the British Army. For example as the British Army advanced into Pennsylvania in late 1777, they formed new regiments there. 1777 also saw the beginning of Loyalists being used in roles other than infantrymen.¹⁰⁷ This demonstrated the increasing of importance of Loyalists to the British. In late 1777 the first Loyalist cavalry was created, with Emmerich's Chasseurs and the Philadelphia Light Dragoons.¹⁰⁸ Cavalry was expensive to raise and maintain and the formation of Loyalist cavalry was started in a very small way but by 1780 Loyalists provided the main cavalry force for the British Army in the Southern campaigns. In April 1777 the second battalion

¹⁰³ Bernard Mason, *Road to Independence: The Revolutionary Movement in New York 1773-1777*, (University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1966); Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, p.105.

¹⁰⁴ The Recruiting Section in Chapter 2 will deal with recruiting methods and the controversies surrounding them.

¹⁰⁵ Paul H. Smith, "New Jersey Loyalists and the British Provincial Corps, p. 274.

¹⁰⁶ The nine regiments were: Butler's Rangers 1777-1783; Emmerich's Chasseurs 1777-1779 subsumed into assorted other regiments due to internal feuding 1779; The Loyal American Regiment 1777-1783; The Loyal New Englanders 1777-1781; The Maryland Loyalists 1777-1783; Pennsylvania Loyalists 1777-1783; Philadelphia Light Dragoons 1777-1778, subsumed into the British Legion August 1778; The Roman Catholic Volunteers 1777-1778, subsumed in the Volunteers of Ireland August 1778. For more details on these regiments see the notes to Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁸ Both of these units were very small. Emmerich Chasseurs numbered around 100 men and the Philadelphia Light Dragoons consisted of around 40 men. See, Paul H. Smith, *The American Loyalists, Notes on their Organisation and Strength*, pp250-277, at pp 271-277.

of the New Jersey Volunteers were drafted in the Royal Artillery, the only Loyalist regiment to be used as artillery.¹⁰⁹

1776 and 1777 had seen the formation of sixteen new Provincial Regiments. By the end of this period many of them had seen combat, which demonstrated the increasing confidence that the British had in them. This is tempered by the fact that most Loyalist regiments were not yet considered anywhere near the equal of British regulars and tended to be used in secondary operations or raids. The events of 1778 would see Loyalists having to be trusted with far greater responsibility and become crucial to the British Army's hopes of success in America.

The Innovations of 1778-1779

With the war becoming global, major changes were needed in the size and structure of the British Army. With the exception of the Loyalist Regiments, only two new regiments had been raised before 1778 and very few capital ships built.¹¹⁰ However, after the French declaration of war in 1778, things would change dramatically. The British would have to reorganise to an exceptional degree. They began recruiting regiments on a grand scale and started preparing for a war that would involve them fighting on at least three continents. The Loyalists became a small cog in this new global war. If the British were to succeed in this kind of war, then their troops would have to be spread thinly. While there was never any suggestion of the Loyalists being used outwith

¹⁰⁹ Howe had originally considered creating a Loyalist Artillery Regiment but decided it would be cheaper and easier to use an existing regiment. They served as artillery men alongside the Royal Artillery Regiment until 1779. See Todd Braisted, A History of the second Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/njv/2njvhist.htm> accessed 12/5/2009.

¹¹⁰ Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, p. 250.

America, they became vital to the campaign within America.¹¹¹ As this chapter has demonstrated, the British had begun to redefine their approach to the Loyalists in 1777 in terms of making them more efficient. Some of these methods were actually quite tough on the Loyalists, for example the dismissal of commanders and soldiers in the name of efficiency. There was a realisation at the top level that whilst these measures had to continue there had to be inducements to encourage recruitment of potential Loyalists as well as to maintain the services of existing ones. They were faced with a quandary. Did they keep the Loyalists happy by letting them do things their own way and appointing Loyalists to high command or did they keep them under British authority and command? The solution was a not a simple one and required as much political skill as it did military sense. They largely opted for the latter option. The success of this was variable but it is possible to suggest that it was not a complete failure.

Germain outlined his views on how the war should be conducted, in letters to Clinton.¹¹² He had in mind a series of co-ordinated attacks in both the North and the South, supported by the navy.¹¹³ These were to be brief, highly mobile campaigns, designed to divide the Continental Army. The Loyalists were to be vital to this. As few regular reinforcements would be available to Clinton he would have to rely on the existing units that he had with him and recruit in America wherever he could.¹¹⁴ This involved not only creating new Loyalist regiments but augmenting the established Loyalist regiments and Regular regiments with Americans. As the war went, on these two measures came into conflict with each other, as it was regarded as both more

¹¹¹ Provincial Troops had been used in the West Indies in the French and Indian War but they were only used on the American Continent in the Revolutionary War. This is possibly because the distances involved would have discouraged recruits and also because the West Indies were notoriously fever ridden.

¹¹² See Davies Documents of American Revolution, 1778 Vol.

¹¹³ For a detailed explanation of Germain's new strategy see Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, Ch. 14.

¹¹⁴ Clinton was allowed only 3000 reinforcements from Britain in 1778, see *ibid.*, p. 251.

economically sound to augment the existing troops with recruits, as well as it as being a good military move, as the new troops would be intermingling with experienced ones.¹¹⁵ The King himself was in favour of augmenting rather than raising new regiments. However, the British were not blind to the fact that putting Loyalists in with the British was not an ideal solution. Both Clinton and Germain acknowledged that ideally the Loyalists should be grouped together in case tensions should arise between British and Americans.¹¹⁶ They thought that Americans were more likely to enlist in regiments raised by Americans and containing Americans.¹¹⁷ It was not regarded as so much of a problem to augment regiments like the Queens Rangers and the Volunteers of Ireland, which although commanded by British officers and given equal status and trust in combat with the regular units, were still staffed largely with Loyalists.

As a result of the change in strategy towards the Loyalists, Lord Germain instituted a number of reforms to attract recruits, particularly officers, to the Provincial regiments and to improve the morale of existing soldiers. In January 1779 new regulations were brought in which would add selected Loyalist regiments to a Provincial List. They were eligible for increased bounties for recruits, their officers were allowed a years full pay if they were incapacitated and all officers from these regiments were to be placed on the half-pay list on reduction of their regiments.¹¹⁸ It was a major change in policy, but it would not include every Loyalist Regiment. The Provincial List was a small group of regiments, comprising: The Queens Rangers, the British Legion, the Royal Highland Emigrants, the Kings American Regiment and the Volunteers of Ireland. These

¹¹⁵ See papers Germain's correspondence in CO5 and that contained in Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*. For details of the plans to augment Regular regiments and the pros and cons of this see the Cornwallis Papers, PRO 30/11/1-6. PRO.

¹¹⁶ Clinton to Cornwallis, 6 June 1780. PRO 30/54/11/2/ff. 63-73.

¹¹⁷ Paul, H. Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, p.34.

¹¹⁸ Germain to Clinton 23 January 1779 in Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*, Vol. 17, p.46.

were the units considered elite by the British. All had seen considerable service and were trusted to serve in the vanguard of any campaign alongside British units. Other provincial regiments did have the chance to attain half-pay status, but only if they met certain stringent criteria.¹¹⁹

As new British troops would be needed in the West Indies and to defend the British Isles, the British needed to recruit as many Loyalists as possible. The difficulty that the British had was how to go about this. Financial considerations were important. From 1778 the British spent a lot of money on the Loyalists.¹²⁰ New regiments and augmentations to existing ones were extremely expensive as was the administration required in the setting up of a new regiment. The Inspector General Alexander Innes who was responsible for all the administration, was given over £100, 000 in 1778 to spend on raising new regiments and augmenting existing Provincial corps.¹²¹ The changes do show that the British took the Loyalists seriously enough to spend money on them. Smith questions the effect that the regulations had on recruitment, arguing that the numbers did not increase dramatically.¹²² This is borne out by analysis of the muster rolls of the Queens Rangers which demonstrate that while there was a rise in numbers recruited in 1779 it was not dramatic.¹²³ Smith argues that the British had made too many mistakes early on and that the reforms had come too late. Yet, there were other reasons for slow recruitment. The war was dragging on and the prospect of a British victory was not certain. A Patriot victory would mean that Loyalists would almost certainly be victimised

¹¹⁹ See section on Pay in Chapter 2.

¹²⁰ See the papers relating to the Loyalists in the Audit Office of the National Archives. AO1/335/1338. PRO. These contain the Accounts of Colonel Alexander Innes the Inspector General of Provincial forces. They run from January 1777 to December 1782.

¹²¹ AO1/335/1338.,PRO.

¹²² Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, pp.74-76.

¹²³ See Chapter Four.

in the new society and might have to leave altogether. This was not an ideal scenario in which to convince waverers to risk their lives and livelihoods.

British victories brought hopes and fresh recruits, for example, there was a rise in recruits in 1780 when the British successfully invaded South Carolina, but within six months the situation had changed again. However, the fact that the reforms were made at all is significant and indicative of the fact that many Loyalists had proved themselves useful allies to the British. As well as the reforms the Loyalists themselves came to be trusted to run certain aspects of the war itself. After the death of Major John Andre — Clinton's a.d.c and chief of intelligence — in 1780, Loyalists like Col. Beverly Robinson took over much of the intelligence gathering operations for the British Army, again proving the reliance the British had on Loyalists.¹²⁴

The New Regiments 1777-81.

Formation of Loyalist Regiments became a priority in 1777 and increasingly so after 1778. Smith suggested that after 1778 when the French came into the war and the West Indies were threatened the recruitment of Americans became paramount to the British.¹²⁵ Of the twenty-five Provincial regiments from 1777, fourteen lasted until the mass demobilization of 1783, and only six lasted less than two years. Of those six, five were subsumed into other regiments.¹²⁶ The fact that most of these regiments lasted until the end of the war demonstrates that the vast majority of them recruited enough men to make them viable, as under strength regiments were either disbanded or subsumed into other units. Of those units subsumed, three were formed into the British Legion, shortly after formation before they had time to recruit sufficiently.¹²⁷ However, not all these

¹²⁴ Carl Van Doren, *The Secret History of the American Revolution*, (New York, 1951), p.160.

¹²⁵ Paul Smith *Loyalist and Redcoats*, pp.80-83

¹²⁶ Appendix 2.

¹²⁷ See Chapter 5.

regiments attained full strength and not all of them saw combat.¹²⁸ On closer examination the situation was not as optimistic as first appears. Taking the later regiments in comparison with those formed in 1776 there is a much higher proportion of regiments who did not see significant amounts of action and who were only really used for garrison duties. The earlier regiments made up the core of the Provincial elites. Of the new regiments only the British Legion, the Volunteers of Ireland and the Loyal American Regiment would be added to the Provincial List. Of these only the Loyal Americans were commanded by an American. The formation of the British Legion and the Volunteers of Ireland is important as it demonstrates how the British set about instantly creating elite regiments, both of which saw combat relatively soon after formation. These two units, although formed relatively late in the war, were amongst the most successful Provincial regiments of the war. Their formation came at a time when the British were re-evaluating their approach to the Loyalists. In spring 1778 Clinton decided to form two elite Loyalist regiments, the British Legion and the Volunteers of Ireland, designed to attract principally British and Irish born recruits. They were both to be commanded by young British aristocrats and many of their officers were regulars or ex regulars.¹²⁹ The British Legion was commanded by Lord Cathcart and the Volunteers of Ireland was commanded by Lord Francis Rawdon.¹³⁰ The two units were used in combat very shortly after formation

¹²⁸ Paul Smith's list of Loyalist regiments while somewhat different in the regiments that are listed from shown the above table and gives estimated totals for numbers of soldiers. See Paul H. Smith, *The American Loyalists, Notes on their Organisation and Strength*, pp 271-277.

¹²⁹ For a detailed discussion on the circumstances behind the formation of these regiments see the chapter on the British Legion.

¹³⁰ Lord Francis Rawdon (later Francis Rawdon Hastings, the Second Earl of Moira and First Marquis of Hastings) 1754-1826. Of the young British officers who served in the Revolutionary War, Rawdon was one of the few who had fame and success after the war. He was commissioned in the 5th Foot in 1773, served at Bunker Hill, became a captain in 1775 and in 1776 was appointed adjutant to Henry Clinton. He was Adjutant General of all British forces in America from 1778-1779. He proved himself as a superb fighting soldier and despite his youth rose rapidly, commanding a division at the age of 26. He commanded the British forces left in the Carolinas after Cornwallis went to Virginia, where he won

and saw extensive action in the Southern Campaign of 1779-81. The original qualification of recruiting only British born men was largely ignored and both regiments recruited local men.

A disadvantage of the creation of these elite units was that the best men were being targeted by the elite regiments and the other regiments had to depend on what was left. This could have prejudiced British commanders against using the non elite units. However, the fact that so many units were created and maintained until the end of the war shows that the British were trying to get as much out of the Loyalists as they could. This would lead to several experiments with regiments which failed for reasons other than lack of support. The following short case study illustrates such an example.

The Kings Rangers

In 1779 the Loyalists regained the only true “celebrity” that they had allied to their cause, when Lt Col. Robert Rogers, the legendary frontiersman, soldier, explorer, author and playwright returned to America to take command of a new regiment, the Kings Rangers.¹³¹ His brief spell of commanding the Queens Rangers had ended

the Battle of Hobkirks Hill (where the Volunteers of Ireland served as the vanguard) before being evacuated due to ill health. He was captured by the French on his way home and was exchanged in December 1781. His subsequent career saw him serve in several cabinets and become a full General. He commanded the British Army in Flanders in 1794 and in 1812 was appointed Governor General of India. His governorship saw great expansion in British possessions until in 1821 he was accused of financial irregularities which led to his downfall. Surprisingly given his importance there is no biography of Rawdon, although he is mentioned frequently in the biographies of other Revolutionary commanders. See ODNB

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.webfeat.lib.ed.ac.uk/view/article/12568?docPos=1> accessed 5/11/2008.

¹³¹ As related elsewhere in this dissertation, Rogers was, at the outset of the Revolution America’s most famous military figure and the only American to hold half pay rank in the British Army. The British had gone to great lengths to secure his services and his very presence in the British ranks caused great consternation amongst the Patriots from Washington downwards. Indeed before Rogers had chosen sides some members of the Continental congress had made overtures to him relative to him replacing Washington as Commander in Chief of the Continental Army Washington to Congress, New York, 27

ignominiously when he was dismissed from command amid allegations of drunkenness, financial irregularities and general unfitness for command. He left for Britain in early 1777 and seemed destined to be the “forgotten man” of the Revolutionary period. However, in early 1779 he arrived in Halifax, Nova Scotia and once more offered his services. The impact of Rogers’ name had waned a little — Washington wrote no more letters anxiously searching for ways to negate his influence — but the British once more took a chance on him and Henry Clinton gave him the command of a new regiment, the Kings Rangers, authorised on 1 May 1779.¹³²

The original warrant for raising the regiment exemplifies the hopes that the British had for both Rogers and his new Regiment. It was to be recruited on the New England frontiers and was to consist of 530 enlisted men who were “to receive the same pay and be under the same discipline as his majesty’s regular troops.”¹³³ This proves that by 1779 the British were making a conscious effort to make clear to recruits that they would be treated on equal terms as regulars. Rogers was put under the command of General Haldimand, the Governor of Quebec.¹³⁴ Clinton envisaged that the regiment was to be similar to Butler’s Rangers, who in 1778 had fought several successful — if controversial — actions which had kept thousands of Patriot troops occupied on the New York frontier, troops who would otherwise have been fighting Clinton around New York

June, 1776, The Papers of George Washington at the Library of Congress, S. 2, Letterbooks. Online at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:3:./temp/~ammem_Hhsr

¹³² See Chapter 3.

¹³³ H Clinton to Lt Col Robert Rogers 1 May 1779, New York, Haldimand Papers, Add Mss 21820, f. 1, BL.

¹³⁴ Haldimand was told that Rogers would raise two battalions on the frontiers and that he would not recruit at the British base of Niagara- the first port of call for Loyalist refugees heading to Canada and the base and recruiting station of Butler’s Rangers and the Kings Royal Regiment of New York see Rawdon to Haldimand, 24 May 1779 New York, Add Mss 21820, f.7, BL

City.¹³⁵ Butler's unit had shown that a relatively small number of highly skilled frontiersmen could frustrate large numbers of Patriots and divert them from larger operations. The idea was that the most famous frontiersman in America could do the same thing on the New England frontiers.

Things did not work out as envisioned, however. By the autumn of 1779 Haldimand was writing frustrated letters to Rogers demanding that he move from Niagara as he was competing for recruits with established regiments. He wrote that "the Loyalists who are disposed to come in from the Mohawk River and that Neighbourhood naturally prefer enlisting with Sir John Johnson and Major Butler whose corps yet want many to complet." ¹³⁶ Yet Rogers showed no signs of taking his men anywhere near enemy lines. Haldimand added that "Major Rogers and his officers seem at a loss what to do." ¹³⁷ By the early spring of 1780 it became clear that Rogers had done little to recruit troops — he had recruited around sixty men — and there were again allegations that Rogers was drinking excessively and embezzling bounty monies. ¹³⁸ Rogers was accused by Haldimand of having "disgraced the service." ¹³⁹ In April 1780, Rogers left the regiment without permission and went to Quebec. The regiment was then left in the hands of his brother, Major James Rogers. Whilst in Quebec Rogers was confined in prison for non payment of debts, yet astonishingly Clinton did not give up on him. He dispatched Brig. Gen. Allan MacLean to "extricate" Rogers from prison if he could. ¹⁴⁰ The fact that Clinton could divert himself from the task of commanding the British Army in America, to attend to the affairs of a misbehaving Lieutenant Colonel and indeed could order a

¹³⁵ See Chapter on Butler's Rangers

¹³⁶ Haldimand to Rogers 18 September 1779 Quebec, Add Mss 21820, f.15, BL

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Capt Mathews to James Rogers, Quebec 24 April 1780, Add Mss 21820, f.55, BL; Muster Roll of the Kings Rangers 8 September 1780, Add Mss 81820, f. 83, BL

¹³⁹ Extract of Haldimand to MacLean, cited in MacLean to Clinton Halifax 28 June 1780 PRO/30/55/24,ff.173. PRO.

¹⁴⁰ MacLean to Clinton Halifax 28 June 1780, PRO/30/55/24,ff.173. PRO.

senior officer to put aside all other duties to rescue him shows not only the importance of Rogers but of the importance of the Loyalists to the British especially after the strategic reorganisation of 1778. Rogers was regarded as a recruiting beacon for Loyalists and was therefore worth saving. It has to be said that for all his faults he exhibited considerable personal magnetism which may have motivated Clinton also.

MacLean failed to save Rogers and he left America never to return. James Rogers was left in command of the regiment for the last four years of its existence. They performed garrison duty at Niagara, Quebec and St Johns in Newfoundland, their numbers never exceeded sixty.¹⁴¹ The reason for investigating this failed regiment is to show that in some cases Loyalist regiments failed in spite of the best efforts of the British. Rogers could have been a major thorn in the Patriots' side on the New England frontiers, his previous record showed him to be every bit as able a frontier fighter as John Butler, but due to personal circumstances out-with the control of the British, he failed. Rogers' failure represented the last major attempt by the British to create an American Loyalist hero.

The Southern Campaigns 1780-81

Another area where the best intentions of the British to recruit large numbers of Loyalists failed was in the Southern Colonies 1780 and 1781. As mentioned earlier, the British had changed their strategy significantly in 1778. In 1778 and 1779 the British had successfully invaded Georgia using a combination of British and Loyalist forces. Several new units had been formed in Georgia and many of these had included refugees from both North and South Carolina.¹⁴² The success in Georgia would have the effect of encouraging Germain into thinking that the British could have considerable

¹⁴¹ The Kings Rangers were disbanded at St Johns in January 1784. See Muster Roll for Kings Rangers 27 January 1784 St Johns Add Mss 21820, f. 202, BL.

¹⁴² The Georgia Light Dragoons, the Georgia Loyalists, the King's Carolina Rangers, the Royal North Carolina Regiment, see Appendix 2 for more information on these units.

success elsewhere in the South. Leslie Hall has chronicled the situation in Georgia and demonstrated that land, whether seized from Loyalists or the hope of gaining land from the Patriots contributed to Loyalist strength there.¹⁴³

The plan was to send a seaborne force to South Carolina to take Charleston and to link up with the forces from Georgia that would move into South Carolina. It was intended that by taking Charleston the British could establish a base for the army and somewhere for Loyalists refugees and potential recruits to congregate. The plan was to establish as many new units as possible at Charleston and then to establish other units as the army moved into the interior. The campaign was initially very successful but by early 1781 had reached a sort of stalemate and Cornwallis left to link up with Arnold and Maj. Gen Phillips in Virginia.¹⁴⁴

Loyalists took a major part in all of these campaigns and battles, but although recruits did come in, the supply dried up as it became clear that the campaign was not going to succeed. The plan to form new regiments was not successful either. The units raised in Georgia in 1779 were successful, but few of those raised in 1780 were.¹⁴⁵ It was initially thought that the best way to handle the expected flood of recruits would be to raise a combination of Provincial and militia units. Provincial units were generally regarded to be better soldiers but they took time to train and form, whereas militia could be raised quickly and with a minimum of administrative input from the British Army. The Provincials would be officered by British officers and suitable Americans. An example of one of these units was the South Carolina Royalists. They were a cavalry regiment raised in the summer of 1779 by Colonel Alexander Innes, the aforementioned Inspector General of Provincial forces. Innes, although a Scot with a previous commission in the

¹⁴³ Leslie Hall, *Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia*, (Athens, GA, 2001,) pp. 80-84.

¹⁴⁴ See section below the Loyalists in Combat and chapter 5. Phillips died in April 1781.

¹⁴⁵ For a full list of Southern regiments see CO 5/102/ff.102-3; see also, www.Royalprovincial.com which lists every Provincial regiment formed.

British Army, had lived in South Carolina before the war and had strong contacts in the area where he was recruiting.¹⁴⁶ The Royalists were composed of men recruited in the Carolina area, and were frequently successful in action until the close of hostilities alongside Rawdon in South Carolina in 1781. However, regiments of this type were undoubtedly expensive and took a good deal of time to organise and bring up to combat effectiveness.

By the summer of 1780, time was something that the British did not have in the Southern campaign. Cornwallis felt that he had to get troops ready quickly, because the Patriots were becoming more proficient and more numerous. In a letter to Clinton in July 1780, Cornwallis wrote that he had decided to give up raising "expensive" provincial corps.¹⁴⁷ He thought that the idea of recruiting and training new provincial regiments would "cost a great deal of money" and instead he authorised the formation of militia regiments.¹⁴⁸ He was being bombarded with requests for new corps, particularly cavalry, but had turned them all down preferring to augment the British Legion's cavalry.¹⁴⁹ This effectively sounded the death knell for new Loyalist regiments. The existing regiments continued to recruit but no new regiments were formed after 1780. The new regiments could not compete with the reputations of the existing regiments and as a result went undermanned. If they were used at all it was for garrison duty and other menial tasks. The existing units desperately needed augmenting for the reason that they saw frequent combat the Southern campaign.¹⁵⁰ Also, Northerners who went to the South were more

¹⁴⁶Warrant for raising a regiment of Loyalists in South Carolina PRO 30/11/1/ff. 38-39; Innes to Cornwallis 8 June 1779, PRO 30/11/2 /ff. 114-117.

¹⁴⁷ Cornwallis to Clinton, 14 July 1780, Charleston, PRO 30/55/24/ff. 16-17.

¹⁴⁸ Lord Cornwallis to Lt Col Nisbet Balfour, 3 July 1780 quoted in Harry M. Ward *The War of Independence*, pp. 42.

¹⁴⁹ Cornwallis to Clinton, 14 July 1780, Charleston, PRO 30/55/24/ff. 16-17.

¹⁵⁰ For example the British Legion lost almost nearly all it's infantry at Cowpens in January 1781 see British Legion Chapter.

prone to sickness than their Southern counterparts and there were high instances of fever, malaria and sunstroke.¹⁵¹ Both John Simcoe and Lord Rawdon were sent home with broken health in 1781 as a result of the harsh conditions in the South. All of which meant local recruitment was essential. This made augmentation of established Loyalist units unavoidable and ended the creation of new units.

Another major issue of Southern campaigns is the localised conflict between Loyalists and Patriots which had less to do with wider causes and more to do with local rivalries over land and social issues. Leslie Hall has chronicled this in respect to Georgia where the war at times descended into an orgy of violence between Loyalists and Patriots. These tensions were carried on into the South Carolina campaigns of 1780 and 1781. It is interesting to speculate whether the Southern Loyalists were more martial in their attitudes than their Northern counterparts and to what extent they were motivated by local jealousies and long held grudges.¹⁵²

Section 4. The Loyalists in Combat 1776-1783

This section will look at the how the Loyalist Regiments were used in combat throughout the entire war. It will highlight some of the issues which will be investigated in greater depth in the case study chapters. The questions it will raise are: were the Loyalists good soldiers; were they used to their full potential and conversely were there problems with over reliance on the Loyalists? Loyalists actually saw a great deal of combat in the Revolutionary War and by the end of which there had been several battles in which most or all of the participants were Americans. Indeed in 1782 and 1783 after the British Army had stopped fighting several Loyalist units continued the war on the frontiers until being ordered to stop by the British.

¹⁵¹ Reports on the State of Provincial Forces for 1781, CO5/184 PRO.

¹⁵² See Leslie Hall, *Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia*, pp.79-90; Walter Edgar, *South Carolina, a History*, (Columbia, SC, 1998) pp. 233-238.

The first Loyalists to see combat were those that had risen up against the Patriots in New England and in the South. There were sporadic uprisings throughout the South in 1775. In December 1775 the Royal Highland Emigrants played a significant role in the defence of Quebec.¹⁵³ In North Carolina in early 1776 hundreds of Highland Scottish emigrants rose up against the Patriot authority and were heavily defeated at the battle of Moore's Creek on 27 February 1776.¹⁵⁴

After the setback of Moore's Creek few large-scale risings took place and most Loyalist activity was organised by the British until the Southern campaigns of 1780 and 1781. The risings had signalled to the British the willingness of Loyalists to fight for them but the results demonstrated that the Loyalists needed to be organised and backed by finance, discipline and equipment to maximise their effectiveness.¹⁵⁵

The initial combats of the Provincial Regiments were not spectacularly successful. It was expedient to raise the regiments quickly and efficiently with local men, but the senior British Officers in America had to consider whether these commanders were up to the job of commanding their men in combat. The first test of a Provincial Regiment in combat was not a success. At Mamaroneck on October 19 1776, Robert Rogers' Queens Rangers were ambushed and forced to retreat by a Patriot force

¹⁵³ Allan MacLean was left in temporary charge of the Quebec garrison and his regiment were the only full sized Regiment available to the defence. They successfully resisted the Patriot assault under Montgomery and Arnold until Carleton arrived with reinforcements to break the siege see John Ferling, *Almost a Miracle: The American Victory in the War of Independence* (Oxford, 2007) p. 95.

¹⁵⁴ Six hundred of Loyalists under Colonel Allan Macdonald, the husband of Jacobite heroine Flora Macdonald, rose up in anticipation of the British expedition to the South. However, they were two weeks too early and they were utterly crushed with much loss of life see David K. Wilson, *The Southern Strategy: Britain's Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia 1775-1780* (Columbia, SC, 2005) p.33.

¹⁵⁵ Smith argues that the fact that they had risen without support convinced Governor Martin of North Carolina, that there was potentially massive support for the British in the Carolina backcountry and led him into continuously pressing for a large scale expedition there. Paul. H. Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, p. 30.

commanded by Lord Stirling.¹⁵⁶ The action was a deliberate attempt by the Patriots to humiliate Robert Rogers and discourage Loyalist recruits. As Rogers was by far the most experienced of the new commanders, it did not bode well for the other regiments. In January 1777 the newly raised second battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, was ambushed at Monmouth Courthouse in Monmouth County, New Jersey and lost thirty-four men.¹⁵⁷ These unsuccessful actions were all partially caused by rushing troops into combat and enforced the point that the Loyalist Regiments needed training before being committed to combat. After this the new Regiments were used sparingly until they were fully trained and trusted in combat which in many cases was not until late 1777 or 1778.¹⁵⁸ All the regiments formed in 1776 saw combat at some stage of the war.

The main campaigns of the Revolutionary War from 1776 until 1779 largely occurred in the Northern theatre. The British invaded the New York colony in 1776 and pushed from New York into Pennsylvania in 1777. Several Loyalist Regiments took part in this campaign. The Queens Rangers in particular would take a major role in the important Battle of Brandywine Creek on 12 September 1777.¹⁵⁹ It was at this battle that the light infantry potential was first demonstrated. The Queens Rangers defeated the Patriot Light Infantry which showed that Loyalists could match Patriot tactics like for like. It was also the first battle where a Loyalist regiment gained special praise for their role in a battle from the commanding general, Howe. All this demonstrated that if properly organised Loyalists could be as effective as British regulars and could be a genuinely effective arm of the British Army.

¹⁵⁶ For a full account of this battle see Queens Rangers Part 1.

¹⁵⁷ Todd Braisted, *A History of the Second Battalion New Jersey Volunteers*, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/njv/2njvhist.htm> accessed 2/6/2009.

¹⁵⁸ There were exceptions, the Kings Royal Regiment of New York played a major role in the Oriskany campaign of September 1777 and the 6th Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers had a very good combat record in 1777.

¹⁵⁹ See Chapter 3.

In the late summer of 1777, General Burgoyne launched an attack on the Patriots on the New York frontier which ended in defeat at Saratoga. Part of the reason for launching the campaign was to recruit Loyalists. This was not generally achieved.¹⁶⁰ Saratoga gave the Patriots a huge boost, both in terms of morale and strategically, because it eliminated a British Army at a stroke. It also enabled the Patriots to persuade the French to enter the war, thus utterly changing the war from a colonial uprising to a global conflict. On 28 June 1778, the British fought Washington's Army at Monmouth Courthouse. The result was a draw but it forced their withdrawal from Pennsylvania. There were sixteen Loyalist units who participated in some way at the battle of Monmouth Courthouse.¹⁶¹ However, as Morrissey and Hook point out in their work on Monmouth Courthouse, the Loyalists were not given important roles in the battle, being left in reserve positions and to guard the baggage train. The major exceptions were the Queens Rangers and the 2nd Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers who took major combat roles. This demonstrated that there was an imbalance in the way that some Loyalist units were used. The Queens Rangers were commanded by a British Officer and the New Jersey Volunteers were serving with the Royal Artillery.

Away from the main army, Loyalists were beginning to prove themselves on the frontiers in 1778. Butler's Rangers and the King's Royal Regiment of New York operated successfully alongside the Native Americans, almost independently of British command on the New York frontier.¹⁶² They also forced the Patriots to mount a full scale campaign

¹⁶⁰ Smith theorizes that the British often over relied on expectations of Loyalist Recruitment, see Paul Smith, *Loyalist and Redcoats*, pp.58-59.

¹⁶¹ These were not all full regiments but in many cases were detachments of units, usually about company strength: see Brendan Morrissey and Adam Hook, *Monmouth Courthouse 1778; The Last Great Battle in the North* (Osprey, 2004), p.21.

¹⁶² See Chapter 6.

on the frontiers in 1779.¹⁶³ Butler's and the King's Royal Regiment of New York were American commanded regiments, both of whom had been formed and trained with minimum interference from the British. However, their commanders-John Butler and Sir John Johnson- were vastly experienced soldiers with a great deal of experience in frontier warfare. This would suggest that it was not just regular British officers who the British trusted in command of the Loyalist regiments, but experienced soldiers. In many respects the original policy of using prominent local figures to raise Regiments proved to be flawed. It took a long time for these regiments to be used in combat and many of them were frequently relegated to reserve duties.¹⁶⁴ The degree to which regiments were used depended on several factors: the experience and reputation of the unit; the local situation of where regiments were posted; and the urgency of the situation.

The main army remained in New York until December of 1779 when General Clinton launched a major new campaign in the South by invading South Carolina. This theatre of war would be where the Loyalist Regiments would see more sustained combat than ever before. Up until 1780, the Loyalists had seen a considerable amount of combat but rarely in conjunction with other Loyalists in the main combat theatres. The Southern Campaigns would see Loyalists units fighting together in several battles and in some cases defeating Patriot armies.¹⁶⁵ The Southern Campaigns have attracted a significant amount of historiographical attention and the Loyalists' role in these campaigns is emphasised quite prominently although there are no works devoted completely to them.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Barbara Alice Mann, *George Washington's War on Native America*, (Westport CT, 2005) pp. 378-38.

¹⁶⁴ Many of the original commanders would be supplanted by younger more experienced Majors or Battalion commanders. For example Cordlandt Skinner rarely saw any combat until 1781 and Francis Legge of the Nova Scotia Volunteers spent the whole war far from the fighting in Canada.

¹⁶⁵ The Southern Campaign will be covered in detail in the chapter on the British Legion.

¹⁶⁶ Significant recent works are: John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War, The British Campaign in the Carolinas 1780-82*, (Alabama, 1985); Lawrence E. Babits, *The Devil of a Whipping; The Battle of Cowpens* (Chapel Hill, 1998); John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, (New York, 1997);

If there is a consensus amongst recent historians it is that the existing Loyalist units were extremely efficient and successful in the Southern campaigns but that with one or two exceptions the newly formed regiments were undermanned and not particularly successful and the militia were next to useless particularly after their major defeat at Kings Mountain in October 1780.

The campaign was initially a spectacular success for the British and several Loyalist regiments contributed greatly to its success.¹⁶⁷ Clinton landed near Charleston in April 1780. It fell a month later, after which Clinton returned to New York taking some of his army with him, including the Queens Rangers.¹⁶⁸ He left Cornwallis in command. Cornwallis then proceeded to advance into the interior and by the autumn of 1780 most resistance in South Carolina had been quelled after the victory at Camden on 16 August 1780, at which the British Legion and the Volunteers of Ireland played a decisive part.¹⁶⁹ After this victory Major Patrick Fergusson the commander of the Loyalist militia was despatched into the Appalachians on the border between North and South Carolina.¹⁷⁰ As mentioned above the British had put a great deal of trust in the inexpensive militia. This trust proved to be misplaced as Fergusson managed to collect over 1000 recruits to the militia but they were isolated and defeated at Kings Mountain on 7 October.¹⁷¹ Only a very small detachment of Provincial troops fought at the battle and it proved that hastily raised militia were no substitute for well trained Provincial Regiments.

David Lee Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies* (2000); Dan L. Morrill, *The Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* (Mount Pleasant, SC, 1993)

¹⁶⁷ In particular The British Legion, the New Jersey Volunteers, the Volunteers of Ireland and the Queens Rangers.

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter 4.

¹⁶⁹ See chapter on the British Legion for a full account of this battle.

¹⁷⁰ The best sources for studying this campaign are the Cornwallis Papers, which contain reports from Fergusson on his progress, PRO 30/54/ 1-20.

¹⁷¹ John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War*, p. 119.

Although the British would have further success in the Carolinas they were never to fully regain the upper hand. After a force led by Tarleton and the British Legion lost badly at Cowpens in January 1781, Cornwallis decide to head to Virginia where a brigade commanded by the Patriot turncoat Benedict Arnold and consisting of Loyalists and British regulars-including the Queens Rangers- had established itself.¹⁷² Cornwallis joined up with Arnold in May 1781 and after a summer of skirmishing with the Patriots he was besieged at Yorktown where he was forced to surrender in October 1781. After Cornwallis had left for Virginia, a rearguard commanded by Lord Rawdon-spearheaded by the Volunteers of Ireland and including the Kings American Regiment and the Prince of Wales Volunteers- successfully held the Patriots in check for most of the early summer of 1781 before being forced by weakness of numbers to retreat to Charleston.¹⁷³

So how successful were the Loyalist Regiments in combat? In general they performed relatively well. Apart from a few early setbacks, the organised regiments acquitted themselves well in most of the actions and campaigns they took part in. The major defeats where Loyalists participated in - with the exception of Cowpens- were where it was hastily raised Loyalist militia rather than Provincial Regiments. So were the Loyalists not used enough by the British? Could they have been committed in greater numbers and were they too often held in reserve or placed on garrison duty? There is some reason to suggest that many Loyalist regiments were held back too long, but it tended to be the less experienced regiments that were held back until they were needed.

¹⁷² See Chapter 4.

¹⁷³ The Kings American Regiment took a major role in the victory at Hobkirks Hill in South Carolina in 1781, Edmund Fanning their commander received a letter from his commander at the battle Lord Rawdon stating that his regiments behaviour “in the garrison and the field has been highly meritorious.” see Lord Rawdon to Edmund Fanning, Camp May 19 1781 in the Prince Edward Island Register 20 1829, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/kar/karlet11.htm> accessed 11/12/2008.

Those with experience were used frequently. It is difficult to blame the British for prioritising the regiments with combat experience and neglecting those behind the lines. By 1780 the Loyalists were being used in far greater numbers and in general the British were pleased with the results and used them again. However, there is the Smith argument that by the end of the war the British were relying too greatly on the Loyalists. Again with the war becoming global the British had little option but to rely on the Loyalists. They certainly made mistakes, the reliance on militia in 1780 being a significant one, but time was undoubtedly against the British in 1780 and they had little time to train Provincial regiments. The Provincial regiments that fought so well in 1780 had had three years to get to that standard. Possibly more units could have been raised in 1777 and 1778 but those that were raised did a good job. The case studies will examine individual regiments in combat in greater detail and will demonstrate that Loyalists Regiments did their best to win the war.

Conclusion

The War ended badly for the Loyalist regiments. Many of them were captured at Yorktown and the rest remained in New York, Charleston and various outposts on the frontiers. In 1783, they were demobilised in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Many of those that had not already left chose to remain there, where many of them helped to construct the Canadian state. Yet, this chapter has demonstrated that the Loyalist regiments can by no means be considered complete failures. They have a place in the American military tradition, one which is often neglected. By examining how the regiments were formed, administered and used in combat, this chapter and indeed the thesis has tried to reassess these issues. The chronological approach allows the detailed examination of the massive changes made in the Loyalist regiments over the course of the war. It also allows the chapter to assess the changing nature of the British response to their Loyalist regiments.

While the failure of enough men to join the British cause was a factor in the British defeat, those that did enlist in a Loyalist Regiment did not let the British down. Equally it is debatable that the British let their Loyalist soldiers down. There were serious mistakes made, especially early on in the war, but many of these were corrected after 1778. Smith argues by that stage it was too late but those Loyalists that had joined the British were undoubtedly treated well. Their families were cared for at the expense of the British and many received compensation for their losses (admittedly rarely to the full amount) and were given land in Canada. Had the war ended differently, the soldiers of the Loyalist regiments could have emerged as popular heroes but as it was they were outcast and badly treated by history.

Chapter 2

The Loyalist Regiments Organisation, Themes and Issues.

Introduction

Military Organisation does not seem as interesting a subject as battles, raids and ambushes but to properly study armies in wars it is just as vital. Before they go on the battlefield soldiers have to be recruited, mustered, disciplined, trained, clothed, paid, organised into specialties and supplied with weapons. This is never an easy task even with the full weight of a government organised for war behind an army. On the surface, the Loyalists had an advantage that their Patriot countrymen lacked in that they were backed by the British Army who could finance and supply anything they required. The reality is somewhat more complicated. Although Loyalists Regiments after 1776 were run by the Provincial Department this department did not oversee all aspects of military organisation. Much of this was arranged within the regiments themselves. Therefore there is a great deal of variation in how regiments were administered and this chapter will attempt to untangle some of the confusion. It will also address the thematic issues that will be discussed in greater detail in the case study chapters such as what motivated men to join the regiments and their backgrounds.

By investigating how the Loyalists regiments were organised, composed and what motivated them this chapter will add to a much neglected area of Revolutionary War historiography. Military organisation reveals as much about how wars are won and lost as any study of the battlefield. Napoleon's oft quoted remark about armies and stomachs is one of the truest statements about soldiers ever made. From the earliest days of warfare soldiers have needed some forms of administration. As historians like Hew Strachan, John Brewer and J.A. Houlding have demonstrated the eighteenth century was where

military organisation began to become far more sophisticated.¹ Problems were encountered and the winning sides seemed to be able to invent new solutions to overcome them. The American Revolutionary War was for both sides one of the hardest tasks for military administrators. The Patriots had to organise a whole new army and the British had to manage a war fought 2000 miles from Whitehall. There are countless works about Revolutionary War battles but very few on the organisation of the soldiers. Sylvia Frey, Holly Mayer and Robert K. Wright have all have examined organisation of the armies of the American Revolutionary War but no-one has attempted to do it for the Loyalists.² By examining the motivation and composition it is possible to gain a fuller comprehension of the kind of men who became Loyalist soldiers. To understand the Loyalist regiments as entities it is vital to understand all aspects of their Revolutionary War experiences and not just the battles.

Recruiting

The first experience a man had when he joined a Loyalist regiment was the recruiting process. Until 1777 there was no dominant method of recruiting Loyalists. The method that the British Army preferred to use was to advertise the new regiment in local newspapers, wait for recruits to come to an appointed place, and then to appoint recruiting officers and sergeants and send them out to recruit men, enticing them with the offer of a bounty.³ This method was used for many of the first Provincial Regiments such as the Nova Scotia Volunteers. As the British Army was a volunteer army, all soldiers joining were paid a sum—called a bounty—to induce them to join. This sum varied enormously

¹ J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service*, (London 1980); Hew Strachan *European Armies and the Conduct of War* (London, 1983); John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, (London, 1990).

² Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army*, (Washington, 1983); Sylvia Frey. *The British Soldier in America: A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period*. (Houston, TX, 1981); Holly Mayer, *Belonging to the Army*, (Charleston, SC, 1997).

³ J. A., Houlding, *Fit for Service*, p.50.

depending on the regiment. For example, the recruits who joined the Queens Rangers in the autumn of 1776 were paid the sum of twenty three shillings but some soldiers recruited later on in the war received as much as five guineas.⁴ Bounty monies were often only part paid by the government and the commanders and officers often made a contribution particularly if there was competition for recruits.⁵ However, this still left the British Army in America with a large bill, which considerably added to the expense of the Loyalist units.

There was an alternative system of recruiting, which was considerably cheaper, and provided inducements to potential officers. This was the system of raising units for rank.⁶ This system had been used in the French and Indian War and previous American wars.⁷ It involved recruiters being rewarded with rank according to how many recruits they could bring in. It still involved a bounty for the recruits but had the advantage that the potential officers gained increased rank—usually up to the rank of Captain—for getting as many recruits as possible, which encouraged them to pay the bounties themselves. In some respects it is like the modern inducement of performance related pay. It was regarded as a way to raise as many recruits as possible in a rapid time. Smith points out that the recruiters were encouraged to bear many of the expenses for recruiting and were not included on the officers Half-Pay list, all of which reduced expenses for the British Government.⁸ However, the system had numerous disadvantages. It meant that the

⁴ The sum of 23 guineas is mentioned in the Inspectors report to the Adjutant General 14 March 1777, TS 11/220, PRO; this poster for the Georgia volunteers gives a bounty of five guineas *The Royal Georgia Gazette*, (Savannah), 12 August 1779.

<http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/galoy/galrcrt.htm>

⁵ See Accounts of Various Provincial Regiments WO 4/28, PRO.

⁶ Lord Germain to General Howe 29 March 1777 in K. G. Davies., *Documents of the American Revolution*, Vol. 12 pp. 96; Paul Smith *Loyalists and Redcoats* pp. 34-35; 66-70;

⁷ Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War*, (New York, 2000), p. 488.

⁸ Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats* (Chapel Hill, 1964) pp. 34-35; for an explanation of the intricacies of the Half Pay system see section on Pay in this Chapter.

British had no direct control over who became officers, thus leading to men who were regarded as “improper persons,” becoming officers.⁹ Anderson argues that even in the French and Indian War the system of raising for rank was distrusted and used in desperation.¹⁰ George III disapproved of the system and tried to discourage its use.¹¹ In 1776, several early Provincial regiments were raised for rank, notably Robert Rogers’ incarnation of the Queens Rangers. In early 1777 because of numerous alleged “abuses” which the new Inspector General of Provincial Forces, Alexander Innes regarded as having brought “disgrace and ruin to the Provincial Service” the system was scrapped for Provincial units.¹² The Queens Rangers were radically reformed and the regular system of recruiting introduced to them and all other Provincial regiments.¹³ This system was adhered to until the end of the war in Provincial regiments. However, in the Southern Campaign of 1780 new Loyalist recruits were needed urgently and cheaply so the raising for rank was resurrected for militia units. However, the ranks assigned were junior to any regular British or Provincial rank. For example, the militia commanded by Major Patrick Fergusson in 1780 contained several Major Generals of Militia all under the command of the aforesaid major.¹⁴ The Provincial officers were junior to regulars of their rank but senior to regulars of lower rank which at least gave them some status.

Prohibiting recruiting for rank amongst the Provincial Regiments brought some problems, however. It was a good way of rapidly attracting recruits and without it there

⁹ For an excellent contemporary critique of this system see Alexander Innes to Henry Clinton, 9 November 1779, TS11/220.

¹⁰ Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War*, p. 488.

¹¹ George III to Lord North, 26 August 1775, in John Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III*, vol. III, No. 1702; Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats* p. 35.

¹² Alexander Innes to Henry Clinton, 9 November 1779, TS11/220; Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats* p.71.

¹³ See various documents in TS 11/220 examined in detail in Queens Rangers Part 1.

¹⁴ The Cornwallis papers contain the appointments of these militia officers. They were usually men of standing in their local communities: PRO 30/55/1-11.

were few inducements for potential recruits other than loyalty and the bounty, much of which the soldiers would have to spend on equipment. In the latter stages of the war when demand for Loyalist recruits was especially high, individual regiments tried various inducements to secure men. Some offered men land in Canada and others offered other financial inducements.¹⁵ An example is the Volunteers of Ireland who in 1778 advertised that “any person, who shall bring an approved good Recruit, shall receive Half a Guinea for each.”¹⁶ This is extremely interesting as it seems very similar to recruiting for rank but with a financial rather than a status inducement. While it did not tie the British Army into appointing officers they did not want, it seems that this method could attract those with little concern for the cause, but concern for their own financial gain. At least offering rank had attracted people who wanted to hold a commission and as the bounties offered under that system were much lower than those offered later in the war it is arguable that it could have attracted less mercenary men.

There has been some historiographical controversy over the recruiting methods employed by the British. Phillip Ranlet has questioned whether the New York Loyalists were truly volunteers. Ranlet concluded that the Loyalist regiments in New York were often made up of Patriot prisoners, convicts and in some cases impressed men. The last charge is the most controversial. The British Army, unlike the Navy, was a volunteer force. Although the practice of emptying the prisons to staff regiments was fairly common in Britain, it was not to have been employed with the Loyalist Regiments.¹⁷ The hope was for loyal Americans to flock to the colours. However, Ranlet concludes that the supply of recruits was not as free flowing as hoped and other measures has to be taken to

¹⁵ See Poster Below.

¹⁶ The Royal Gazette 9 May 1778, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/voi/voircrt.htm> accessed 2/4/2009

¹⁷ Stephen Conway, The Recruitment of Criminals into the British Army, 1775-1781 in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. LVIII (1985) pp.46-58.

fill up the ranks of the Loyalist regiments. He contends that recruiting parties were often sent out into villages in New York State with quotas that they were supposed to meet and that men were often forced into service.¹⁸ To support Ranlet's view there is the testimony of the Native American Loyalist Joseph Brant who related of story of some of his warriors having to go into hiding to avoid being pressed into Butler's Rangers on the New York frontiers.¹⁹ Sir John Johnson formed the Kings Royal Regiment of New York largely from his tenants.²⁰ Whether this makes them volunteers in the strictest sense is a difficult question as Johnson could have made threats about their tenancies.

It is possible to take issue with some of Ranlet's arguments by stating that there is little evidence of the practice taking place outside of New York and if it had been truly widespread the Loyalists would have been far more numerous than they were. Forced recruiting was never authorised by the Provincial Service but was carried out by individual recruiting parties taking matters into their own hands and exceeding their remit. As impressing men was illegal, it has to be argued that it was a dangerous practice and most recruiting was done legally with bounties being offered. Corruption did happen and there were instances of fictional bounties being claimed but again where this occurred action was taken to prevent it happening again.²¹ The British were always very conscious of their need to attract rather than discourage Loyalists and nothing could be more discouraging than widespread enforced recruitment.

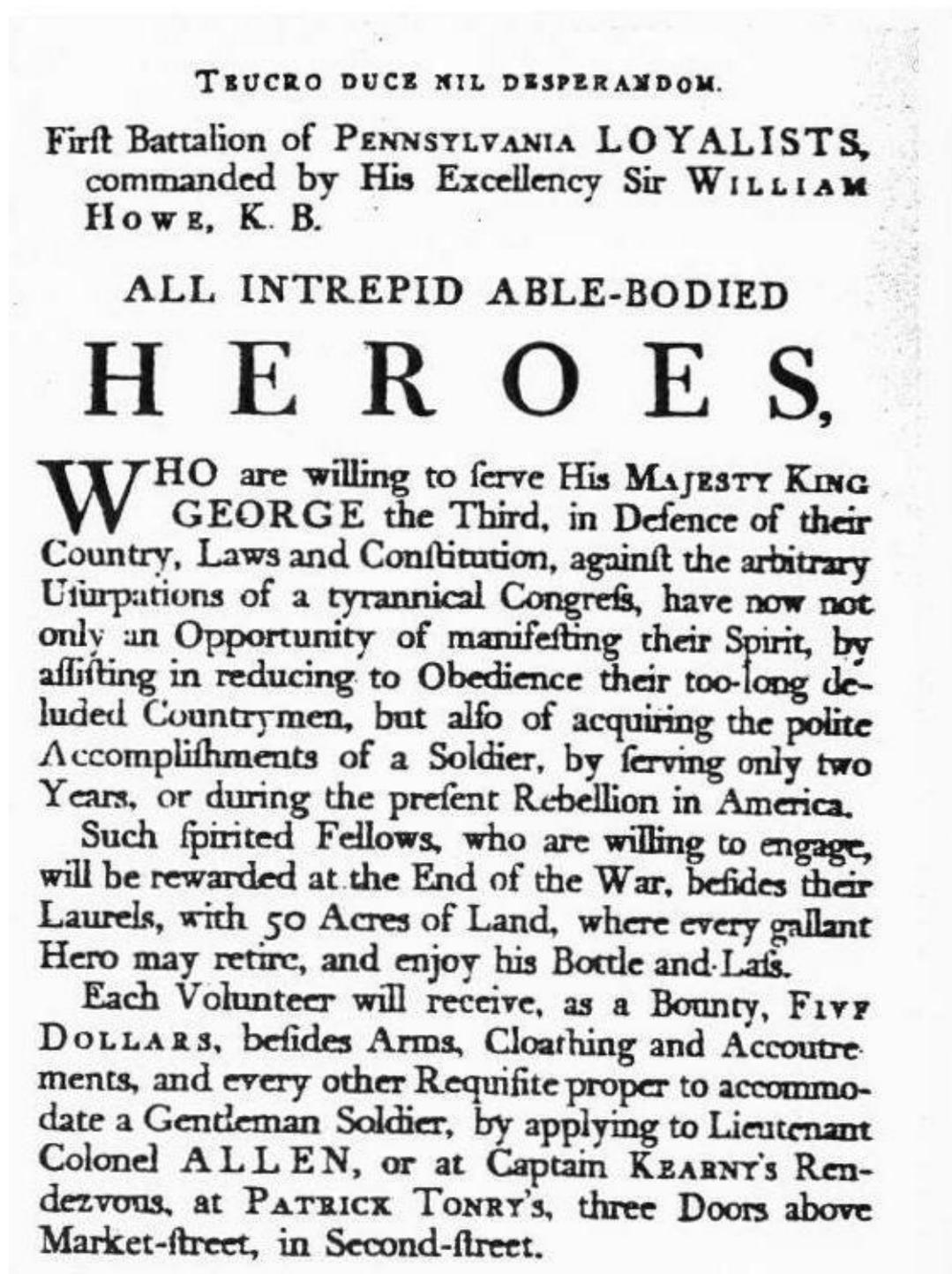
¹⁸ Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, p. 105.

¹⁹ Joseph Brant cited in William Smy, *Recruiting and Administering the Corps* in William Smy, *An Annotated Roll of Butler's Rangers 1777-1784 With Documentary Sources*, (St Catherine's, Ont. 2004), p. 12

²⁰ E.A. Cruickshank, "The Kings Royal Regiment of New York" in *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* (1931 vol. 27) pp. 193-323, p.194.

²¹ Several Officers of the Queens Rangers were accused of this in 1777, see Chapter 3.

The Recruiting Poster below is for the Pennsylvania Loyalists, raised by Colonel Isaac Allen in late 1777. The rewards it offers are quite significant, not only a sizable bounty of five pounds but fifty acres of land after the war.²²



²² Facsimile of a Recruiting Poster for Pennsylvania Loyalists, in 1777 online at <http://www.conservapedia.com/images/9/97/Loyalist.jpg> accessed 12/5/2009.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the main reasons for the Southern campaigns of 1779-1781 was the view that the South was the ideal place to find recruits, to create new units and augment existing ones. There was certainly a major recruiting drive in Georgia in 1779 and South Carolina in 1780. Several new regiments were created and high bounties were offered to attract recruits to the various new regiments, given the increase in competition. A recruiting poster from Georgia in 1779 stated that Bounties for an infantry regiment had risen to the sum of five guineas, over five times the sum of twenty shillings that was common in 1776.²³ This brings up the issue of whether there was a distinction in the type of recruits the Loyalists attracted in the later stages of the war. Were the most enthusiastic men recruited in the earliest stages of the war and therefore did the later men have to be induced by increased offers? The potential risks were certainly greater as British victory was by no means assured by 1779 so the men would have had to consider their choices more carefully. This makes inducements a vital part of recruitment. It is possible that many of the later recruits were motivated by financial gain but against this there is the issue of the brutality of the Southern campaigns and the fact that potential Loyalists were at risk of their lives even after they had been captured, which may have put many men off.

Yet despite the larger bounties, the new regiments did not attract as many recruits as they had hoped for in the South. The new regiments created competition for recruits with the existing regiments, who naturally were given priority as they were frequently in combat and had high rates of attrition. This meant that many of the new Southern units

²³ *The Royal Georgia Gazette*, (Savannah), 12 August 1779.

<http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/galoy/galrcrt.htm> accessed 8/8/2008.

found it difficult to get recruits and therefore they were not used in combat as they were too small. Smith contends that the opportunity to recruit Southerners had been in 1776 and not in 1780.²⁴ It is hard to argue with Smith on this issue. The Provincial regiments did attract recruits and several new units were formed but not in the numbers hoped for.²⁵

The case studies will highlight many of the recruiting issues raised above in respect to the individual regiments studied. The Queens Rangers chapter will examine raising for rank in depth and will also look at recruiting patterns over time in that regiment. The Butler's Rangers chapter will look at the problems of how commanders financed recruiting drives. On balance there were many mistakes with the recruiting system and many mistakes were made, both by the Provincial Service and by individual regiments and even recruiters but it is hard to see what else could be done as none of the recruiting systems were perfect. Some latitude had to be given to individual regiments in their practises as they were often risking life and limb to do the recruiting. Had the British used British recruiters under a strictly managed system then they might have had uniformity but they might not have recruited so many men as at least the recruiters from the Loyalist regiments were Americans who could attract their fellow countrymen. If there was a fall in the number of recruits towards the end of the war it is not from lack of effort but because the war was going badly.

Composition

One of the biggest questions hanging over any study of Loyalist soldiers, is who were they? Where were did they come from, and what were their backgrounds? To

²⁴Paul H. Smith *Loyalists and Redcoats*, p. 139.

²⁵ Exact figures are almost impossible to come by as the muster rolls are not always clear on where troops were recruited. Smith's figures for Provincial soldiers given in his 1968 article are estimates and it is possible to challenge many of his totals by examining just one regiment. The case study of the Queens Rangers will attempt to do just that as the dated base constructed on that regiment contradicts Smith's figure for the Queens Rangers significantly.

answer these questions, is not an easy task as the records that could provide answers to these questions are widely spread and often incomplete.²⁶ Militant Loyalists were diverse socially, geographically and ethnically. Nelson's idea of "conscious minorities" defined the Loyalists as a political group drawn together because of the oppression they had received. Nelson's thesis is relevant to Loyalist soldiers, although there are distinct differences from his "American Tories" and the soldiers who made up the rank and file. The people that he and Wallace Brown studied were largely political Loyalists, educated, wealthy people, who left much more in the way of recorded testimony of their thoughts and actions.²⁷ The soldiers were from all stations in life with no one background predominating. Establishing the composition of the regiments, however, is important to forming a wider picture of the militant loyalists, especially as they are much so socially different to the political Loyalists who left in 1775.

How then to set about evaluating the composition of the Loyalist regiments? Each of the Loyalist regiments was different in terms of the backgrounds and origins of the soldiers in it but there are patterns which can sometimes be identified. Where a regiment was from a clearly defined geographical location, such as the South Carolina Loyalists, then there is some shared identification between the men. Equally there were regiments designed to be composed of men from the same national background, such as the Royal Highland Emigrants or the Volunteers of Ireland. However, none of these distinctions were absolute as by the end of the war all the Loyalist regiments would have to recruit out of the originally defined parameters due to casualties and desertion.

²⁶ These records could be tax lists, church records, town records and other local documents. Even if these records could be gathered together it is difficult to prove that the men listed are the same as those of the same name listed on the Loyalist Muster Rolls as the military records do not provide this information.

²⁷ William Nelson, *The American Tory* (London 1961); Wallace Brown, *The Kings Friends* (New York 1963).

The factor which diversified even the most geographically defined regiment was that of social class. Loyalist soldiers were from a wide variety of class backgrounds and previous occupations.²⁸ In the Revolutionary War British Army, class differences were clearly defined. Officers were aristocrats and gentry and the men largely came from the lowest strata of society.²⁹ The Loyalist regiments were far more diverse than this. Commissions were not purchased, which therefore meant that all commissions were down to the whims of senior officers, both in the British Army or the Provincial Service. This often led to a far greater diversification in background amongst Loyalist officers.³⁰ Many of the officers had served in the French and Indian war or were men of standing in their local communities. This does not necessarily mean that they came from wealthy or privileged backgrounds. This is not to say that a social divide between officers and men did not exist in the Loyalist Regiments. There was a variance from regiment to regiment. Frontier units like Butler's Rangers tended to have experienced frontiersmen both as officers and in the ranks whereas other regiments, particularly those commanded by British Officers like the post 1777 Queens Rangers or the British Legion had officers who

²⁸ This data is not easy to come by and full study of social backgrounds has not been attempted. Tax lists are a good source but many of the soldiers were not wealthy enough to be listed on them. The case studies have examined small samples where data was available.

²⁹ This would usually hold for those of both rural and urban backgrounds. Those from middle class backgrounds, who could not afford to purchase a commission, would sometimes achieve a sort of halfway point in being appointed to non commissioned rank. Sergeant Roger Lamb who served in the 23rd Regiment and chronicled his experiences, came from a middle class background and was promoted to corporal very early in his career see Alan J. Guy, *The Army of the Georges 1714-83* in David Chandler, *The Oxford History of the British Army*, (Oxford, 1994) pp94-95, 103-105: Mark Urban, *Fusiliers*, (London, 2007), p.145.

³⁰ For example a delegation of Officers from the Queens Rangers wrote to General Howe complaining about other officers in their regiment who were of "mean extraction, without any degree of education sufficient to qualify them to bear his Majesty's commission", they went on to say that there were "Tavern Keepers" and "keepers of bawdy houses" amongst the officers. See, Petition of Maj. Armstrong and his fellow officers (ND 1777), TS 11\221, PRO.

were approved for commissions by the British High command and often tended to be from a landed or professional background.³¹

Social distinctions amongst the rank and file were also varied. There were loyalists who had been artisans, labourers, farmers and farm workers and clerks.³² The overwhelming profession of most eighteenth century Americans was agricultural work and this is also reflected amongst the Loyalists.³³ While some Loyalists owned land others were tenants or farm labourers.³⁴ Many of them had been forced off their farms in upper New York and New England and fled to the British Lines in Canada and New City where they joined regiments. Various artisans were represented in the regiments. The former professions of these men were often put to use in the regiments. Loyalists also served in the various ancillary departments of the British Army in America, such as the Commissary or the Wagon Master's departments.³⁵

³¹ All commissions in the Provincial service had to be approved by High Command. The commanders could make recommendations but they were not always approved. For examples of these recommendations Orderly Book of General Howe 1775-1776, PRO 30/55/106-7, PRO.

³² There are no works which have identified the various professions of Loyalists soldiers as a mass group. William Smy has chronicled all the available information for every man in Butler's Rangers has amassed a very varied group of men, see William Smy, *An Annotated Nominal Roll of Butler's Rangers 1777-1778 With Documentary Sources* (St Catherine's Ont. 2004).

³³ Terry Bouton, *Independence on the Land: Small Farmers and the American Revolution*, in *American Revolution, People and Perspectives*, Andrew Frank, ed. (Santa Barbara, CA, 2008) pp. 13-14.

³⁴ Stephen Jarvis of the Queens Rangers, was a farmers son from Connecticut, James Moody of the New Jersey Volunteers owned his own farm in New Jersey, see Stephen Jarvis, *Narrative of Stephen Jarvis* in J.J. Talman, *Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada*, (Toronto, 1966); James Moody, *James Moody's Narrative of his Exertions and Sufferings in the Cause of Government Since the Year 1776*, (London, 1783).

³⁵ The Records of the Commissary General department are in AO 1/627, PRO: The Carleton Papers also contain the records of the Ancillary Departments of the British Army in Army in America, see PRO 30/55.

There was also considerable variance in national and ethnic groups amongst the Loyalists. Nationality of Loyalists is an oft discussed area.³⁶ Were British born men more likely to become Loyalists than American born men? Harry M. Ward has argued that “three fourths of Loyalists were European born” by the end of the war.³⁷ This would suggest that it was indeed the case that there was a distinct preponderance of non American born men in the Loyalist ranks. Most muster rolls do not give nationality so it is a very difficult thing to prove.³⁸ So while Ward’s claims are debateable, particularly considering the fact that most Loyalist regiments recruited extensively in the south in 1780 and 1781, it does bring up the issue of just how “American” the Loyalists were. In some respects it could be said that nationality did not really matter if all the nationalities were treated equally. However, there were some regiments which were formed with the express intention of recruiting British born men. The question is, were these units treated better than more “American” units?

Three Loyalist Regiments were originally designed to consist of British born men.³⁹ These regiments had British regular commanders and all saw considerable service. This might suggest that the regiments may have been shown more favour than regiments with a preponderance of Americans. However, despite the original recruitment intentions of these regiments they were all forced to withdraw their stringent recruitment policies as the War progressed as both of these regiments while originally designed to consist of British born soldiers, had high casualty rates in 1780 and 1781 and could not afford to be

³⁶ Ethnic Groups such as Black Loyalists and Native Americans will be discussed in the Motivation section.

³⁷ Ward does not give any sources for this claim. Harry M. Ward, *The War of Independence and the Transformation of American Society*, (London, 1999), p.41.

³⁸ This author has seen only one set of rolls that do give nationality, these were from the Queens Rangers in 1780, see Queens Rangers part 2.

³⁹ The British Legion, the Royal Highland Emigrants and the Volunteers of Ireland. The Queens Rangers, after March 1777 had a British commander and a Highland Company but the rest of their companies drew no national distinctions.

choosy as to the nativity of their recruits.⁴⁰ This meant that even the most “British” of Provincial regiments would almost certainly have contained a sizeable number of American born men. However, if there was a difference in how the regiments were used due to the nationality of their commanders then it is an issue worth investigation.

Were the Queens Rangers, the Royal Highland Emigrants, the Volunteers of Ireland or the British Legion given superior treatment because they had British Commanders? They were well equipped and saw a lot of combat. The previous chapter has demonstrated that many American commanded regiments were used extensively in combat. In 1778 Lord Germain wrote that Loyalists would be happier being commanded by Americans.⁴¹ There were several American born Brigadier Generals and one Major General. However, none of them were ever given command over British regulars in the field. Yet the British Loyalist commanders, MacLean, Rawdon, Tarleton, and Simcoe all commanded British regulars alongside their Loyalist units and Alexander Innes, the British born Inspector General of Provincials, was also given a Provincial regiment, the South Carolina Royalists. The British also introduced a considerable number of regular junior officers into the provincial ranks. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Muster Master General, Edward Winslow, complained about the British using the Provincial Regiments as a repository for officers who fell short of the standards required in frontline regular units.⁴² Yet, of the Provincial regiments raised after 1778, the most successful of them had British commanders. So is it a case of American officers not being trusted to command British regulars whereas the British born Provincial officers—of junior rank to the Provincial Brigadiers—were given independent commands, on the basis of nationality?

⁴⁰ See Chapter 6.

⁴¹ Germain to Clinton, 8 March 1778, in PRO CO 5/95/ff. 35

⁴² Edward Winslow to ? 13 November 1778 quoted in W.O. Raymond, *Roll of Officers of the British American or Loyalist Corps*, in *New Brunswick Historical Society* 1904 vol. 2, pp.224-272, at p. 225.

The issue is very complex. Possibly it was not the nationality that was the issue but that of professionalism over amateurism. British regulars would not accept being commanded by a soldier they regarded as an amateur and none of the American Provincial commanders had held regular rank, whereas, the abovementioned British officers all held regular commissions even if their ranks were relatively junior. Even these men were not entirely trusted by regular older officers. Many of them complained about being commanded by these very young men.⁴³ So it is possible to suggest that if there was an issue that prejudiced the British Army against the Provincials it was not of ethnicity but of professionals over amateurs and experience over youth. This would also hold for the ordinary soldiers. Once the Provincial units were considered trained enough they were used in combat and if they proved themselves then they would be used more often. This is not to suggest that the British were without prejudice, but it is possible to argue that especially after 1778 the need for Loyalists outweighed any prejudices.

The composition of the Loyalist Regiments can be compared to that of the Continental Army.⁴⁴ The Continentals contained many men of similar backgrounds to the Loyalists. Niemeyer's investigated the social backgrounds of Continental Army soldiers and found considerable variance. This is because continentals were able to choose from a large range of the population in areas where the British Army were not present. There were also a wide variety of national backgrounds represented in the Colonial Army, including British born citizens. While it is often estimated that such men were more likely to be Loyalists this is by no means necessarily the case and the reasons for picking a particular side were often more complex than nationality.

⁴³ The Commander of the 71st Highlanders would protest strongly about being commanded by a "mere boy" in Tarleton, Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, (Ann Arbor, 1997), p.333.

⁴⁴ K. Wright, *The Continental Army*; Charles Patrick Neimeyer, *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army*.

As stated earlier it is very difficult to accurately establish the social and national composition of the Loyalist regiments. What is definite is that there was no one pattern. The regiments were socially and nationally diverse, which makes them in some ways a genuinely American Army as they share the diverse characteristics of America itself in the eighteenth century and later.

Motivation

This section will examine what motivated men to fight in the Loyalist Regiments. Investigating what motivated men, who have been dead for 200 years, to fight for a cause is by its nature a speculative affair. It is made more complicated that the American Revolution was a Civil War yet unlike the American Civil War, it was not a war that was constructed almost entirely on geographical as well ideological lines. So how does a historian construct a model as to what motivated Loyalist soldiers to risks their lives, homes, reputation and families? There is no one answer and no one model. It depends on numerous factors. Ideology did play a part, so did geography, ethnicity, comradeship, intimidation and potential rewards.⁴⁵ The problem is that for all the attractions of these factors each of them can be partially deconstructed as single factor.

Ideology was undoubtedly an important factor in influencing military Loyalists. While there were certainly many who fully believed in the British cause right or wrong, for others the decision was more complicated. The concept of the Whig Loyalist is an interesting one. Many Loyalists, although not completely agreeing with the actions of the British Government in the years before the Revolution, thought that violently leaving Britain and declaring independence was a step too far. Three of the most prominent militant Loyalists, Timothy Ruggles, Robert Rogers, and Cordlandt Skinner all fit into this grouping. Ruggles had represented Massachusetts at the Stamp Act Congress,

⁴⁵ <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/facts/ofrproc1.htm>

and Rogers and Skinner had played their cards close enough to their chest until 1775, that they were both offered high commands in the Continental Army.⁴⁶ As men joined the Loyalist regiments throughout the war and not in one mass group in 1775 or 1776, this would suggest that many who would have violently disagreed with the Stamp Act in 1765 could have been found amongst the Loyalist ranks.

The problem with proving ideological convictions, however, is a lack of evidence. There are some testimonies of Loyalty from Loyalist soldiers, although far more from officers than from ordinary soldiers. The testimonies from Sergeants Mundy and Jarvis—examined in the Queens Rangers case studies— provide unique insights into the motivation of enlisted men, but they are rare. By far the most common document in which these sentiments were expressed were memorials, which were usually sent to a senior officer by junior officers. The following memorial is a good example of a Loyalty declaration by officers of the Guides and Pioneers: “That your Memorialists from pure principles of Loyalty and Attachment to His Majestys Person and Government, left their plentiful habitations, to support that Government by Acting in the most precarious Station.”⁴⁷ This would seem to be an ideological declaration, yet a memorial was a document asking for some sort of compensation, be it financial or otherwise, and this document is no exception.⁴⁸ There are occasional testimonies of Loyalists taunting

⁴⁶ Ruggles had fail to sign the declaration against the Stamp Act and became identified as a Loyalist after that, Skinner was Speaker of the House of Representatives in New Jersey until 1775 only making his decision in December of that Year. See Chapter 1; Rogers played both sides off against each other until he was forced to make a decision by being imprisoned on Washington’s orders, see Chapter 3.

⁴⁷Natl. Vernon, Abraham Ireddel, Abraham Pastorius, John Knight, Lts of the Guides and Pioneers to General Guy Carleton 3 September 1783 PRO 30/55/10162 online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/g&p/gpmem1.htm> accessed 12/8/2009.

⁴⁸ The chapter Queens Rangers Part 2 includes a letter from Sgt Mundy which expresses his zeal for the cause, but also asking for a commission. This document is a rare example of one from a Non

enemies and expressing their Loyalty but again this was often in the heat of battle and was as much to gain an advantage over their enemy as anything else. In 1783, Major Dulany of the Maryland Loyalists, gave a very interesting testimony in which he expressed the complicated ideological situation that many Loyalists found themselves in. He wrote to the Commander in Chief, Guy Carleton, stating that if America received Independence he could no longer fight for the British. He stated: "My duty as a subject, the happiness which America enjoyed under the British Government, and the miseries to which she would be reduced by an independency, were the motives that induced me to join the British Army; nor are there any dangers, or difficulties, that I would not cheerfully undergo, to effect a happy restoration. But, at the same time, that I acted, with the greatest zeal, against my rebellious countrymen, I never forgot that I was an American."⁴⁹ This is an excellent declaration of principles and demonstrates just exactly what Loyalists had to put themselves through to serve the British. Not only a material risk, but one which troubled many a conscience.

The other factors are equally complex. There were no clear-cut geographical divisions in the Revolutionary War. Loyalist soldiers came from all the colonies. While it was more likely that they would come from colonies that were occupied by the British, for example New York, there were no colonies that were split exactly one way or the other. Equally, colonies that were held to be predominantly Patriot in sympathy, like

Commissioned officer but also fall into the category mentioned above as being a plea for some sort of compensation.

⁴⁹ He continues: "If therefore, sir, Independence should be granted, and the war still continued, I should deem it extremely improper to remain in a situation, obliging me to act either directly or indirectly against America." Major Walter Dulany, Maryland Loyalists to General Carleton, New York 13 April 1783, PRO 30/55/10078 online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/mdloy/mdllet5.htm>, accessed 12/8/2009.

Massachusetts and Virginia, contributed considerable numbers of Loyalists to the Regiments.

Ethnicity is an interesting factor. Would a soldier join because everyone else in his ethnic group was joining? Numerous ethnic groups contributed considerable numbers of Loyalists, notably African Americans, Native Americans, Scots, Irish and other Europeans. There were several thousand Black Loyalists and they have attracted recent work by Simon Schama.⁵⁰ Native Americans were equally divided, depending on which side their tribe allied with.⁵¹ Other ethnic groups were represented on both sides although there certainly did seem to be a preponderance of Highland Scots in the British Ranks. The Highland Scots may have chosen the British out of Loyalty but there is also the factor of intimidation.

Scottish Highlanders living in North Carolina complained of intimidation on ethnic grounds, which may have been a factor in their decision when war came.⁵² They certainly provided considerable numbers of soldiers to the Royal Highland Emigrants and the Queens Rangers. Many people became Loyalists, not through choice, but because they would not commit to the patriots. An example of this was the Loyalist spy and officer of the New Jersey Volunteers James Moody, a Sussex County, New Jersey, farmer who was attacked for refusing to declare his Loyalty to the Patriots.⁵³ Thousands of Refugees flooded into Niagara and other Canadian frontier posts in 1776 and 1777.⁵⁴

⁵⁰The Black Pioneers served for the length of the war-although they were not a combat regiment- and the Black Hussars saw combat in 1782, but equally there were many African Americans who fought for the Patriots. Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings*, (London, 2005.), pp. 87, 101, 220.

⁵¹ See the Chapter on Butler's Rangers for more detail on the Native American Loyalists

⁵² Robert De Mond, *North Carolina Loyalists during the Revolution*, (Durham NC, 1940) p.77; Wallace Brown, *The Kings Friends*, pp207-208.

⁵³ James Moody, *James Moody's Narrative of his Exertions and Sufferings in the Cause of Government Since the Year 1776*, (London, 1783) p. 6; Susan Shenstone, *So ObstinateLY Loyal, James Moody 1744-1809*, (Montreal 2002) p.2.

⁵⁴ See Hazel Mathews, *The Mark of Honor*, pg. 10.

Their reasons for being forced from their farms were often that they had refused to sign declarations similar to that proffered to Moody. They had taken no active role in opposing the Revolution; they had just not actively supported it. Of these refugees, many joined Loyalist Regiments so that they could take a more active revenge against their tormentors.⁵⁵ As well as being forced from their farms Loyalists frequently had their land seized from them formally by Patriot local authorities. This was a common occurrence throughout the war.⁵⁶

The question of vengeance is one that will emerge as a motive for Loyalists frequently throughout this dissertation. This could be for the factors mentioned above, intimidation and land seizures or reprisals. This often created conditions for brutality especially in areas where full British authority was not present. The frontiers of New York, Georgia and the Carolinas are examples of these conditions. The case studies will examine vengeance as a motivating factor, in respect of the men of the British Legion and Butler's Rangers Thomas Humphrey has chronicled how the tenants of the Hudson Valley in New York rose up against their Patriot landlords the Livingstone family in 1775 and 1776.⁵⁷ Many of them went on to join Loyalist regiments.

All these factors can go part of the way to explaining what motivated men to join the regiments but not what kept them there. James Macpherson's brilliant study of American Civil War soldiers, "Of Cause and Comrades" defined factors that kept men in the ranks during a long war. He looked at comradeship, religion, ideology and vengeance, all factors relative to the Loyalists.⁵⁸ Wallace Brown examined religion and particularly

⁵⁵ Many of these Refugees were recruited into Butler's Rangers or the Kings Royal Regiment of New York, see Chapter 6.

⁵⁶ See Thomas J Humphrey, *Land and Liberty: Hudson Valley Riots in the Age of Revolution*, (DeKalb, IL, 2004) Ch. 4: Leslie Hall, *Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia*, Ch 4-5.

⁵⁷ Thomas J Humphrey, *Land and Liberty*, pp75-82.

⁵⁸ James Macpherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*, (Oxford, 1997).

Anglicanism as a motivating factor for Loyalists.⁵⁹ Many Loyalist soldiers were Anglican but equally many were not, there would have been Presbyterians in regiments with large numbers of lowland Scots in regiments like the Queens Rangers or the British Legion and there was also a regiment consisting entirely of Roman Catholics.⁶⁰ Comradeship is one of the most important factors. Friendship and a shared sense of experience are common factors in all wars and by developing relationships out with family groups the men had an additional reason to remain with the colours.⁶¹ As stated in the introduction there is no single motivating factor for Loyalist soldiers. Each man would have been entirely different. Even recorded testimonies do not tell the full story. Yet this is the ultimately the case for volunteer soldiers in all wars.

Supplies

The most important priority for any regiment, after recruits, was supplies and equipment. Every Loyalist regiment had to be fully equipped before they could be used in combat. A divisional commander would be reluctant to risk troops whose weapons might let them down. Ranlet argues that Loyalist units were often under equipped and were given second choice of weapons after the regular units.⁶² He ascribes the slow start of the New York Volunteers to the fact that the British were reluctant to spend money on the Loyalists in early 1776. He says that the British refused to equip the New York Volunteers properly because of the financial outlay it would have entailed.⁶³ Ranlet argues that this treatment had a negative effect on recruitment. He also cites the evidence of the Muster master General of Loyalist forces Edward Winslow who in 1779 described

⁵⁹ Wallace Brown, *The Kings Friends*, (Ann Arbor, 1965), pp.70, 121.

⁶⁰ The Roman Catholic Volunteers, formed in Philadelphia in 1777 and merged in the Volunteers of Ireland in 1778, see Table in Appendix.

⁶¹ Comradeship has been studied by the above mentioned Macpherson, by Stephen Ambrose, by and by Sylvia Frey who developed the idea of military communities.

⁶² Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, (Knoxville, 1986), p.105

⁶³ Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, p.105

the poor supply situation of the New York Volunteers in 1776, he stated that: “Sensible Men who were zealots in the Kings cause had anticipated the most cordial welcome and ample support to such as should join the troops. They were exceedingly disconcerted at the treatment of these volunteers. It was not credited that a General whose command was so excessive could possibly want the power to furnish the common necessaries for 200 men.”⁶⁴ As the man responsible for administering the Loyalist regiments, Winslow’s evidence can be regarded as a reliable guide which demonstrates that the Loyalists were not General Howe’s main priority in 1776. In Howe’s defence the context of the war has to be taken into account. He was at the start of his campaign in New York and the frontline regiments were his priority rather than new untrained units. However, after 1776, while there is evidence to suggest that some Loyalist units were still given low priority for arms, it generally tended to be those who were far from combat.⁶⁵

As with so much relating to the Loyalists there were two classes of regiment and some Provincial units were better equipped than others. For example no expense was spared on the Queens Rangers and the British Legion, many of whom were equipped with more expensive rifles. These regiments both had British officers in command, and both the commanders, Simcoe and Tarleton, would have had more leverage with the Quartermasters and Commissary department, particularly as they were highly regarded by General Clinton. However, the nationality of the commanders is not necessarily the sole reason for them being better equipped than some units, rather that they were regularly

⁶⁴ Winslow to Jeffries 1779 in Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists*, p. 105.

⁶⁵ A document in the Haldimand Papers from a Captain Leake in Canadian command talks about the poor standard of weapons given to his men “arms of his detachment all unfit for service, being old French muskets without bayonets” He goes on memorably to say: I need not explain to his excellency the figure an old grayheaded fellow will make at the head of a raw indisciplined people with bad arms in their hands, my old withered face blushes at the thought of it. I hope the general will be good enough to prevent from appearing in this mortifying situation by ordering arms delivered to us.” Add Mss 21821, f. 29 BL.

used in combat and even the most obstinate clerk in charge of supplies would have trouble denying them to front-line units and therefore risking the wrath of senior officers. The New York Volunteers and the New Jersey Volunteers had American commanders and both saw much combat and were equipped accordingly.⁶⁶

This brings up an important point about many Loyalist Regiments. Those who did not actively serve in combat were often given low priority for recruits, arms and supplies. This meant that the men often became disheartened and were tempted into desertion. A regiment with a high desertion rate was therefore less likely to be put into combat as it would have been feared that they would not stand up well to the stresses of combat. It is hard to blame the British entirely for this, they needed the most efficient regiments in the fighting zone and once a regiment had fallen into a state of neglect it was not an easy thing to bring the regiment out of neglect. Thus the neglect, if there was any, was not for any ulterior motives but simply because regiments that were threatened by the enemy had a greater need than those who were not in immediate danger.

If there was any neglect, there were also attempts from the Provincial Service to do something about it. It was Colonel Alexander Innes' job to ensure that that all the Provincial regiments were properly equipped to fight. In April 1778 he inspected the Kings Orange Rangers in New York City and found them in a "wretched situation."⁶⁷ He found evidence of "neglect and inattention in every part of duty." This situation prompted Innes to take a strong line in regards to the poor standards of equipment in Provincial units as a whole. He wrote:

The Inspector General is also obliged to remark in
general that proper attention has not been paid to the repeated

⁶⁶Report on Provincial Regiments Alexander Innes to Lord Germain 15 December 1780 CO5 /101/ff.178-179

⁶⁷ Col. Alexander Innes to General Clinton, 30 April 1778, New York, MacKenzie Papers 1778 f.8 Clements Library.

orders relative to furnishing the troops with a proper supply of necessaries. He therefore begs leave to request that the Provincial Troops should be cleared with to the 24 April and previous to such clearance they should be furnished with three good shirts, three pairs stockings, two pairs of shoes, two pairs of linen trousers and a black velvet stock, those necessaries to be examined by the Inspector or Deputy at the next inspection and a report made accordingly to the General commanding in New York.⁶⁸

This would suggest that there was a serious problem with supplies in the Loyalist regiments. However, it also suggests that the British command *was* ordering that they were to be properly equipped, and that these orders were not being met by the auxiliary departments responsible for equipping the troops. There was no separate Provincial Commissary department, and therefore all supplies came from British stores, who might naturally favour British regiments unless they were specifically told otherwise. The fact that Innes had to go to the lengths of writing to the Secretary of State for America to ensure these basic supplies, demonstrated that there was indeed a problem, but the fact that such an influential man as Innes, who had Clinton's respect, was able to raise the issue ensured that it was more likely to be dealt with. The problems would not necessarily be solved but the fact that Innes was alive to the issues ensured that there was official recognition of the difficulties. E. Wayne Carp demonstrates that the Continental Army faced similar supply problems.⁶⁹ They were beset with supply problems which were exacerbated by misappropriating of supplies by both soldiers and civilians. Carp argues that while these issues remained for the whole war they were considerably

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ E Wayne Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure: Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775-1783*, (Chapel Hill, NC, 1990) pp.66-67.

improved by the changes instituted by Baron Von Steuben in 1778. Innes does not explicitly mention that the Loyalist's supply situation suffered as a result of criminal behaviour there is strong chance that this was the case.

By 1781, Innes had improved the situation somewhat and there were Provincial storage facilities in New York and Charleston. The following table is compiled from a document drawn up by Innes in 1781 which lists the total amount of clothing for provincials held in store in New York and Charleston:

Items	Sergeants	Drummers	Privates
Coats	494	200	9708
Jackets	80	38	654
Waist Coats	631	204	10089
Breeches	495	199	8279
Sashes	210		
Belts and Slings		101	
Leather Breeches			1700
Shirts			12201
Stocks and Buckles			8233
Shoes Pairs			16220
Stockings Pairs			8134
Buckles Pairs			3416
Boots Pairs			1128
Shoe Soles pairs			18554
Hats			6166
Mittens			3343
Leggings			21121

White Epaulets			718
Yellow Epaulets			692
Gold Epaulets			22

Source: State of Cloathing in New York and Charleston, Alex. Innes, 25 April 1781, Clinton Papers Vol. 53, f. 25, Clements Library, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/supp/supstat1.htm> accessed 12/11/2008.

This table demonstrates the vast range of equipment that the British had to provide to its Provincial soldiers. It is roughly equivalent to that issued to British regulars, although there were differences in style and colour. While some of it is ceremonial or for decoration much of it was essential to the soldier's survival in harsh weather. Also it is important to point out that this was the clothing that was in Army storage and not the clothing that the soldiers were actually wearing or those that were in regimental stores for day to day use. The document does not include officer's clothing which they were expected to provide themselves.

The British appear to have improved supplies to the Loyalists from 1778.⁷⁰ They had to supply not only Loyalist soldiers but civilian Loyalists. Most British regiments had some women and children attached to them, who were on the regimental strength, but many of those in the Provincial regiments had their wives and children with them when they were not on campaign.⁷¹ These families were catered for by the British, which meant that they spent a considerable amount of time and money on Loyalists of all ages and

⁷⁰ The papers of Frederick MacKenzie, the Deputy Adjutant General, supply several documents which list supplies to be given to all units under British command. Major Frederick Mackenzie, 1731-1824, Deputy Adjutant General 1778-1783, MacKenzie left a series of journals which were published in the early years of the twentieth century, he was a long serving officer in the Royal Welch Fusiliers who was a 44 year old Lieutenant in 1775, see MacKenzie Papers, Clements Library; Frederick MacKenzie, *The Diary of Frederick MacKenzie*, (Boston 1930); Frederick Mackenzie, A British Fusilier in Revolutionary Boston, (Boston, 1926); Mark Urban, *Fusiliers*, (London 2007) pp 4-5, 3030, 314; Christopher Hitchins, *Redcoats and Rebels: The War for America 1771-1781* (London, 1990) p. 34.

⁷¹ Holly Mayer, *Belonging to the Army*, p.228.

genders. The following table is a list of Provincial units supplied by the British Army and compiled by Mackenzie's department:

Table 2: Provincial Regiments Victualled at New York and Outposts on 25 September 1780.			
Battalion	Men	Women	Children
New Jersey Vols.	643	188	122
Delancey's Battalion	384	93	189
Loyal American Regiment	589	95	55
Kings American Regiment	264	75	173
Gov. Wentworth's	39	5	6
Bucks County Dragoons	23	2	
Loyal New Englanders	56	13	27
Guides	181	52	58
Detachments of Absent Provincial Regiments ⁷²	146	94	126
Provincial Light Infantry	318	9	4
Loyal American	34	3	

⁷² Regiments on campaign would leave detachments at headquarters. These would be non combat staff, invalids and women and children.

Rangers			
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Source: Victualling Report at New York and Outposts, 25 September 1780, MacKenzie Papers, 1780 f. 60, Clements Library.

Examining the table it is clear that Loyalist regiments were complex “military communities.” Future research in this area could yield rich results especially in comparison with the work undertaken by Holly Mayer on the British Army. Loyalist regiments were not solely groups of men but family units all under the care of the British Army. The presence of women and children would have greatly altered the ethos of the regiment, although none of them were present anywhere near combat zones. Most of these regiments were based around New York. The New Jersey Volunteers had non-combatants of almost regimental strength for the British to feed. This is possibly because many of the men were from a relatively local location and were able to transport their families to them easily. What is clear is that the British had quite a burden of responsibility to the Loyalist regiments. The “Detachments of absent Provincial Regiments” would be soldiers from regiments on campaign who for whatever reason were unfit or unsuited to combat as well as some administrative or ancillary staff not required on campaign. The high number of women and children attached to them would indicate that regiments on campaign would leave women and children for the British to take care of while they were serving. Also if potential Loyalists could ensure that their families would be safe and taken care of then they would be more likely to join. The threat of retribution to families behind Patriot lines was a very real one. Both Sir John Johnson and John Butler’s wives and families were held under open arrest by the Patriots and there was a real danger of the activities of these regiments being limited by fear for the safety of their families. Thus it was in British and Loyalist interest to provide for the families of their soldiers. Silvia Frey has argued that British regiments had “group consciousness” and were in many ways like a family for men who had no other families.

Loyalist regiments were different as many of their men had left secure family backgrounds to volunteer.⁷³ In some respects Loyalists had more in common with Patriots who had families behind British lines and were faced with the same fears. Subsequent chapters will look at the problems of supplying Provincial regiments while on campaign, which brought with it ethical difficulties as well. The British were attempting to win over the population yet the easiest- and cheapest- way to attain supplies, particularly livestock and horses was simply to seize it from the enemy. Loyalist Regiments were faced with these dilemmas and in many cases a great deal of “liberation” of supplies went on.⁷⁴

Payment

Although volunteers, the Loyalists did not risk their lives for free. They had to be paid by the British. There is very little discussion of this issue in the historiography and the issue should be examined as payment was an important factor in encouraging the soldiers to fight. As with so many other things about the Loyalists there was no set rate of pay for all Provincial regiments. Rates varied enormously as did frequency of payment.⁷⁵ At first most provincial units were paid less than British regular units although there were exceptions. Because of their value as scouts and as liaison with the Native Americans, Ranger units were paid far more than even regular units. For example, Indian-speaking privates in Butler’s Rangers (approximately half of the regiment) were initially paid four shillings, four times the normal daily salary of a private in the regulars.⁷⁶ Cavalry were

⁷³ Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America*, p 137.

⁷⁴ This issue will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

⁷⁵ The sources for payment are varied in scope and quality. The best sources are the records in C Series Muster Rolls arranged by regiment; C Series Muster Rolls 1867 National Archives of Canada. There are also pay records in the Haldimand Papers in the British Library (relating to the Regiments of Northern Command), in the War Office papers in various other records relating to individual regiments.

⁷⁶ Subsistence Wanting for Butler’s Rangers, 1778, WO 28/4 ff.2-4, PRO.

also better paid than line infantry.⁷⁷ However, there was a catch, the more a soldier was paid, the more he was expected to contribute towards his own upkeep. Cavalry had to provide their own fodder for their horses and pay for the upkeep and wellbeing of the horse. Although regiments all had their own separate pay scales, the following table gives an idea of how much a standard Provincial infantry regiment was paid. It is a pay-scale for the Royal Highland Emigrants in 1779:

Table 3: Daily Pay Scale for the Royal Highland Emigrants March 1779.	
Rank	Pay per Day
Col. in Chief	14s ⁷⁸
Lt. Col.	17s
Maj.	15s
Capt.	10s
Lt.	4s 8d
Ens.	3s 8d
Chaplain	6s 8d
Adjutant	4s
Quarter Master	4s 8d
Surgeon	4s
Surgeon's Mate	3s 8d
Sgt.	1s 6d
Cpl.	1s
Drummer	1s

⁷⁷ For example the infantrymen of the British Legion were paid 6^d a day and the cavalrymen 11^d a day, British Legion Muster Rolls Vol. 1885, f. 11, C Series Muster Rolls, National Archives of Canada.

⁷⁸ The Colonel in Chief was Allan MacLean and was in addition to his pay as Brigadier General in Northern Command.

Pvt.	8d
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Source: Compiled from Establishment of the 1st Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrants, 9 March 1779, WO 28/4 f.239, PRO.

The Royal Highland Emigrants were a regiment who from their earliest days, were treated as regulars in a combat capacity but not paid as regulars until they were taken onto the British Establishment in 1781. As the table demonstrates a private in the Royal Highland Emigrants was paid 8^d per day, 4^d less than a regular private.

Although soldiers were paid daily they would often have to go for weeks and months without being paid. In such a case the commander could pay for the men himself and claim it back at a later date.⁷⁹ This of course caused resentment among both the men and the officers and could conceivably have had a negative effect on the fighting qualities of the men. However, to put things into context, irregular payment was common amongst eighteenth century soldiers and the Provincial soldiers were paid far more regularly than their counterparts in the Continental Army where in some cases men were not paid for as long as six years.⁸⁰

Accurate data on how much each regiment was paid is scattered and hard to come to by, However, the below gives some idea of how much some of the Provincial Regiments were paid over a four month period in 1777-78.

Table 4: Money Paid out to Regiments serving in America 25/12/1777-24/4/1778.				
Regiment	Number of Companies	£	S	d
New Jersey Volunteers 1 st	7	1892	3	10 1/2

⁷⁹ There are numerous examples of this. The commander would have to submit a claim to the Paymaster General and it might take months or even years for him to be reimbursed, see WO 28/4.

⁸⁰ See Thomas J. Fleming, *Liberty!: The American Revolution*, p.339

Battalion				
New Jersey Vols. 2 nd Batt.	8	2946	7	6 1/2
New Jersey Vols. 3 rd Batt.	6	2341	11	11
New Jersey Vols. 4 th Batt.	8	3938	12	11 1/12
New Jersey Vols. 5 th Batt.	6	2201	11	11
New Jersey Vols. 6 th Batt.	4	1682	17	5
Royal Highland Emigrants 2 nd Batt.	10	5702	17	11
Kings American Regiment	10	2967	14	5
Queens Rangers	10	3362	16	4

Source: Audit of Provincial Regiments, Monies Paid out 25 December 1777 to 4 April 1778, Audited 16 February 1790, AO 1/325/1287.

Table four demonstrates that the soldiers were paid according to how many men served in the unit. For example, ten companies of the Queens Rangers were paid slightly less than eight companies of the New Jersey Volunteers and considerably less than ten companies of the Royal Highland Emigrants. This is because no one company was the same size as another. A company might have had 100 men all claiming wages or it might have had twenty, thus the cost of the company could vary from month to month depending on fluctuation of numbers. If a soldier was paid at 8d a day then their yearly

cost would be approximately £12 a year. Therefore a company of 100 men would cost £1200 a year in pay alone, not counting the higher wages of officers and NCOs.

One of the most important issues regarding pay matters with Loyalists is one that seems like a minor one. This is the issue of half pay rights for officers.⁸¹ Retired officers were entitled to half their pay for the rest of their lives even if their regiment no longer existed. It was basically a pension in a society where no universal government pensions existed. It was a major inducement for officers and potential Loyalists viewed the prospect of half pay as a compensation for the risks they ran in joining the British.

As stated in the previous chapter, in 1776 it had been decided not to grant half pay rights to Loyalists. So long as Loyalists were deprived of these rights they were on an unequal footing to their British counterparts. There were many appeals from Loyalists, and those connected with them, for their officers to be put on the half pay list. One appeal was written by John Simcoe of the Queens Rangers. Simcoe was a British officer and a close friend of Henry Clinton. He wrote that despite the “excellent service” of his regiment his officers were not on the “half pay list unlike the officers of the Bermudan regiments.” If this appeal had been written by another Loyalist commander then it would have possibly been easier to dismiss its impact but the fact that it came from Simcoe, who Clinton regarded as one of his finest officers, would have meant that it would have struck home with Clinton and by extension, Lord Germain.⁸²

⁸¹ Half Pay, as defined in William Duane’s military dictionary of 1810, is “a compensation or retaining fee which is paid to officers who have retired from the service, through age, inability &c., or who have been placed upon that list in consequence of a general reduction of the forces, or a partial drafting &c. of the particular Corps to which they belonged.” William Duane, *A Military Dictionary; Or Explanation of the Several Systems of Discipline of Different Kinds of Troops, Infantry, Artillery and Cavalry; the Principles of Fortification, and All the Modern Improvements in the Science of Tactics*, (London, 1810), p.516.

⁸² Simcoe to Clinton (undated draft, probably late 1778 or early 1779) Drafts of Simcoe’s letters 1776-1795. Simcoe Papers William Clements Library. For accounts of Clinton’s regard for Simcoe see other

In 1779, the situation changed dramatically. The Loyalists had become vital to the British effort in America, and on 23 January Lord Germain authorised selected regiments to be placed on the half pay list upon reduction of their regiments. He stated that he would be making “the rank of officers permanent in America and allowing them half-pay on the reduction of their regiments.”⁸³ It was by no means every regiment, regiments had to be staffed with the regulation number of companies and men and even when they had attained the required numbers it was still to be at the discretion of the Commander in Chief whether or not they were placed on the half pay list.⁸⁴ The hope was that by granting half-pay rights, it would encourage more volunteers to take up arms against the Patriots. However, not everyone thought it was a good idea. In May 1779 Clinton wrote to Germain, stating that, senior British Officers had protested against giving Loyalists equal status with their British counterparts.⁸⁵ Also the restrictions upon numbers caused problems. Many regiments raised in the closing years of the war were unable to recruit the required numbers and their officers were not placed on the list when the war ended. Raising new regiments was an expensive business and many argued that they deserved the half pay because of the costs they had incurred in paying bounties without immediate compensation. Benedict Arnold was one of those who had raised a regiment late in the war, and in 1783 he appealed to General Clinton to provide his officers with half pay. He wrote that his American Legion officers had been “ruined by the very great expence

letters in the Simcoe Papers and the testimonials he made for him when he believed him Killed in Action.

⁸³ Germain to Clinton 23 January 1779 in Davies, *Documents of The American Revolution*, Vol. 17, p. 46.

⁸⁴ This was ten companies of 60 men for Infantry regiments, see *ibid.*, p.46.

⁸⁵ The reference to the Bermudan regiments is an interesting one. These regiments had been formed in 1778 in the West Indies and so were far more recent developments than the Queens Rangers. They would also have seen comparatively little action at the time Simcoe wrote, unlike the Queens Rangers who had been on almost constant active service since the spring of 1777. See, Clinton to Germain 13 May 1779 in *Ibid.*, pp.123.

incurred by recruiting” a regiment so late in the war (1780-81.)⁸⁶ His appeal was not successful. However, the very act of making it possible for Loyalists to achieve half pay was a major advance, which proved the importance of Loyalists to the British.

Discipline.

The issue of discipline and the Loyalist Regiments can be roughly divided into two different areas. The first, which has not attracted a great deal of historiographical notice, is that of internal discipline, for example the behaviour of the soldiers on a day-to-day basis. The second issue is that of battlefield discipline, the behaviour of Loyalist towards the enemy and civilians and is one that historians have dealt with in respect of individual regiments to quite large degree.

Eighteenth century armies operated under quite different disciplinary codes to current armies but in general behaviour they were relatively similar. The Loyalist troops were expected to behave in a generally disciplined way, to obey orders, to show respect to superiors and to conduct themselves like British soldiers. Infringing these standards would lead to punishments within the regiments. The punishments for the worst crimes, (desertion, looting, rape and murder) ranged from floggings to execution. These crimes were usually tried out-with regimental authority, by general court martial, and justice was served entirely by the army itself rather than by civil courts.⁸⁷ The British Army had a formal set of rules for its soldiers which regulated the behaviour that was expected of them. These were the Articles of War which were updated every few years and every

⁸⁶ Benedict Arnold to Henry Clinton, London 26 May 1783, Clinton Papers, Vol. 197, f.40, Clements Library, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/amlegn/amlglet1.htm> accessed 12/12/08.

⁸⁷ See J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service*; Elizabeth D. Samet, *Willing Obedience: Citizens, Soldiers, and the Progress of Consent in America, 1776-1898*, (Stanford, CT, 2003), p.184.

officer was expected to have them in his possession.⁸⁸ There were also a few unofficial training manuals for soldiers which dealt with the issue of discipline.⁸⁹

The Loyalists were subject to the same disciplinary restrictions of the British Army and the same punishments. Most muster rolls record serious infringements that were punished and or reported, at least for the rank and file. Desertions, executions and prison sentences are all recorded.⁹⁰ The nature of the crime is rarely given but there are courts martial records which record this. The orderly books of the British Army also recorded floggings and executions carried out under the sentence of a court martial.⁹¹ Officers that committed crimes were tried by court martial and usually dismissed from the service if found guilty rather than any more serious punishment, although they were not technically immune from the death penalty.⁹² Only five men were executed by the British Army general court between 1778 and 1781 although according to Cole and Braisted, more men may have been executed in the Southern campaigns, away from general court martials.⁹³

⁸⁸ See Articles of War 1778, Section XI Article 1, a copy of the Article of War 1778 is online at <http://www.cvco.org/sigs/reg64/articles.html> accessed 8/8/2008.

⁸⁹ Humphrey Bland's 1743 work was one of the most influential as it laid out in great detail the way that British soldiers were expected to conduct themselves. Humphrey Bland, *a Treatise on Military Discipline*, (Dublin 1743) online At ECCO <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?vrsn=1.0&dd=0&af=BN&locID=unistirl&srcht=a&d1=0720800200&SU=0LRM&c=1&ste=11&d4=0.33&stp=Author&dc=flc&n=10&docNum=CW108919201&ae=T121417&tiPG=1> accessed 12/2/2008.

⁹⁰ See, C Series Muster Rolls National Archives of Canada.

⁹¹ Orderly Book of Northern Command 1775-1781, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

⁹² Court Martial Records for the British Army in America are held in various collections but the largest collection is WO 71/80-97. The online institute for Advanced Loyalist studies has put 45 Loyalist Court Martial records online which are indexed by Regiment see <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/courts/crtlist.htm> accessed 12/9/2008.

⁹³ Nan Cole and Todd Braisted, American Revolution Courts Martial at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/courts/courts.htm> accessed 12/9/2008.

The Loyalists do not seem to be any more or less undisciplined than their British comrades. They committed crimes and breaches of discipline relatively often and occasionally were guilty of capital offences such as rapes or murders. The Headquarters papers of the British Army in America reveal that offences seemed to occur more often with regiments that were away from the fighting and therefore had less to do and more opportunity to get into trouble.⁹⁴ Although the bulk of offences were carried out by men in the ranks, Loyalist officers were not immune to indiscipline. They fought duels and on at least one occasion killed men in bar room brawls.⁹⁵ Most minor crimes were punished within the regiments themselves, and some Colonels tried to keep as many of their soldiers away from Court Martials as they possibly could. The Court Martials reveal that Loyalists were no different from any other soldiers. They could be prone to drunkenness and misbehaviour when unoccupied. It was up to the British Army to provide them with that occupation.⁹⁶

There has been some work on the internal discipline of the Continental Army so and it is interesting to compare the Continentals with the Loyalists.⁹⁷ Harry M Ward argues that discipline was often hard to enforce in Continental army units and that enlisted men often bonded together against officers. Ward argues that it took until the institution of the German professional Baron Von Steuben before the situation

⁹⁴ These sources are daily orderly books that list all the major happenings that were dealt with by the commander in chief's staff. Loyalists regiments are mentioned but not in any greater frequency than regular regiments. War Office in Letters from Military Commanders: Commander in Chief in America, WO1/2, WO 1/10, WO 1/12, WO 1/13; Orderly Book of Northern Command Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

⁹⁵ See the Court Martials of Job Williams of the Queens Rangers and John Lawrence of the New Jersey Volunteers online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/courts/crtlist.htm> accessed 12/9/2008.

⁹⁶ John Simcoe is an example of one of these, see Chapter 4.

⁹⁷ Harry M. Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers, Policing the Continental Army*, (Carbondale, IL 2009) pp. 14-16; Charles Patrick Neimeyer, *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army*, p. 5; Joseph Mitchell, *Discipline and bayonets: the armies and leaders in the War of the American Revolution*, (Ann Arbor, MI, 1967).

Continental Army got complete control of internal discipline. The Loyalists faced similar problems in to the Continentals in being a newly raised force but they were under long established British army discipline. So while they would have committed similar crimes the British had long experience of detecting and punishing the transgressions of soldiers.

The issue of battlefield discipline of the Loyalists is one that has attracted a good deal of historiographical attention. While there are no individual works on the issue many general works on the Revolutionary War look at individual Loyalist regiments and accuse them of inappropriate or criminal behaviour towards Patriots and civilians.⁹⁸ It is important to remember that the Loyalists were fighting a civil war. The people they were fighting were in many cases, friends, neighbours and relatives.⁹⁹ Many Loyalists also had their property and all other assets seized from them and in some cases their families were held under house arrest.¹⁰⁰ Many of them had given up well paid occupations and comfortable family lives to serve the British crown and the chances of them ever returning to these previous lives diminished with each passing year of the war. Therefore in many ways it could be seen as almost natural that many serving Loyalists would harbour vengeful feelings towards the Patriots. This could have lead to and in many cases did lead to instances of brutality or over stepping the bounds of acceptable behaviour. This issue will be looked at in depth in the chapters on the British Legion and Butler's Rangers—both of whom had reputations amongst the Patriot population, for cruelty and various other crimes.

⁹⁸ Smith does not deal with the issue in his work on the Loyalist regiments. These works will be examined in the chapters on the British Legion, Queens Rangers and Butler's Rangers.

⁹⁹ Split families were very common. Robert Rogers' brother James was a Patriot before changing sides see ODNB.

¹⁰⁰ Sir John Johnson and John Butler's wives were held under guard for much of the war, see Brigadier General James Clinton to Captain Walter Butler, Albany, 1 January 1779 in William L. Stone, *The Life of Joseph Brant*, (New York, 1868), pp.385-6.

It is important to state that it was in the Patriot interest to accuse the Loyalists of brutality and acts of revenge. They took seriously anything that would discourage Loyalist recruitment so the Patriot authorities and the Press took any chance they could to blacken the reputation of the Loyalists. Patriot newspapers contain frequent accusations against “Tories” and there were undoubted exaggerations and even downright lies.¹⁰¹ The trend has of course persisted in the popular history of the Revolution, to the present day. The film “The Patriot” contains a scene where a Loyalist burns a church with civilians in it, which never happened. John and Walter Butler and a thinly disguised Banastre Tarleton have all appeared as villains in Hollywood films.¹⁰² The question is, were the Loyalists guilty of breaching the accepted rules of war? Were they worse than their British allies or the Patriots? Were they a vengeful mob intent on regaining their lost pride by rapine and slaughter?

The first issue to deal with is the codes that governed the conduct of eighteenth century soldiers towards enemies and civilians. British soldiers and Loyalists were bound by the Articles of War which contains detailed rules on conduct towards civilians but nothing on conduct towards enemy soldiers.¹⁰³ There were no formal rules on Prisoners of War which governed all armies until the 19th century. Armies were bound by an honour system which maintained that prisoners of sovereign nations would be treated with decency and in some cases even exchanged.

The Revolutionary War, however, created problems because the British viewed the Patriots as rebels, rather than foreign combatants and the Patriots viewed Loyalists as

¹⁰¹ The chapter on the British Legion contains a detailed analysis of a Patriot Newspaper account of an action by that unit in which it can be proved through cross referencing that at least some of the details are false.

¹⁰² The Patriot, (1999), Tarleton appears as Tavington; The Butlers are the villains in Drums Along the Mohawk (1939)

¹⁰³ See Articles of War 1778, Section XI Article 1, a copy of the Articles of War 1778 is online at <http://www.cvco.org/sigs/reg64/articles.html> accessed 8/8/2008.

traitors. Therefore the designations were cloudy. On 19 July 1776, General Howe wrote to General Washington. He stated that he would punish all those within his command who had committed “acts of cruelty, rapine or oppression.” This is uncompromising but his next sentence confuses the issue somewhat as Howe states that “examples of moderation will be the sharpest reproach to those who violate the laws of honor and humanity.”¹⁰⁴ In other words Howe stated that while major offences were to be punished, the best way to prevent inhumanity was by good example. This attitude seems naïve especially when considered in the light of some of the acts of indiscipline committed by British soldiers in the New York campaign just a month later.¹⁰⁵ As shown above Ward argues that the Continental Army took a similar attitude of self-policing.

In the frenzied climate of a battle, wrongdoing was often hard to prove and while there was frequent communication between the Patriot Commanders and the British commanders regarding prisoners, there was usually little done on other side to punish transgressors. Where there was damage to civilian lives and property punishment was severe and often capital but again designations between civilian and military property were sometimes blurred. Loyalist raiding parties frequently burnt supplies and buildings that were of use to the enemy. These supplies were in many cases civilian owned and often it would have been difficult to prove that they were specifically earmarked for troops. However, no cautious commander would take the chance of allowing goods that could give the enemy an advantage, to remain intact.

As well as supplies Loyalist raiding parties sometimes destroyed symbols of Patriot governmental authority such as courthouses.¹⁰⁶ These were not acts of indiscipline but calculated acts of intimidation that were ordered by commanders. This is why the question of conduct towards the enemy is such a difficult one. At what point are troops

¹⁰⁴ General Howe to General Washington, 19 July 1776, Carleton Papers, PRO 30/55/3, f.48, PRO.

¹⁰⁵ Piers Mackesy, *The War For America*, pp.88-89

¹⁰⁶ This was a tactic employed by the Queens Rangers see the Discipline section in Chapter 4.

following orders and when are they acting on their own initiative? Butler's Rangers undoubtedly were guilty of extreme brutality towards civilians at Cherry Valley in November 1778 but even now there is doubt over who was ultimately responsible for the crimes committed.¹⁰⁷

When Loyalists did transgress, it had consequences for all other Loyalists. The killing of surrendered men by the British Legion at Waxhaws in May 1780 doomed ten completely innocent Loyalists at Kings Mountain in October 1780, when they were hung by Patriot militia in an act of vengeance for the earlier events.¹⁰⁸ While this act was carried out by Patriot militia rather than the main Continental Army several Loyalists were executed on Washington's orders, usually when it could be proved that they were either a spy or a Patriot deserter.¹⁰⁹ All of this ensured that Loyalist regiments had to be very careful in their behaviour in and after combat. Acts which stepped outside the bounds of accepted conduct could have consequences on other Loyalists. Individual cases will be examined in depth in other chapters but it is enough to say here that while the Loyalists were not immune from unacceptable behaviour towards the enemy neither were they rampaging beasts. Most of the time they behaved no differently from the other soldiers in the war, this possibly explains why the major incidents of Waxhaws and the Cherry Valley stand out because there are few other precedents on the same scale.

Combat Types

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 6.

¹⁰⁸ John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, (New York 1997) p.85.

¹⁰⁹ For an example of this where several Loyalists of whom it had been proved had previously served in the Patriot ranks were hung on Washington's orders, see General Orders, George Washington 3 November 1781, in the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw230354\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw230354))) accessed 1/3/2008.

The eighteenth century saw armies modernise and develop new tactics to cope with new technology and developing theories of warfare. The improvement of firearms saw new types of specialist soldiers come into existence in order to exploit modern weaponry to the fore.¹¹⁰ There is little historiographical material on combat types about the Loyalists.¹¹¹ The Provincial Regiments followed the same basic designations of combat types as the British Regulars. These were: infantry and cavalry. There were no formal Provincial artillery regiments although many regiments carried light cannon, either horse drawn or pushed by the troops.¹¹² By far the most numerous designations for Loyalists were infantry, or foot as they were known. This is because they were the cheapest troops to equip and were also regarded as the most versatile. Foot made up the majority of most eighteenth century armies. On the battlefield they usually bore the brunt of the fighting. They were equipped with muskets and bayonets which enabled them to be offensive and defensive. They were trained to fight in line in platoons which were grouped together to create a large group of men all firing at once.¹¹³ They were drilled extensively in this system by sergeants from when they joined the army. Loyalist

¹¹⁰ These would be infantry: foot (or hatmen- general infantrymen); fusiliers and grenadiers (originally men equipped with explosives but by the 1760s these had become infantrymen); riflemen, sharpshooters and light infantry (see section below). Cavalry: hussars, lancers, dragoons (armed with muskets). There were also artillerymen, engineers and pioneers. For a good summary of the types of soldiers in the Eighteenth century British Army see Alan J. Guy *The Army of the Georges* in David Chandler (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Army*, pp. 93-111.

¹¹¹ For works on eighteenth century soldiers and warfare see Houlding, Chandler, Lenman and Strachan, The closest comparisons are the works by Frey on Revolutionary War British soldiers and Wright, on the Continental Army. David Chandler (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Army*, (Oxford, 1994); J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service*; Hew Strachan *European Armies and the Conduct of War*; Bruce Lenman, *Britain's Colonial Wars 1688-1783*; K. Wright, *The Continental Army*, (Washington, 1983); Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America*.

¹¹² The 2nd Battalion New Jersey Volunteers served alongside the Royal Artillery for two years as artillerymen but they were not designated an artillery regiment and they later returned to infantry duties.

¹¹³ For a model of the Platoon firing system see *ibid.* p. 103.

regiments were drilled using the 1768 or 1778 drill books, although commanding officers were given some latitude in how they trained their troops.¹¹⁴ The Loyalist regiments who fought as standard infantry were equipped and fought in a similar way to the British line infantry. An example of these would be the Volunteers of Ireland, who wore red coats and fought as line infantry in several successful battles in South and North Carolina in 1781.¹¹⁵ Loyalists Regiments also served as light infantry, and it was in this area that they arguably had the greatest potential and found the most success.

Loyalist Light Infantry

Light Troops were troops who fought outside the main formations and often fought small skirmishes and guerrilla style operations. The Patriots created their own Light Troops which had great success particularly at Saratoga in 1777. Loyalists served extensively in this capacity and could possibly have had the potential to match the Patriots using their own tactics against them. As explained in chapter one, Americans had created their own designation of light troops, known as Rangers.¹¹⁶ This meant that there was a strong tradition of light tactics amongst Americans as these tactics were suited to American terrain.

One of the most important innovations to come out of the French and Indian War was the use of light infantry tactics.¹¹⁷ At a level lower than the High Command, the British had learned greatly from the tactics used by Major Robert Rogers and Colonel Bouquet and had formed their own light infantry units based loosely on the American

¹¹⁴*Manual of Military Exercise of 1764* (London, 1768); *The General Review Manoevers: or, the Whole Evolutions of a Battalion of Foot, &c.*, 1778 (London 1779).

¹¹⁵Oliver Snoddy, *The Volunteers of Ireland*, in *Irish Sword* Vol. 7 1965, pp.147-159

¹¹⁶ In some ways they were the precursors of today's Special Forces, indeed one US Special Forces unit is actually called the US Rangers and take their name from Robert Rogers French and Indian War regiment, Rogers' Rangers. Light troops could be light cavalry or light infantry but when historians refer to light troops they usually refer to infantry.

¹¹⁷ Light infantry tactics, their origins and use in respect to the Loyalists, will be analysed in greater depth in the chapters on the Queens Rangers.

Ranger units as well as the German Jaeger Corps. In 1771 the British Army added a light infantry company to every regiment.¹¹⁸ This was a practice that many Loyalist regiments followed also. In 1774 General Howe had organised a group training camp for the British light infantry in England.¹¹⁹ Yet there were some problems, Houlding, claims that although the specialised regiments were good units, the light infantry companies became places where every regiment put the men they could not find a use for elsewhere.¹²⁰ This suggests that they were not held in high regard by many senior officers in the British Army who preferred standard line tactics which involved soldiers working as part of a group of at least thirty men, under tight control by NCOs, rather than tactics which encouraged them to use their own initiative and fight on their own. This theory is given support when considering the fact that the highly trained light infantry brigade were used as normal infantry to storm Bunker Hill and suffered appalling casualties.¹²¹ The irony is that it was their greatest advocate General Howe, who used them in this way. They were not used for their intended purpose which was to range ahead of the army and snipe at the enemy but as part of a mass attack, which could have been carried out by standard troops. The loss of the British light infantry would have major consequences for the Loyalists; it left a gap in the British forces in America. Light infantry took a long time to train and were expensive too. As the Americans had a tradition of their own light infantry and some of those experts, notably Robert Rogers and John Butler, were available for commands, the Loyalists were targeted to replace the lost light infantry.

When the Loyalists were trained as light troops they were in most cases successful and in the case of the Queens Rangers one of the best regiments of the war on any side. Butler's Rangers kept the Canadian/New York frontier a dangerous and volatile

¹¹⁸ J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service*, p.215

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.336.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.336-7.

¹²¹ Stephen Conway, *The War of American Independence*, (London, 1995), p.74.

area for many years and the regiment gained a fearsome while not wholly enviable reputation.¹²² Banastre Tarleton's British Legion was half cavalry and half light infantry and gained an equally fearsome reputation in the South in 1780 and 1781. Don Higginbotham outlines reasons for thinking that Americans made good light troops quoting Jefferson stating that "every soldier in our army had been intimate with a gun from his infancy."¹²³ There was a general assumption that rural Americans, through necessity and the threat of the Native Americans, were well acquainted with firearms and the best ways in which to use them in their local terrain.

Senior British officers had very fixed ideas of how a war should be fought. Many were of the opinion that shooting from the trees was cowardly and sniper tactics were barbaric.¹²⁴ Honour demanded that battles take place in the open and that troops be visible to each other. Skulking behind a tree in a buckskin shirt was not gentlemanly behaviour. In contrast, the Patriots used sharpshooters to great effect. At the battle of Saratoga, a sniper famously killed the second in command, General Simon Fraser.¹²⁵ After this there

¹²² See Chapter 6.

¹²³ Julian P Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton 1950) Vol. 2, p. 195; The Lee Papers vols. 4-7 (1871-1874), New York Historical Society Collections, , I, p. 162 in Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence, Military Attitudes Policies and Practice 1763-1789* (Boston, 1983 edition), pp. 4-5.

¹²⁴ Colonel David Dundas's essay on army formations of 1788 contains a contemporary criticism of light infantry tactics, he criticised the "present loose and irregular system of our infantry." Dundas's work was later adopted as the 1792 drill book, He said that light infantry training drew too valuable time away from general training. Dundas's work was written about the years immediately following the Revolutionary War and although he disapproved of some of the light infantry tactics –while agreeing that there was a role for good Light troops- he shows what a huge influence the Light tactics practiced in the last year of the Revolutionary War had had on the British Army. This is possibly because Light troops had accounted for some of the few positives to be taken from a lost war, see David Dundas, *Principles of Military Movements, Chiefly Applied to Infantry. Illustrated by Manoeuvres of the Prussian Troops, and By an Outline of the British campaigns of 1757* (1788) p. 12.

¹²⁵ Friederike Charlotte Luise Riedesel, Friedrich Adolf Riedesel, *Letters and Memoirs Relating to the War of American Independence, and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga*, (Boston, 1827), pp.169-171; John Ferling, *Almost a Miracle*, (New York, 2007). p.138.

was some attempt to form a British unit of sharpshooters under the command of Major Patrick Fergusson, who was held to be the finest shot in the army.¹²⁶

Around 1778-1780 a select band of officers began to utilise light infantry tactics with their battalions. These officers were by and large young men not hidebound by tradition just as the pioneers of the French and Indian war had been twenty years before. Also and not coincidentally many of these young officers commanded Loyalist regiments. They were able to see that their men were ideally suited for light infantry. They knew the terrain and could move through it with greater rapidity and stealth than their British counterparts.¹²⁷ Many of the covert operations and raids of the Revolutionary War were conducted by Loyalist troops. It is also not a coincidence that these regiments wore green jackets and frequently hid behind trees.

One of the problems with Light troops was they required time consuming training. Thus in the early part of the war the British did not spend as much time training Light troops as they had done in the Seven Years War. There seems to have been a collective amnesia in the British high command as to how successful Light tactics had proved in the last American war. Had they done so and used the Americans most successful tactics against them it is possible to argue that they could have been far more successful earlier on in the war.

Loyalist Cavalry

It took several years for Loyalists to be allowed to form mounted units, but by the end of the war they would form the vast majority of cavalry available to the British Army

¹²⁶ This unit numbered about 50 men, both Regulars and Loyalists, and they were armed with Fergusson's own invention, a breech-loading rifle, which could fire twice as quickly as a conventional musket. The unit fought well at the battle of Brandywine Creek but was disbanded when Ferguson was wounded and the rifles were put into storage. See, George F Scheer and Hugo F Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (1957, New York), p. 414.

¹²⁷ John Simcoe *The Journal of a Corps of Rangers*, North Callahan, *Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution* (Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1963).

in America. Traditionally, cavalry and dragoons were used for scouting off the battlefield and flanking and shock tactics off it. Cavalry were designed to be mounted as often as possible in combat whereas dragoons were originally designed to be able to fight on foot or on horseback. In practice in the Revolutionary War the distinctions between the two were somewhat blurred and dragoons were mostly used as cavalry in combat. Mounted units were also the most effective units with which to combat artillery, as infantry were too slow to reach guns in time before they were limbered and taken to safety. Cavalry was expensive and regarded as elite. They took time to train and horses and tack had to be provided. The first British troops used in America were largely infantry as it was an epic task to transport cavalry across the Atlantic. Therefore, American-raised cavalry would have been an ideal solution. The Patriots had created cavalry units in 1775 which would serve throughout the war and cause the British great problems. However, it was 1778 before there were any Loyalist cavalry raised and there were only ever five Loyalist Regiments which contained cavalry, two of these were combined units with cavalry and infantry.¹²⁸ The combined units actually proved to a great innovation. There were no British regiments that fulfilled the purpose of allowing cavalry to be supported by their own infantry.

In addition to this, the Loyalists can claim to have invented a new designation of troops. Major Cochrane of the British Legion claimed to have pioneered the use of mounted light infantry in the Revolutionary War.¹²⁹ Cochrane's men were light infantry

¹²⁸ The British Legion, the Queens Rangers; the Bucks County Dragoons; the North Carolina Royalists and Fanning's Dragoons. Of these only the North Carolina Royalists were exclusively a cavalry regiment, the others were combined with infantry or were only small sized units containing a squadron of cavalry. The British Legion and the Queens Rangers were both combined units and the Bucks County Dragoons and Fanning's Dragoons were only single squadrons. See Table in Appendices.

¹²⁹ These troops were not dragoons. They were fully equipped infantrymen who only used horses as transport rather than dragoons who by the Revolutionary War rarely fought on foot. See chapter 6; Memorial of Major Charles Cochrane in *Chamberlain Mellon, Memorial of Charles Cochrane a*

mounted on horses deemed not good enough for the cavalry but still capable of carrying infantry long distances in short periods of time, to keep the enemy guessing as to their whereabouts. Once they had reached their destination, they dismounted and fought on foot. However, in a 1783 memorial, Lt Col. Thomas Brown of the East Florida Rangers (later the Kings Carolina Rangers) states that his regiment was raised in 1776 as “mounted infantry.”¹³⁰ Cochran had claimed to have pioneered the concept of mounted “light” infantry so there does appear to be a distinction but Brown’s regiment, as Rangers, were the American form of the British designation light infantry, so Cochrane’s claims are possibly a little misleading. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the issue, it was still a very successful idea for the British Legion. The New York Volunteers used the same tactic. This demonstrates that Loyalists were at the forefront of military thinking and that their ideas were tried by the British. Loyalist cavalry was very successful in the Southern campaign of 1780 and 1781. The Queens Rangers and the men of the British Legion frequently defeated their patriot counterparts despite often being outnumbered.

Conclusion.

This chapter has examined several key issues that affected the Loyalist regiments. The reason for investigating these issues in a broad and sweeping form is that they will be discussed again in the case studies and it is necessary to have a frame of reference. These issues have not been discussed together for the Loyalists as a whole in previous works on the Loyalists so the chapter is breaking new ground in this respect. So what do these diverse issues tell the historian of the Loyalist regiments? They confirm that the Loyalists were a unique entity in some ways but that they have similar characteristics to just about any group of soldiers. They were unlike the British in that they were fighting a civil war

British Officer in the Revolutionary War 1774-1781 (Cambridge 1891) pp. 5-6, online at

<http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/friends/cochrane.html#n6> accessed 18/7/2008

¹³⁰ Memorial of Lt. Col. Thomas Brown, Kings Carolina Rangers [formerly the East Florida Rangers] to Sir Guy Carleton, St Augustine, 11 January 1783, PRO 30/55/67 f.37.

but like them in that they were fighting the same enemy and faced the same conditions. They were different from the Patriots but they shared similar military origins and used similar military tactics. The administrators of the Continental Army faced similar problems in forming their new army. The issues discussed in this chapter, pay, supplies, types of combat, discipline and nationality can be repeated for all groups of soldiers. Yet these issues have not really been dealt with for the Loyalists in this specific fashion. The focus on them allows a more detailed view to be formed of the complexities of administering the Loyalists. It was no easy task, either for the British or the Loyalists themselves to raise a large new force. Examining composition allows a wider view of the Loyalist soldiers, who they were and what they did before the war and by examining the motivation of the men the chapter can make some estimate as to why the men took the risks that they did. The Loyalists have previously been seen as an adjunct of the British Army or unfortunate Americans who chose the wrong side. This chapter and indeed the thesis as a whole is attempting to view the Loyalist soldiers as an entity in themselves with their own set of characteristics that are both unique to them and universal to all soldiers.

Chapter 3

The Queens Rangers 1776-77.

Introduction

In the spring of 1780, Robert Rogers, hero of the French and Indian War and at that point once more serving under British command, was in dire danger. He was not, however, under threat from any enemy but from himself. His conduct had led to him being suspended from the commands of two regiments consecutively and he was being confined in Montreal under various charges of embezzling funds which ought to have been reserved for recruiting. His dependence on alcohol had affected his judgment to the extent that this once brave man seemingly had no desire to take himself and his regiment against the enemy as he had been ordered to do. He wrote to his commanding officer, Gen. Haldimand, apologising for being an “embarrassment.”¹ Haldimand, who had given Rogers a second chance in allowing him to form a new regiment, wrote in despair to his subordinate, Brig. Gen. Allan MacLean, that Rogers had “given himself up to the worst kind of debauchery and unworthy methods of procuring money to gratify it, that he has disgraced the service and renders him incapable of being depended upon.”² James Rogers summed up the sorry situation by stating that “the conduct of my brother has almost unman’d me. I told him my mind in regard of his conduct as often as he promised to reform. I am sorry his good talents should so unguarded fall prey to intemperance.”³

Robert Rogers had fallen a long way from his former situation. The war hero was now a seemingly hopeless alcoholic, resorting to stealing the money earmarked for his men to feed his habit. This was not the first time allegations of “intemperance” had threatened his career. Three years before he had been dismissed from the command of the

¹ Robert Rogers to Maj. Gen. Frederick Haldimand, Quebec, 22 July 1780, Add Mss 21820, f. 35, BL.

² Extract of Maj. Gen. Frederick Haldimand to Brig. Gen. Allan MacLean, [not dated, n.d. passim] cited in MacLean to Gen. Henry Clinton, Halifax, 28 June 1780, PRO 30/55/24, f. 173 PRO.

³ Maj. James Rogers to Capt. Robert Mathews, St Johns Newfoundland, 29 April 1780, Add Mss 21820, f. 59 BL.

Queens Rangers for allowing them to fall into a state where they were “unfit for service.”⁴ Yet there were those in the British Army who believed that this deeply flawed man could have been the answer to their problems, and that having him on their side gave them a recruiting tool that the Patriots could sorely have done with. It was in expectation of this that Rogers was given permission to raise the regiment he called the Queens Rangers.

Of all the regiments that fought in the American Revolution on any side, one of the most successful in terms of victorious actions was the Loyalist regiment: the Queens Rangers. The following two chapters are case studies of this unit. The Queens Rangers had more successful actions and more commendations from the British High Command than any other Loyalist unit. Their success owed as much to careful organisation and planning as well as an adept use of a very particular style of tactics. This first chapter covers the first year of their existence from their inception in 1776 under Robert Rogers until the autumn of 1777 when John Graves Simcoe took command. Both commanders carefully shaped the regiment. The two incarnations, while sharing many of the same personnel and regimental characteristics, were differentiated by many factors, not least of which, was the extent to which they enjoyed the confidence of the British High Command.

This regiment is worth studying because they fought in nearly every campaign of the American Revolutionary War, which allows the historian to assess the unit's effectiveness for the duration of the war. Among other things this enables a careful evaluation of field tactics. The Queens Rangers embodied in their first period Robert Rogers' ideas on American warfare. These tactics had been tried and tested in the French and Indian War. With his regiment, Rogers Rangers, he had drawn on traditional American tactics, the kind which had been developed as a response to Native American attacks and often involved replicating their tactics. These early tactics which have been as

⁴ Inspector General's Report to the Adjutant General, New York, 14 March, 1777, TS 11/221 PRO.

examined in chapter one of this thesis, were appropriate to the terrain that the French and Indian War was fought over.⁵

Rogers continued to adapt Indian tactics, and updated them for the French and Indian War. He developed a list of twenty eight rules for ranger companies.⁶ Rogers taught his men to camouflage themselves, instructed them in close quarters fighting with tomahawks and above all taught them to use the terrain to the unit's advantage. He employed Native Americans as scouts and actively took their advice. His regiment's name, Rogers' Rangers, was an accurate depiction of their role. They were intended to "range" over large areas of country, rarely staying long in the same place and to keep the enemy guessing as to their whereabouts. Rogers applied his principles to great effect in the French and Indian War and intended that his Revolutionary War regiment would practise similar tactics.

The Queens Rangers never had the chance to become what Rogers envisaged as they were reformed in 1777. This is another reason for the Queens Rangers' historical importance; they were the first existing Loyalist regiment that the British seriously restructured. This chapter will investigate why the British did this and what effects it had on this regiment and its operations and by extension on all the other Loyalist regiments. The next chapter will investigate how the reforms and restructuring influenced the Queens Rangers' military effectiveness. After allowing the regiment's first commander,

⁵ James Henretta concluded that Colonial America was a violent society and that specific American military tactics appropriate to the threats that were present evolved over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. John Shy and Fred Anderson have also worked on Colonial military trends. See, James Henretta and Gregory H. Nobles, *Evolution and Revolution in American Society, 1600-1820*, (Lexington, MA.,1987), pp. 9, 32, 115; John Shy, *Toward Lexington*, (Princeton, NJ, 1965); Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War*, (New York, 2000). Chapter one of this thesis will survey these tactics and this chapter will compare them with those practiced by Rogers.

⁶ Robert Rogers, *Journals of Maj. Robert Rogers: containing an account of the several excursions he made under the generals who commanded upon the continent of North America, during the late war*, (London 1765, repr. New York, 1965), pp. 59-70.

Robert Rogers, a large degree of autonomy, the British changed their policy and very definite requirements concerning the background and character of the Queens Rangers officers and made requirements on the ethnicity of the recruits.⁷

The national origins of the Queens Rangers are important for considering the composition of the regiment and the motivation of rank-and-file Loyalists. John Cuneo has claimed that the first incarnation of the Rangers was more “American” than the second.⁸ By combining some prosopographical methods with analysis of eighteenth century small-scale tactics the two chapters will ultimately consider the extent to which nationality shaped the effectiveness of the regiment.

New papers were recently found in the Treasury solicitor’s files in the National Archives relating to the changes the British made to the Queens Rangers in the spring of 1777.⁹ By synthesizing these newly discovered sources with other material on the early Queens Rangers it is possible to provide the first comprehensive study of the Queens Rangers. This is important in a historiographical sense because of the Regiment’s undoubted importance to the British Army, as an effective fighting force and as an exemplar of the best way to run a provincial regiment. All of this would arguably influence the way the British ran their provincials for at least the next fifty years.

A database has been constructed using the muster rolls that refer to the Queens Rangers. Although most of the muster rolls refer to the period from November 1777 to

⁷ Inspector's Report to the Adjutant General, New York, 14 March 1777, TS 11/221 PRO.

⁸ John Cuneo, “The Early Days of the Queens Rangers,” in *Military Affairs*, vol. 22, no. 3, 1958, pp. 65-75 at p. 75.

⁹ There is a scarcity of materials relating to the first incarnation of the Queens Rangers, which previously had made any study of them difficult, but a collection has recently been discovered in the Treasury solicitor’s files at PRO: TS 11/221. The papers were originally to have been used as evidence in a failed legal suit that was to have been brought by four dismissed officers of the Queens Rangers against Gen. William Howe and the Inspector General of Provincial Forces, Col. Alexander Innes. They contain the only existing muster rolls for the first formation of the Queens Rangers as well as several letters and testimonies which were gathered as evidence.

September 1783 the above mentioned sources allow a partial picture to be formed of the personnel in Queens Rangers in the Rogers period.

Secondary sources on the Queens Rangers provide limited coverage of the regiment's origin with the exception of one article written in 1958 by John Cuneo.¹⁰ Cuneo argues that after Rogers' dismissal the unit lost its American character and that this was largely intentional on the part of the British High Command. Cuneo concluded that the British did not appreciate the strategic value of Robert Rogers or the Queens Rangers in military operations and his study paved the way for Paul Smith's comprehensive critique of the role of the Loyalist Regiments in British strategy.¹¹ This chapter will reassess the Cuneo-Smith interpretation. While accepting that the British made some serious errors in 1776 and 1777, the thesis will argue that the British had no real agenda about the suitability or otherwise of American officers beyond improving the battlefield performance of the regiments. The fact that they made these changes at all shows that they did respect the importance of the Loyalists. They wanted to make the regiments efficient and they felt that the best and quickest way to do this was by appointing experienced officers. As there were few officers then in America with experience of running Regular regiments, they appointed British officers.

The Queens Rangers were mustered by Robert Rogers in September 1776.¹² They were largely recruited from what is now the upper part of New York and Connecticut, but their recruits hailed from all over the American Colonies, including a sizeable proportion from Virginia, survivors of the short-lived Queens Loyal Virginia regiment formed by the

¹⁰Cuneo had previously written a biography of Robert Rogers, which devotes only a few pages to Rogers' Revolutionary service preferring to concentrate on his heroic escapades in the 1750s and 1760s. See, John Cuneo, *Early Days of the Queen's Rangers*; John Cuneo, *Rogers of the Rangers*, (New York, 1958).

¹¹ Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, (Chapel Hill, NC, 1964).

¹² See Gen. William Howe to Robert Rogers, Warrant for Recruiting for the Queens Rangers. 26 August 1776, PRO: TS 11/221.

Earl of Dunmore earlier that year.¹³ They fought an action at Mamaroneck in New York in 1776 and sat out the rest of the winter behind the British lines. They were reorganized in March 1777 after heavy desertion over the preceding winter and accusations of corruption and recruiting of unsuitable men. They were commanded successively by regular British officers Maj. Christopher French and Maj. James Wemyss, before in October 1777, another regular, Maj. John Graves Simcoe, took command, which he held until the siege of Yorktown in 1781.¹⁴ The Queens Rangers saw action in all the major campaigns of 1777-78 in the Northern theatre, including the battles of Brandywine Creek, Germantown and Monmouth Courthouse. In late 1779 they were sent to South Carolina, where they served at the siege of Charleston and were active and victorious in numerous engagements that summer. They then embarked with Gen. Clinton's Army for New York and New Jersey where they served in several minor actions and raids. In the winter of 1780 they headed a largely Loyalist expedition to Virginia under the brilliant former Patriot general, Benedict Arnold. They fought in several small battles and skirmishes there. In October 1781, they were besieged at Yorktown with the rest of Cornwallis's army and surrendered along with them, after Simcoe's plans to lead them in a breakout were refused. Simcoe then returned to England in broken health and the surviving Rangers were once more commanded by an American, John Saunders, an original recruit,

¹³Phillip Katcher, *King George's Army 1775-1776, A Handbook of British Provincial and German Army Regiment*, (New York, 1973), p. 98.

¹⁴ Maj. Christopher French of the 22nd Regiment commanded the Queens Rangers from 30 January 1777 to 4 May 1777, he then returned to his former regiment. Maj. James Wemyss of the 40th Regiment commanded from 4 May until 14 October 1777. He was subsequently transferred to the 63rd Regiment although he would once more join the Provincial Corps when he served in the British Legion in 1782. John Graves Simcoe of the 40th Regiment commanded from 15 October 1777 until 13 October 1781. These dates are their commissions and do not always reflect the exact dates of which they arrived or left command. See Young Papers, William Clements Library; British Army List, (London, 1776, 1777, 1778)

and a founder of the Loyal Virginians. They remained at New York until the British left in the autumn of 1783 and they were demobilised at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Robert Rogers.

Robert Rogers, then one of the most famous Americans living, formed the Queens Rangers, in 1776. This section will look at Rogers' career in the early part of the revolution and his reasons for forming the regiment. Robert Rogers was born in 1730 in Methuen, Massachusetts, but soon moved to Dunbarton, New Hampshire, which would be where many of the initial recruits for his French and Indian War regiment originated.¹⁵ In the introduction to his journal Rogers gives a brief account of his early years. He mentions his familiarity with Indian customs and languages. He also mentioned that he spent many years exploring "the uncultivated [sic] desert, the mountains, valleys, rivers, lakes and several passes" and became inured to "hardship" in a way that would "qualify me for the very service I have since been employed in."¹⁶ This early grounding in the both the geography and customs of the American frontier would, as he says, influence Rogers' as both a soldier and frontiersman.

¹⁵For accounts of Rogers life and career see John Cuneo, *Rogers of the Rangers*, (New York, 1958); Mark Boatner ed., *Encyclopaedia of the American Revolution*, (New York, 1974) Kenneth Roberts, *Northwest Passage* (1938) Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, (London, 1884). Rogers' published two volumes of journals: Robert Rogers, *Journals of Maj. Robert Rogers* (London J Millen 1765, New York 1964); Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America: containing a description of the several British colonies. Also of the interior, or westerly parts of the country* (London, J. Millen, 1765). Most of Rogers' papers deal with the French and Indian War with the exception of those in the Haldimand Papers Add Mss 21720-820 and PRO: TS 11/221. There are a few other pieces of Revolutionary War correspondence in various collections in the PRO which will be cited when the individual letters are dealt with. The French and Indian War papers are contained in: Rogers Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan; Rogers Papers, Detroit Public Library. There are also collections with some Rogers' correspondence in the Huntingdon Library and the National Archives of Canada.

¹⁶ Robert Rogers, *Journals*, pp. vi-vii.

His regiment, Rogers' Rangers, would win themselves lasting fame after successful several actions and an expedition beyond the recognised frontiers.¹⁷ Rogers was befriended by Viscount George Howe (Gen. William Howe's elder brother) who set up a light infantry regiment based on Rogers' unit and employed his tactics of fast-moving, lightly-equipped, camouflaged soldiers.¹⁸ In many ways Rogers was an exponent of tactics already used by all colonial troops but he was the first person to set them down in an organised fashion. He did this for a company of British troops he was training in Ranger tactics, and he lists these rules in his journals.¹⁹ The rules discuss, among other things, concealment, tracking, sniping, close quarters fighting and the art of scouting. They have a ring of common sense about them and would have been easy for his soldiers to grasp.²⁰ This list would be used by the British when they formed their own light infantry units in 1758.

There is however, another viewpoint of Rogers, which minimises his military effectiveness, even in the French and Indian War. Fred Anderson argues that the French Marines and Indians were markedly superior to the Rangers. Anderson says that Rogers was a superb "self publicist" who created the image of himself as "the very model of the frontier guerrilla leader."²¹ In the Revolution, Rogers always seemed able to explain what he wanted to achieve, yet he was not always able to live up to his claims. It has to be said though that Anderson barely mentions Rogers in his work, and does not include any in-depth analysis of his tactics, therefore his critique is not fully sustained.

Rogers was undoubtedly a significant figure in eighteenth century military history if only because he wrote coherent account of colonial military tactics and put them into

¹⁷ These were commemorated in the 1940 Hollywood movie *Northwest Passage*, starring Spencer Tracy as Rogers and directed by King Vidor.

¹⁸ J.F.C. Fuller, *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth century*, (London, 1925).

¹⁹ Robert Rogers, *Journals*, pp. 59-70.

²⁰ The rules are shown in an appendix to this thesis.

²¹ Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War*, (New York, 2000), p. 188.

print. The journal was a best seller, particularly popular among young British officers many of whom would serve in the Revolutionary War a few years later. In his analysis of eighteenth century military manuals, J.A. Houlding argues that Rogers' work stands out because it conveys a "striking realism and a most consummate professionalism, and any officer reading them would benefit greatly should he be assigned to petite guerre duties."²² It is also interesting to note that Rogers does not shy away from mentioning any of his defeats, but states that he was able to hold his men together and to go on to undertake other, more effective actions. He provides letters of commendation from his superiors to prove this.²³

Rogers retained his commission on half pay after the war, the only American officer to do so and he went to live in Britain.²⁴ In 1775, bankrupt, he returned to America with the avowed intention of joining the Patriots. The Patriots arrested Rogers at Philadelphia principally because he was still a half-pay major in the British service.²⁵ His friend John Stark, the Patriot general and subsequently one of the heroes of the Saratoga campaign testified on his behalf and he was allowed to give his word that he would not serve against the Americans and was released.²⁶ He gave a written parole in which he stated he would not "bear arms against the *American* United Colonies, in any manner whatever, during the present contest between them and *Great Britain*; and that I will not,

²²J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service*, (Oxford, 1980), p. 222.

²³ Robert Rogers, *Journals*, pp. 46-50

²⁴This reflects the respect in which he was held, but he was soon involved in criminal activities, being charged with counterfeiting. His soldiers broke him out of prison and Rogers left for Britain where he became among other things a best-selling author and playwright. He returned to America to take command of Fort Michilimackinac, near Detroit, a command that ended in disaster when Rogers was arrested for allegedly passing secrets to the French. He was subsequently cleared by a court-martial but he left once more for Britain. Cuneo, *Rogers of the Rangers*, pp. 220-224.

²⁵ Cuneo, *Rogers of the Rangers*, p.258.

²⁶ Franklin L. Hough ed. in Rogers. *Journals*, (1765, Albany, 1887), p. 10.

in that time, attempt to give intelligence to General *Gage*, the *British* Ministry, or any other person or persons, of any matters relative to *America*".²⁷

This is important, as there were charges levelled at Rogers that during his command of the Queens Rangers he was actually a Patriot spy.²⁸ The fact that he had given his parole, swearing not to take up arms was held as one of the proofs of these charges. However, it is more likely that Rogers was just being duplicitous to secure his release. Rogers proved time and again that his word counted for little. However, while at Patriot held New York in 1775, Rogers took the opportunity of affirming his loyalty to the British.

"Since my arrival here, on every occasion I told these people now under an unhappy delusion that I never heard while in England one word fall from the lips of anyone in Administration tending to enslave them but the language of humanity breathed forth: that Lord North's motion as explained to me and as it was generally understood in England was certainly the groundwork of a conciliatory superstructure, if not an ample compliance with the demands of America, and that each colony by giving way of requisition money to defray a part of the expense of the kingdom seemed reasonable; that I did not think the quantum was so much the object as an acknowledgement of that superintending power always exercised by Great Britain over it's external dominions; and that on the other hand if the Americans succeeded it must be in the course of many

²⁷ Parole given by Robert Rogers to the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, Philadelphia, 23 September 1775, Peter Force, *American Archives*, S.4 vol.3, p. 866, online at <http://colet.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/amarch/getdoc.pl?/projects/artflb/databases/efts/AmArch/IMAGE/7381> 6/11 2006.

²⁸ Cuneo, *Rogers of the Rangers*, p. 261.

hard fought battles and that success on their side would not be equivalent to the loss they must sustain.”²⁹

The document shows that Rogers was an eloquent writer who was aware of the wider implications of the war but it also demonstrates to some extent his political naiveté. The idea of making financial reparation to the British Crown was repellent to the Patriots and was a principal reason for fighting in the first place. Far from seeming to have Patriot sympathies, Rogers in this letter comes across as being far more in concert with the views of the moderate Loyalists particularly where he discusses "the superintending power" that he believed Britain had and had to go on having. Whether these were his real views, is open to debate: Rogers and the truth often had a somewhat tenuous relationship. This letter was written not essentially as a declaration of loyalty but as a means of securing employment, as Rogers was in a dire financial state. It is possible that by professing his loyalty, Rogers was trying to cover all the angles: by coming across as very strongly Loyalist he bought himself some time to make his mind up. The other possibility of course is that he was trying to mislead the British. This view is given credence by the fact that two months later Rogers was writing to Gen. Washington assuring him that he had "leave to retire on my half-pay, and never expect to be called into the service again. I love *North-America*; it is my native country, and that of my family, and I intend to spend the evening of my days in it."³⁰ Rogers was attempting to reassure Washington whilst giving nothing away. He does not say he will not serve the British, just that he did not "expect" to.

²⁹ Robert Rogers to John Pownall, New York, 3 October 1775, CO 5/1106, f. 323, in K.G. Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution*, vol. 11, (Dublin, 1976), pp. 136-137.

³⁰ Robert Rogers to Gen. Washington, Medford MA., 14 December 1776, in Peter Force, *American Archives*, S.4 vol. 4 p. 265. Online at <http://colet.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/amarch/getdoc.pl?/projects/artflb/databases/efts/AmArch/IMAGE/.10109> accessed 6 November 2006.

Within weeks of Rogers' assurances to Washington, the British were making moves to recruit Rogers to their cause. In January 1776, Lord Dartmouth received a letter from Phillips Callbeck, Administrator of St John's Island, Canada.³¹ Callbeck was a friend of Rogers, stating that the King had recommended that the British Army make use of Rogers' services, stating "we are sure you will find means of making him useful."³² Whether or not Rogers knew of Callbeck's overtures on his behalf is not known.

Callbeck's letter shows, that whatever grievances certain officers had against Rogers, the British, at the highest levels, were aware of his usefulness and recognised the importance of recruiting him. This would be the case throughout his career. Whatever enemies he made, there were always seemed to be high ranking British officers, like Gen. Henry Clinton and Brig. Gen. Allan MacLean, willing to go to any effort to extricate him from whatever trouble he was in, because they believed that his past efforts and his obvious talents negated any wayward behaviour on his part and that he was still a useful recruiting tool.³³ In February 1776, Rogers turned down an offer from General Clinton of a regiment in the British Army because of his parole. Clinton, "told Major Rogers that if he chose to join me, I did believe that his services would be such as to induce me to recommend him to the gov't and commander in chief...he said if he could get rid of the oath he would."³⁴ This shows that Rogers was at least honest in keeping his parole, but it adds more to the evidence of him having Patriot sympathies.

³¹ Phillips Callbeck was Administrator of St Johns Island, Canada from 1775-1787. Source: Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online at <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=35912&query> , 8/11/ 2006.

³²Phillips Callbeck to Earl of Dartmouth, Halifax, 5 January 1776, Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*, vol. 12. p. 35. Cuneo's biography makes no mention of this letter.

³³ See Chapter 1 for an account of Gen. Clinton's orders to Brig. Gen. Allan MacLean for him to attempt to extricate Rogers from possible court-martial in 1780.

³⁴ Journal of an Expedition to the Southern Colonies under the Command of Maj. Gen. Clinton, Clinton Papers 1776, William L Clements Library.

In late June of 1776 whilst at New York City, Rogers was again arrested on the orders of Washington. Washington wrote Congress that Rogers had told him that he had “with Congress, a secret offer of his services,” and that he carried documents to prove it. Washington advised Congress that they “should ask themselves if it would not be dangerous to accept the offer of his services,” and that Rogers was “not sufficiently to be relied on.”³⁵ This would suggest that there were those in Congress who were not only considering employing Rogers, but going over Washington’s head to do so. Washington had his suspicions of Rogers because of a letter from a Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, who had written to Washington in December 1775 claiming that Rogers was active with the Indians against the Patriots. Wheelock had only heard this second hand Washington may have been swayed by it. Wheelock did, however, see Rogers spend the night in a tavern. He told Washington: “he went to the aforesaid tavern and tarried all night; the next morning told the landlord he was out of money and could not pay his reckoning — which was three shillings — but would pay him on his return, which would be within about three months, and went on his way to Lyme; since which I have heard nothing from him.”³⁶ This may seem like a trivial episode but it is proof that Rogers was drinking heavily and that Washington, unlike the British, knew about it.

Rogers seems to have actively courted both sides for nearly a year and it seems that it was the fact of his arrest rather than any deeply held belief—despite his Loyal

³⁵ Washington to Congress, New York, 27 June, 1776, the Papers of George Washington at the Library of Congress, S. 2, Letterbooks. Online at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:3:./temp/~ammem_Hhsr

³⁶ Rev. Eleazer Wheelock to Gen. Washington, Dartmouth College, 2 December 1775, in Peter Force ed., *American Archives*, S. 4, vol. 4, p. 158. Force’s collection is online at:

<http://colet.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/amarch/getdoc.pl?/projects/artflb/databases/efts/AmArch/IMAGE/9866> accessed 30/11/2006.

Eleazer Wheelock was a Congregationalist Minister and Educator. He had a particular interest in the education of Native Americans, DNB entry online at:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68774?docPos=1>, accessed 30 November 2006.

testimonies—that made him eventually choose the side he did. He seems to have made the running in respect of any offer to the Patriots, however, as demonstrated earlier, the British were actively offering him commands. This is not to say that the Patriots were his first choice, it is unclear whether Rogers even knew his own mind. It is also interesting to speculate on Washington's reasons for taking the decision he took, as it shows the influence that Rogers had in American society at that time. Washington may have been right not to trust Rogers, but Rogers had emerged from the French and Indian War with considerably more credit than had Washington. He was a military hero, and had he accepted a Patriot command there may have been calls from Congress for him to be at least equal to Washington in rank. Washington's popularity was often fluctuating in Congress and a proven hero may have seemed an attractive alternative to the sometimes difficult Virginian. This is speculative, but as several years later Washington would be accused of jealousy and protecting his position by undermining Benedict Arnold, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he deliberately did not court Rogers for fear that Congress would promote Rogers over him.³⁷ However, in some respects Washington may have just been a little more perceptive in his measuring up of the state of Rogers in 1775 than the British. Rogers had by this time severe problems with alcoholism and his marriage had broken down.³⁸ It is possible that Washington saw where Rogers' personal debilitation could lead and therefore did not want his services for reasons of potential unreliability.

On 8 July, 1776, the resourceful Rogers broke out of prison, (not for the first time in his life) and joined the British Army at New York. He came to them with a proposal: that he would resurrect the Rangers and help the British to defeat the Patriots. Gen. Howe writing to Secretary of State Lord Germain, welcomed Rogers' initiative. "Major Rogers

³⁷ James Martin, *Benedict Arnold Revolutionary Hero: An American Warrior Reconsidered*, (New York, 1997), p. 428.

³⁸ Cuneo, "Rogers of the Rangers," p. 266.

having escaped to us from Philadelphia is empowered to raise a battalion of Rangers” which he hoped might “be useful in the course of the campaign.”³⁹ The fact of his coming late to the army may have influenced Howe’s decision to give a Rogers only a regiment and could account for the close watch the British High Command paid to the Queens Rangers and for their subsequently quick dismissal of Rogers. If they did not entirely trust him—although there is no concrete evidence to support this view—then a regiment would have seemed safer than a brigade. Americans with considerably less experience than Rogers were being given brigade rank in the Provincial service, such as Cordlandt Skinner.⁴⁰ However, there is no record of any dissatisfaction on Rogers’ part. He took the command he was given and set about forming his regiment.

Rogers’ behaviour and his state of mind immediately prior to setting up the Queens Rangers undoubtedly influenced his conduct in the brief period he commanded it. Rogers is a well known historical figure and this thesis aims to change perceptions of how he was regarded by his superiors. The Cuneo thesis is that the British underestimated his value; on the contrary, many of the British Generals, particularly Clinton, recognised what a useful recruiting tool he was, nevertheless Rogers’ conduct was far beyond anything they were used to and could deal with.⁴¹ They had justifiable concerns about the way he had joined them but still thought he could be useful, as witnessed by the fact that even after all the controversy surrounding his command of the Queens Rangers they still gave him the means to set up another regiment.

³⁹Gen. William Howe to George Germain, New York, 6 August 1776, quoted in Cuneo, *Rogers of the Rangers*, p. 264.

⁴⁰ Skinner had little military experience and no existing rank in the British Army, yet as a senior imperial official in the service of New Jersey he was trusted and appointed a brigadier general of Provincials almost immediately despite having been offered high command in the Patriot service. Thomas Purvis, Proprietors, *Patronage and Paper Money: Legislative Politics in New Jersey, 1703-1776*, (New Brunswick, 1986), p.249.

⁴¹ Cuneo, *Rogers of the Rangers* pp. 66-67.

Formation

This part of the chapter will focus on the formation of the Queens Rangers. As one of the first Loyalist regiments to be formed by the new Provincial Service, the Queens Rangers was in some ways a test case for how Loyalist regiments were to be recruited and run thereafter. It was intended to be formed quickly and to be ready for combat in as short a time as possible. The early recruitment methods were discredited and different techniques were soon brought in. A study of the formation of the regiment will highlight how different things were in the early months of the war and facilitate judgement on which was the most efficient or effective recruiting system.

Rogers had a very clear picture of the kind of regiment he wanted. It was to be similar to his earlier regiment, to be composed of tough backwoodsmen, "who were used to travelling and hunting" and he envisaged their role as similar to his earlier one which was to; "distress" the enemy by destroying their "barns, barracks etc and at all times to endeavour to waylay, attack and destroy their convoys of provisions by land and water."⁴²

Rogers wanted to recruit his men from all over the colonies and have them ready to fight by October of 1776. This seems a very ambitious time scale—the events of 22 October 1776, discussed later in the chapter, would suggest that this was the case—yet no questions were asked of Rogers and he was allowed to proceed with his plans. Rogers set about recruiting his new regiment in August and September of 1776. He recruited from the many refugees newly-arrived in New York and sent out men to the countryside, often far behind rebel lines. He soon had several hundred recruits.⁴³ The men were raised by the

⁴²Brig. Gen. William Johnson, orders to Capt. Robert Rogers, 23 April, 1756, Robert Rogers, "Journals," pp. 13-15.

⁴³ See testimonies of Capt. Daniel Fraser, Capt. John Brandon, Capt. John Eagles and Capt. John Griffiths, n.d. [mid 1780's?] as well as muster rolls from 24 December 1776, all at PRO: TS 11/221; the figures mentioned vary enormously, although Fraser claims at least 1000 by late autumn. The muster rolls are incomplete and not all from exactly the same date, but three rolls are from the same

traditional method of raising for rank. This was where a recruiter was awarded a commission based on the number of recruits they could assemble. As mentioned in previous chapters, this was laid down in the regulations that the British had set out for Provincial recruitment in 1775 and was deemed to be the most effective way of raising troops quickly. Rogers issued each recruiter with a warrant signed by him, which authorised them to recruit men and issue them with a bounty of forty shillings. This was considerably less than the three guineas which would be paid by the Queens Rangers in 1780. This was because in 1776 the bounty was paid largely by Rogers and claimed back from Gen. Howe, whereas later it was paid directly to the regimental commanders and distributed to the recruiters so there was presumably more money budgeted for recruiting.⁴⁴ The money would be paid largely by Rogers at first but would be claimed back from the budget of General Howe in the form of vouchers issued.⁴⁵

The recruiting was carried out in upper New York and Connecticut.⁴⁶ Many of the recruiters braved patriot patrols and recruited behind enemy lines. Just how dangerous a practice this was, is illustrated by the case of Daniel Strang. Strang was one of Rogers' first recruiting officers and he was sent to recruit in upper New York. He was captured by Patriot troops at Peeksgill and was charged with "holding correspondence with the enemy

date, 24 December 1776. This allows us to calculate that three of the ten companies had enlisted a total of 199 men by December (they include those killed, captured, discharged or deserted by this date.

⁴⁴ Robert Rogers to [unnamed], Warrant for Raising Provincials, New York 14 February 1777, PRO: TS11/221; Recruiting warrant issued to Daniel Strang in Jared Sparks ed., *The Writings of George Washington: Being His Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and Other Papers Official and Private* (Boston, Little Brown, 1855) vol. 3, pp. 521-522; Queens Rangers recruiting poster 1780. *The Royal Gazette*, 17 September 1780. <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/qar/qarrcrt.htm>, accessed 27/6/2006.

⁴⁵ List of Officers given Warrants for raising troops. (undated, probably late December 1776.) PRO: TS 11/221.

⁴⁶ John Graves Simcoe *Journal of a Corps of Loyalists in the Late War* (London 1787; repr. New York, 1962), p. 17.

and lurking around the camp as a spy."⁴⁷ He was condemned to death by Washington himself and duly hung.⁴⁸ These events would arguably have repercussions on future recruitment. After this, there was recruitment behind enemy lines but it was more likely to be informal and on a small scale.⁴⁹ However, this meant that the recruiting area of the Rangers was restricted. Many of the tough backwoodsmen types who Rogers envisaged joining, resided in areas under Patriot control. A large number of the recruits came from urban areas, like New York City and other large towns.⁵⁰ Therefore Rogers' dream for the Queens Rangers was hampered right at the outset because of the difficulty of securing the kind of men he wanted.

What convicted Strang was the fact that he carried his recruiting certificate on his person. This was unfortunate for him, but fortunate for historians as it is one of the few examples of Loyalist recruiting certificates from so early on in the war. The certificate shows how recruits were signed on before March of 1777, giving essentially the guidelines of raising for rank. It states that recruiter was rewarded for the number of recruits that they had brought in. It gives the bounty paid to each man, of forty shillings. A document in the Treasury solicitor's files lists payments made to Queens Rangers officers with the date that their warrant was issued. This money was to have been used for bounties and was issued in the form of vouchers to be claimed back at a later date.⁵¹ Generally their rank seems to go with how much money they have received for recruiting.

⁴⁷Jared Sparks ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. 3, p. 66.

⁴⁸ Cuneo cites another example of one William Lounsbury who was captured while recruiting and bayoneted to death. Lounsbury's fate was a case of indiscipline on the part of his captors -who had no officer with them- but like Strang the hangman's noose would probably have been his fate had he been treated properly. See, Testimony of William Schofield, Nov 1846, quoted in John Cuneo, "The Early Days of the Queens Rangers," p. 68.

⁴⁹ In 1779, when commanding the Kings Rangers, Rogers often found excuses for not recruiting behind enemy lines even when ordered to do so. See, the correspondence between Rogers and Capt. Mathews in BL: Haldimand Papers, Add Mss, 21820.

⁵⁰ John Cuneo, "The Early Days of the Queens Rangers," p. 66.

⁵¹ List of officers given warrants for raising troops, n.d. [1777?], TS 11/221 PRO.

The most successful, Captain Robert Cook, received £68 5s and 9d but one Lieutenant, Stephen Hunter received as little as 9s 8d. The total paid out in the document is £154 1s 2d.⁵² Several of the dismissed officers were accused of keeping the bounties or giving less than forty shillings and indeed Rogers would be accused of doing this again in 1779 with his later regiment the Kings Rangers.⁵³ At this point however, there was no evidence to substantiate these accusations and no court-martials were brought. The last two points of Strang's certificate are the most interesting.

They [the recruits to the Queens Rangers] will have their proportion of all rebel lands, and all privileges equal to any of his majesty's troops. The officers are to be the best judges in what manner they will get men in; either by parties, detachments, or otherwise, as may seem most advantageous.⁵⁴

The first part is an offer to recruits of captured Patriot lands. This, while a major inducement to recruits, was undoubtedly a controversial measure. This certificate would have caused real resentment when it fell into Patriot hands. The second point essentially leaves it up to the recruiter who they are to recruit. Nothing is said about the social background of the recruits and as the chapter shall demonstrate, it was this very latitude that was to cause some of the Queens Rangers officers from Virginia, so much disquiet.

There is no exact way of telling how many recruits joined in September 1776 many but the statements made by some of the officers for a later court case, suggests at least several hundred men.⁵⁵ Raising for rank seemed to be an effective way of quickly

⁵² List of officers given warrants for raising troops, TS 11/221.

⁵³ Petition of Maj. Armstrong and his fellow officers to Gen. Howe, n.d. [Mar. 1777?] TS 11\221; Capt. Mathews [A.D.C. to Gen. Haldimand], to Maj. James Rogers, Quebec, 24 April, 1780, Haldimand Papers, Add Mss, 21820, BL.

⁵⁴ Recruiting warrant issued to Daniel Strang, Jared Sparks (Ed), *The Writings of George Washington*: vol. 3, p. 66.

⁵⁵ For a breakdown of the known figures see footnote 44.

gaining large numbers of men. Yet it was no guarantee of quality. While it brought in large numbers of recruits, the promise of increased rank for volume of recruits could lead to the recruiter having little concern for traits like physical fitness and intelligence, something that a recruiter for a regiment as specialised as the Queens Rangers should have had at the forefront of their mind. Rogers' orders in the French and Indian war had instructed him to enlist only men that he or his officers could vouch for personally.⁵⁶ The situation in the Revolutionary War made this almost impossible. Many of the survivors of the earlier unit were in the Patriot ranks or at the very least far behind enemy lines and ill-disposed to risk everything to follow Rogers. In the report made by the Inspector General, one of the principal complaints was the alleged inappropriateness of many of the men enlisted.⁵⁷ Rogers' recruiters seemed to take every man that volunteered with no regard for quality. If this complaint had stayed focused on the age and fitness issue then it would seem eminently sensible, However, it also chose to focus on and ethnicity and social background of the recruits and officers. The complaint focused on the “mean extraction” of the officers and the fact that many of the recruits were “Negroes, Mulattos, Indians and sailors.”⁵⁸ The objections thus take on an altogether more sinister hue, in that they address issues other than the efficiency of the regiment but appear prejudicial to the backgrounds of the recruits. The nature of this issue and the British Army's response to it will be dealt with fully in the section on the reorganisation of March 1777. It is enough to note here that the trouble originated from Rogers' indiscriminate recruiting.

Documentary evidence however, suggests that Rogers' warrant gave him scope to recruit whomsoever he wished.⁵⁹ There is no mention of recruiting restrictions on the

⁵⁶ Maj. Gen. James Abercrombie to Robert Rogers, Albany, 6 February 1757, in Rogers, *Journals*, p. 50.

⁵⁷ Inspector's Report to the Adjutant General, New York, 14 March, 1777, TS 11/221, PRO.

⁵⁸ Petition of Maj. Richard Armstrong and his fellow officers to Gen. William Howe, n.d. [Jan. 1777?], TS 11\221; Inspector's report to the Adjutant General, New York, 14 March 1777 TS 11/221.

⁵⁹ Inspector's report; Rogers' Warrant, TS 11/221.

actual warrant and the Rangers were indeed given permission to recruit from Patriot prisoners in a way that most other Loyalist regiments were not. This is confirmed in a letter written by Lt. Col. Simcoe in 1778 in which he describes who the Queens Rangers were allowed to recruit: "No Corps to entertain Irish recruits except the Queens Rangers, Roman Catholic Volunteers and the Volunteers of Ireland ...Major Rogers warrant was to all extents and purposes a free battalion."⁶⁰ This means that Simcoe was using Rogers' warrant as binding and therefore nothing had been changed in terms of who the Rangers could and could not recruit, which invalidates Innes' restrictions.

Rogers' recruiting policy seems sensible on some levels. He was recruiting everyone he could get and the idea was that he would choose the best men as and when he had them. However, the question should be asked whether or not he was an adequate judge of the quality of recruits. Considering the fact that the British would frequently struggle to recruit Loyalists any selectivity based on criteria other than fighting potential seems somewhat foolish. There is also the issue that the actions they took with the Queens Rangers possibly discouraged many potential recruits. While the British understandably had to be wary of recruiting potential Patriot spies, they could not afford to turn away too many volunteers. Most Loyalist regiments were under-strength, and it is more than likely every man they turned away might discourage others from joining. If as Ranlet claims, the British or existing Loyalists in New York, sometimes had to resort to "pressing" men for their Loyalist units it makes criticism of Rogers' recruitment Queens Rangers doubly baffling and strategically unwise.⁶¹ On balance, a recruit coerced into joining a regiment is more likely to desert or collude with the enemy than a volunteer. The act of volunteering presupposes that the recruit had some faith in the rightness of the British cause and was therefore less likely to desert or turn traitor. However, if a recruit was turned away for no other reason than their background, or skin colour, then they

⁶⁰ Simcoe to Clinton, Oyster Bay, 30 May 1778, Simcoe Papers, Clements, Library.

⁶¹ Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists* (Knoxville, 1985), p. 107.

could understandably have become resentful, and may have been inclined to act on this resentment possibly going as far as switching sides. Yet, if the men were turned away because of infirmity or lack of the soldierly qualities then by dismissing them, the British were acting sensibly. No complaint was made or investigated during the actual recruiting processes which at the time in terms of recruits brought in it seemed to be initially successful. A man who recruited enough men to form a company could reasonably expect to be commissioned a captain, which was quite an inducement to recruiting.

Because of the scarcity of data it is impossible to put an exact figure on the numbers in the early Queens Rangers but estimates are possible. Of the ten companies of the original Rangers there are muster rolls for four companies so the records are incomplete but they are the only existing rolls for this period on which to base estimates.⁶² Each company has around sixty or seventy (a bit less than the 100 men an eighteenth century infantry company was supposed to have but in practice, rarely did) but still a good number by comparable figures.⁶³ So if there were ten companies then it is reasonable to estimate between six or seven hundred recruits.⁶⁴ Thus Rogers was successful in recruiting a large number of men in a short time. To put this into context many later Loyalist units struggled to reach two hundred men and contained companies of barely forty men.⁶⁵ The below demonstrates the rapid recruitment that took place in a relatively short space of time.

Table 5: Four companies of the Queens Rangers, 24 August 1776 to 24 December 1776.
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⁶² Muster Rolls, 24 December 1776, TS 11/221.

⁶³ J.A.Houlding, *Fit for Service*, (London 1980), pp.90-92.

⁶⁴ Testimony of Daniel Fraser, n.d., TS 11/221.

⁶⁵ See Database compiled from Muster Rolls in Series 1847 Vols. 1861-1866, Microfilms 4317-4318, National Archives of Canada: WO 12/11035 PRO.

Company	Officers (including NCOs.)	Privates	Total strength 8 August 24 - December 1776.	Fit For Duty 24 December 1776 ⁶⁶
Capt. Frazer	10	63	73	47
Capt. Eagles	9	55	64	22
Capt. Griffiths	10	52	62	43
Capt Brandon	10	60	70	45
Total	39	230	269	157

Source: Muster Rolls for the companies of Capt. John Brandon, Capt. Daniel Frazer, Capt. John Griffiths and Capt. John Eagles all 24 December 1776, TS 11/221

This table demonstrates that quite large numbers of men had been recruited in the four month period. Two hundred and sixty nine men represents a good total for four tenths of the regiment (many complete regiments numbered less than this) but also that by December large numbers of these men were absent from duty. The reasons for this rapid decline in numbers will be discussed below. Muster rolls are frustrating sources as all that is recorded are the names of recruits. It is notable that there are far fewer Scottish and Irish names in these muster rolls than those compiled in the 1780s.⁶⁷ While this of course proves nothing, it is possible to surmise that a greater number of the recruits were American born.⁶⁸

The recruits were assembled at Flushing on Long Island in August and September of 1776 where they were mustered and the process of forming them into companies was begun. Their training also commenced. There is no documentary evidence to describe their training. The closest the historian can get is to examine the training methods Rogers

⁶⁶ This is minus all absences.

⁶⁷ Muster Rolls for the Queens Rangers for 1783, WO 12/11035, PRO; See Queens Rangers Database.

⁶⁸ Cuneo claims this although he did not have access to these papers when he wrote his article in 1958. See, Cuneo, "The Early Days of the Queen's Rangers," p. 75.

briefly outlined in his journals and to surmise that he used the similar methods to train his troops in autumn of 1776.⁶⁹ Rogers may have intended to operate his original strenuous training methods but in 1776 he was twenty years older and alcohol had taken its toll, so whether the methods were exactly similar to his original training regime is debatable. What is the case is that Rogers only had few weeks in which to implement his training regime so whatever methods he used would have been rushed.

Certainly, there were problems in recreating the French and Indian War regiment. Cuneo writes that the men assembled in the autumn of 1776 were not of the same calibre as those that had served fifteen years previously saying that the recruits were “farmers and townspeople who scarcely knew one end of a gun from another.” He compares them unfavourably with the “experienced and sturdy New Hampshire men of 1756.”⁷⁰ Yet it is hard to see how he can fully substantiate this claim given the lack of evidence about the men. The only real evidence that the men were not up to the same standards as 1756, is from the report of the Inspector General Alexander Innes of 14 March 1777, who would complain that many of the original Queens Rangers were old and infirm and were unfit for service.⁷¹ Yet this was only some of the men of course. There is also evidence to suggest that not all of these men were dismissed when Innes reported. In the introduction to his journal, Simcoe states that one of his first tasks was to create a unit of “young men, active and fit for the service.”⁷² The way Simcoe expresses this, gives the impression that some of the men who were still with the unit when he took command in October 1777 did not fit into this category. This would suggest that not all of Innes’ recommendations had been acted upon by the two British officers who had commanded in the interim. There are two possible solutions to this. One being that to dismiss too many men would have

⁶⁹Rogers, *Journals*, pp. 59-71.

⁷⁰ Cuneo, “The Early Days of the Queen’s Rangers,” p. 66.

⁷¹ Inspector's Report to the Adjutant General, 14 March, 1777, TS 11/221.

⁷² Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, (London 1787, New York, 1969 edition), p. 18.

completely destroyed the regiment and that there were not enough potential recruits to start again. The other suggestion is that many of these older men were experienced soldiers who provided the regiment with something that young raw troops couldn't. As the chapter will show, the Queens Rangers performed well in the post Rogers, pre Simcoe period, so the age of the men could not have hindered them.

It is interesting to consider why the quality of the troops was allegedly so poor. The troops that Rogers had had available to him in 1756 were admittedly drawn from many parts of America, but why were so many of the new troops so "old and infirm?" The average age of the recruits in 1775 to the Boston Association was over 40.⁷³ Is this a reflection on the kind of men that the British were able to recruit in the first years of the war? Were young men less likely to become Loyalists? There were many young men who volunteered for the later Queens Rangers so this is unlikely to have been the case. It is also possible to say that Rogers was recruiting older men because of their cumulative combat experience.⁷⁴

If there were differences in the men Rogers recruited in 1776 from those he had enlisted in 1756 it has been commented on that the Rogers' attitude had changed too. Mary Beacock Fryer and Christopher Dracott, comment that Rogers had undergone a change, stating that he had gone from treating his men as "equals" to taking a more authoritarian attitude.⁷⁵ This may explain why desertion rates were higher as Rogers was less likely to inspire Loyalty amongst the men. It also may have discouraged talented recruits from joining as this statement by a potential recruit, Steven Jarvis, demonstrates:

⁷³ Muster Rolls for the Boston Association, Gage Papers 1775. William Clements Library. These rolls give the age of the recruits.

⁷⁴ Robert Calhoun, *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America* (New York, 1973); TS 11/221; Cuneo, "The Early Days of the Queen's Rangers;" Gregory Palmer, *Biographical sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*. (New York, 1984).

⁷⁵ Mary Beacock Fryer and Christopher Dracott, *John Graves Simcoe, 1752-1806: A Biography*. (Toronto, 1998,) p. 34.

I set off to Mr Jarvis [his cousin] to procure an exchange; when to my great surprise I saw the Lt Col. of the Regt.[Rogers], who was mounted, attack the Sentinel, at his Marquee, and beat him most unmercifully with his cane, over the head and shoulders. After viewing this transaction I wheeled about, took my knapsack, and marched off with my Regt., without even taking leave of my relations.⁷⁶

This is a very different Rogers from the popular perception of the tough, good-natured man of the people who appears in Kenneth Roberts' novel *Northwest Passage*.⁷⁷ Fryer and Dracott are possibly subtly comparing Rogers to Simcoe, a man from a far more refined background than Rogers yet who praised his men at every opportunity, officers and ranks alike.⁷⁸ Fryer and Dracott put Rogers' attitude down to alcoholism although it could be that Rogers had a greater sense of his own importance than he had previously. Certainly his letters often appear to be written in a self important style, as witness his declaration of Loyalty quoted earlier in the chapter.⁷⁹ This authoritarianism is not the best way to encourage recruits and in a small unit like a regiment an unpopular commander is one of the surest ways to encourage desertion and indiscipline. It is also noticeable that of all the testimonies supporting Rogers, none comes from an enlisted man although this may be due to scarcity of sources and the fact that at that time an enlisted man would rarely have been asked, or trusted, to testify to the fitness of a commissioned officer.

⁷⁶Narrative of Stephen Jarvis in J.J. Talman, *Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada*, (Toronto, 1966), p.159.

⁷⁷ Kenneth Roberts, *Northwest Passage*, (1937).

⁷⁸ It is interesting to note that Jarvis seems surprised that Rogers was mounted. Rogers was known for conducting all operations on foot... In none of the popular images of Rogers is he ever mounted, in the painting the Death of Wolfe, he is kneeling- and Spencer Tracy spent the entire film on foot.

⁷⁹ Robert Rogers to John Pownall, New York, 3 October, 1775, CO 5/1106, f.323, in *Documents of the American Revolution*, vol. 11, pp. 136-7.

Rogers did have friends in the regiment though, particularly the officers he had appointed. The officers of the Queens Rangers until 1777 were basically split into two separate groups: the original group consisting of those chosen by Rogers for bringing in enough troops; and a group of "Virginia gentlemen" merged into the Queens Rangers on the orders of Howe.⁸⁰ The information available on the first group of is largely confined to those officers who brought the legal suits against Howe and Innes. These men would be dismissed for not being officer material and were described as: "Tavern Keepers" and "keepers of bawdy houses" by their more respectable comrades.⁸¹ The testimonies of the dismissed officers will be investigated in greater depth when the legal suit is discussed later in the chapter, but it is enough to say that they praised Rogers and his vision for the Queens Rangers.

The second group however, were not as enamoured of their commander. These officers had been recruited in Virginia by Gov. Dunmore. They had helped form the Queens Own Loyal Virginia Regiment in the autumn of 1775 and had participated at the disastrous battle of Great Bridge in Virginia, in December 1775, where a hastily organised Loyalist force was defeated by the Patriots. They were a mixture of native Virginians and British emigrants, many of whom were Scots. Their background was different to that of Rogers' original officers; Simcoe described them as "Virginia gentlemen."⁸² Several of these men were former British officers and thus used to British

⁸⁰ Capt. Daniel Frazer had been in the British Army for twenty three years, Capt. John Brandon had served in the French and Indian War, as had Capt. Patrick Welsh who had been a provincial officer and constable in New York. See, Cuneo, "The Early Days of the Queen's Rangers," p. 67 and Testimonies of Fraser, Eagles, Griffiths and Brandon, TS 11/221.

⁸¹ Cuneo, "The Early Days of the Queen's Rangers," p. 67; Petition of Maj. Armstrong and his fellow officers, PRO: TS 11/221; Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 289.

⁸² Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 18.

Army discipline.⁸³ The documentary evidence suggests that they did not get on well with Rogers and his officers. Led by Rogers' second in command, Capt. (later Maj.) Richard Armstrong, an Englishman and Virginia landowner, they petitioned Gen. Howe for Rogers' removal.⁸⁴ They would be allowed to remain with the new Queens Rangers after March 1777 and would form the nucleus of its officer corps.⁸⁵ They will be described in detail in the second part of the chapter when they formed the mainstay of Simcoe's battalion. However, there is no evidence to show that these tensions had manifested themselves in October 1776 when the Queens Rangers were moved up to the frontline to commence their activities against the Patriots.

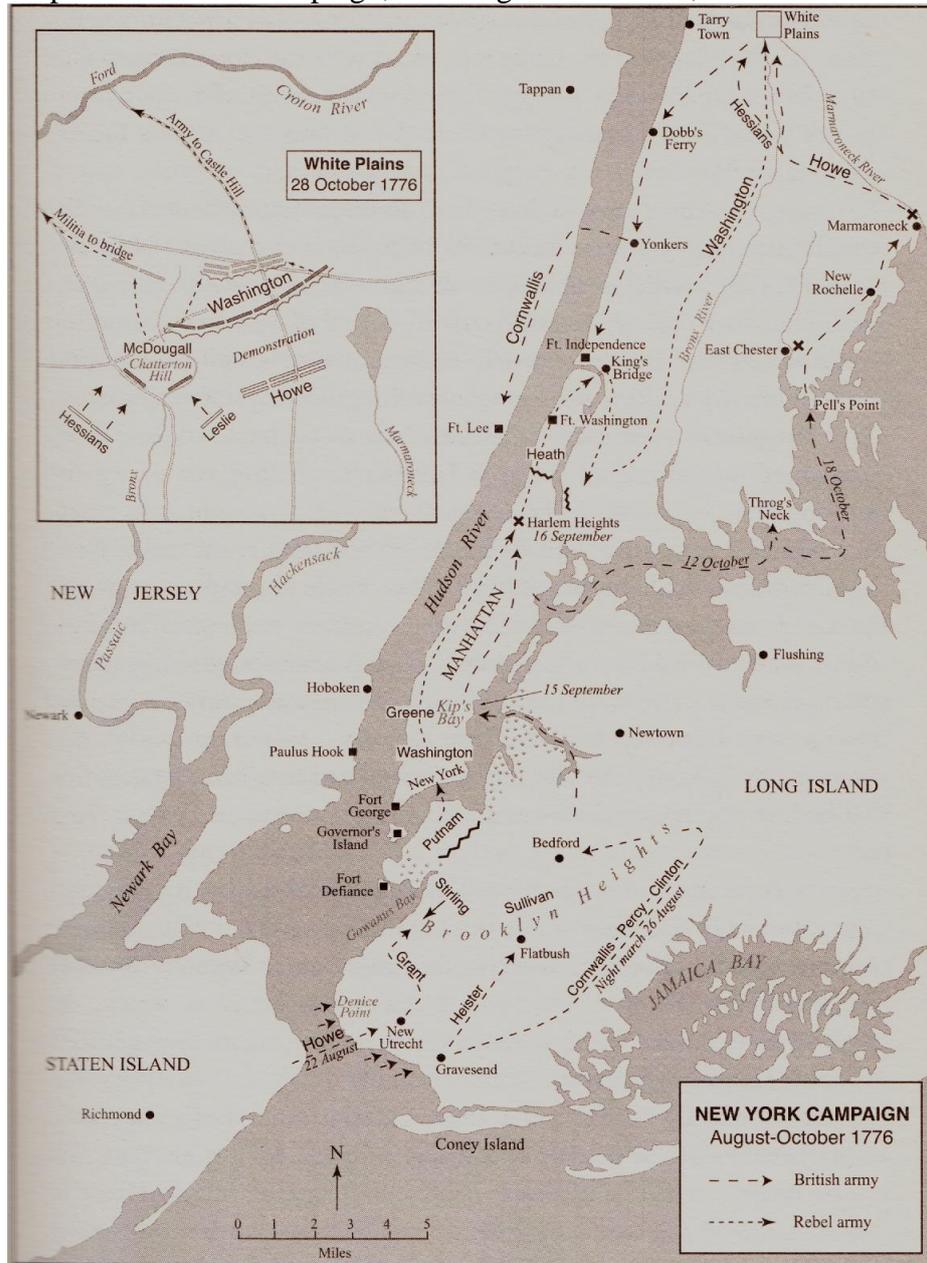
This concludes the section on the formation of Queens Rangers. By mid October 1776, Rogers had assembled a unit of at least several hundred men and had them in the field close to the enemy lines in New York. This rapidity of training was similar to the speed in which the Continental Army had been put in the field in the summer of 1775. Rogers had hastily assembled a fighting unit and committed them to combat with little training within a few short weeks. The thesis will demonstrate that while this could be said to have worked for the Patriots this would be the last time the British would utilise such approaches with the Loyalists in the Northern theatre of war. This was because of what happened on the night of 22 October 1776.

⁸³Some of them put in significant claims to the Loyalist Claims Commission which would argue that they were of high status in Virginia. Gregory Palmer, *Biographical sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, (Westport CT, 1984).

⁸⁴ Petition of Maj. Armstrong and his fellow officers, n.d. PRO: TS 11/221.

⁸⁵ Proposals by Christopher French for the more speedily forming the Queens American Rangers, n.d. [March 1777?] PRO: TS 11/221. Simcoe refers to them as Virginia "gentlemen" in John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p.17.

Map 2: New York Campaign, Showing Mamaroneck, 22 October 1776.



Source: Hugh Bicheno, *Rebels and Redcoats* (London, 2003) p.43

Winter 1776-1777.

On the night of 22 October 1776 the Rangers were in camp at Mamaroneck, near Oyster Bay in New York, when they were ambushed by a Patriot force consisting of 750 men from Delaware, Virginia and Maryland, under the command of a Colonel John Haslett. Haslett was acting on the orders of Lord Stirling who had seen the chance to humiliate Rogers.⁸⁶ Rogers played into Stirling's hands by failing to assign adequate sentries and the Patriots took full advantage of this. There was confused fighting before the Queens Rangers managed to beat a fighting retreat. However, they had taken quite heavy casualties and thirty-six of their number were captured.⁸⁷ This was to be the only major action the Rangers would fight in 1776, and the Patriots claimed it as a major victory. John Cuneo's detailed account of the skirmish argues that it was not really a defeat and that the Americans exaggerated their success for propaganda purposes because they saw Rogers as an important recruiting tool for the British and thus he had to be discredited.⁸⁸ However, much of the evidence points towards it being a grievous defeat.

It is certainly the case that it was in the Patriots' interest to make great capital about defeating Rogers. Washington had expressed his fears about the recruitment of

⁸⁶ Cuneo, "The Early Days of the Queens Rangers," p.70. Cuneo notes that these troops were considered to be amongst the best soldiers in the Continental Army.

⁸⁷ The muster rolls in the Treasury solicitor's list some of the casualties but as not every company is represented they are incomplete. The most complete casualty figures come from Patriot sources: List of Prisoners Taken 22 October 1776 in Peter Force ed., *American Archives*. S. 5 vol. 2 (Washington, 1848) p.1230; Tench Tilghman to William Duer, Headquarters, Valentine's Hill, 23 October, 1776 in Peter Force ed., *American Archives*.S.5 vol. 3, p. 576, online at <http://colet.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/amarch/getdoc.pl?projects/artflb/databases/efts/AmArch/IMAGE/.24973> accessed 02/11/2006. This letter, from Washington's ADC estimates Rogers dead at least 25, and his force at 400; See also Minutes of a Committee for Detecting and defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, New York, 24 November 1776, New York Historical Society, Collections, 1924, vol. 1, p.9-10, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/qar/qarprisoners1.htm> , accessed 6 November 2006. This document lists twenty-four Queens Rangers prisoners captured at Mamaroneck and transferred to prison in Exeter New Hampshire.

⁸⁸ Cuneo, "The Early Days of the Queen's Rangers," pp. 68,-71.

Loyalists and Rogers' role in particular in a letter written two weeks before Mamaroneck, in which he opined that, "it is absolutely necessary, that the Measures of the Enemy [in respect to Loyalist recruitment] should be effectually counteracted in this Instance, or, in a little time, they will levy no inconsiderable Army of our own People. The influence of their Money and their artifices have already passed the Sound, and several have been detected of late, who had enlisted to serve under their banner and the particular Command of Major Rogers."⁸⁹ Washington was clearly aware of the propaganda value of Rogers and was thinking of ways to counteract him. So when the Patriots realised they had the chance show up Rogers they grasped it fully and used the result to their advantage.

Evidence suggests that Rogers' ineptitude did much of the Patriots work for them. He was undoubtedly taken unawares and there is a strong argument, based on evidence in Patriot sources, for suggesting that the regiment was lucky to escape more or less intact. A letter from Washington's aide de camp, Tench Tilghman, estimates the Queens Rangers at around four hundred; they were outnumbered by two hundred and fifty men if Cuneo's figure of 650 for the Patriots is correct.⁹⁰ The same letter goes on to suggest that it was only by sheer luck that the Queens Rangers escaped at all.

They attacked *Rogers* about daybreak, put the party to flight, brought in thirty-six prisoners, sixty arms, and a good many blankets; and had not the guides undertook to alter the first disposition, Major *Rogers*, and his party of about four hundred, would in all probability have fallen

⁸⁹ Washington to Jonathan Trumbull, Headquarters, Heights of Harlem, 30 September, 1776 in The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, S.2 Letterbooks, online at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw060108\)\)#N0170-159](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw060108))#N0170-159) accessed 7/11/2006.

⁹⁰Tench Tilghman to William Duer Head-Quarters, Valentine's Hill, 23 October, 1776 in Peter Force ed., *American Archives*, vol.3, p. 576 at <http://colet.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/amarch/getdoc.pl?/projects/artflb/databases/efts/AmArch/IMAGE/24973> accessed 02/11/2006

into our hands. We don't know how many we killed, but an officer says he counted twenty-five in one orchard. We had twelve wounded.⁹¹

This demonstrates that the Queens Rangers came off badly. The difference between defeat and victory is sometimes purely a matter of interpretation, but the fact that Rogers took the greater casualties and lost the field makes it very hard to suggest that Mamaroneck was anything other than a humiliating defeat.

Cuneo argues that Rogers was not censured too harshly by the High Command by quoting a letter from Howe which stated that Rogers put up a “spirited exertion.” However, Cuneo does not quote the whole letter, which censures Rogers for the carelessness of his sentries, which, “exposed him to a surprise from a large body of the enemy.”⁹² This would seem to suggest that had Rogers and his officers been doing their duty properly they should never have allowed themselves to be ambushed at all. Indeed, a letter from the Patriot politician Charles De Witt suggests that had the orders of Lord Stirling been carried out properly the Patriots “should have had the whole party with their infamous leader.”⁹³

The use of the phrase “infamous” shows how important it was to the Patriots to humiliate Rogers. Had Rogers been captured his fate could have been a dire one, given that he had given his parole not to take up arms against the Patriots. The Patriots would certainly have been able to have made great political capital out of a trial, and this was why Rogers had been such a target for them in the first place.

The later Queens Rangers under Simcoe were never ambushed in this way as Simcoe always took the precaution of posting adequate sentries possibly as a result of the

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Howe to Germain, 30 November, 1776, CO 5/93 f. 294, also cited in Cuneo “The Early Days of the Queens Rangers,” p. 71.

⁹³ Charles D. Witt to the President of the New-York Convention. White-Plains, 24 October 1776 in in Peter Force ed., *American Archives*, at <http://colet.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/amarch/getdoc.pl?projects/artflb/databases/efts/AmArch/IMAGE/.24973> accessed 2/10/2006.

lesson of Mamaroneck.⁹⁴ The forested terrain in New York, where the Rangers were posted – in 1776 and on and off until 1780—makes long-range visibility difficult, therefore the sentries had to be extra vigilant. Simcoe would develop these techniques to a fine art and was equally adept at catching out inattentive Patriot sentries.

Rogers' men were barely trained and certainly not yet as proficient as his French and Indian War soldiers had been at forest fighting. It is possible that he did take what would have been adequate precautions with a well-trained regiment; however, this in itself could be a criticism. Rogers and his company commanders should have taken extra care. If the men were not ready to be on the front line then they should not have been there. It was Rogers' duty as commander to state this to higher authority and he would have been well within his rights to keep them in a safer position until he had felt that they were ready. Was it therefore bravado on the part of Rogers that saw them transferred to the frontlines so quickly? The Queens Rangers were a small part of the British invasion of the mainland New York. The British Army had remained on the islands on the coast of New York for most of the summer and it was only in October that the main army crossed over to the mainland taking the Queens Rangers with them. After a summer of relative inactivity the British were finally moving and Rogers was keen that his new regiment should be involved. Yet the fact that Mamaroneck ended as it did suggests that the Queens Rangers were rushed into a combat which they were not ready for.

In many ways the Patriots' scheme to ruin Rogers was accomplished, but by the man himself. Before Mamaroneck, Rogers had been able to live off his reputation from the French and Indian War but it was becoming clearer that now he was lazy and frequently drunk. Rogers' intemperance and other bad habits would have dire consequences for him and his command of the Queens Rangers. After Mamaroneck the Queens Rangers saw little action. Some recruiting parties tangled with the enemy and

⁹⁴John Simcoe to Company Commanders of the Queens Rangers, n.d. [Winter, 1779?] Oyster Bay, New York, Simcoe Papers, William Clements Library.

they conducted some small-scale raids but for most of the winter they sat behind their own lines. While this would have normal for most regiments, a ranger regiment was supposed to be active during the winter. Rogers' journals had spelled this out, in the French and Indian War; he had gone to the effort of fitting his men with snowshoes so that they could keep the enemy pinned down when least expected it.⁹⁵ Yet it seemed that the days of Rogers being innovative were over; his alcoholism had worsened to the point where many in his regiment began to despair of their accomplishing anything. Morale plummeted in camp and many soldiers deserted.

The following table compiled from the extant muster rolls from January 1777 shows how the numbers had indeed declined over the winter but actually not dramatically. The biggest decline was from the initial muster to the December 1776 muster from 269 to 157. Much of this is attributable to Mamaroneck. However, on examining the figures what becomes apparent is that the some of the companies of the Queens Rangers do not look like functioning units. Twenty two men is less than platoon strength and not enough to operate as a functional military body.

Table 6: Four companies of the Queens Rangers, 24 December 1776 to 30 March 1777.					
Company	Officers (including NCOs.)	Privates	Total strength 24 December 1776 to 30 March 1777.	Fit For Duty 24 December 1776 ⁹⁶	Total Fit for Duty March 1777 ⁹⁷
Capt. Frazer	7	55	62	47	52
Capt. Eagles	7	25	32	22	22

⁹⁵ Robert Rogers, *Journals*, p. 83.

⁹⁶ From Muster Rolls of 24 December 1776 see Table 1.

⁹⁷ This is minus all absences except “on command” which is detached duty.

Capt. Griffiths	7	32	39	43	22
Capt Brandon	9	41	50	45	44
Total	30	153	183	157	140

Source: Muster Rolls for the companies of Capt. John Brandon, Capt. Daniel Frazer, Capt. John Griffiths and Capt. John Eagles all 30 March 1777 except Griffiths roll which was taken on March 7, TS 11/221.

It was at this low point, in December 1776, that someone took a stand against Rogers. Nearly a third of the Queens Rangers officers, largely consisting of those men transferred from the Loyal Virginians, took a step which verged on mutiny. They wrote to General Howe, stating that Rogers was unfit for command and that they would not serve under him any longer. The fact that Rogers' second in command, Capt. (Maj. by provincial rank) Richard Armstrong, signed this petition shows the seriousness of it. Armstrong sent the petition to the British High Command protesting about the conduct of Rogers and several of his appointed officers.⁹⁸ It accuses Rogers of contravening a general order from Howe about who should be appointed to commissions. The petition reads:

Many of these officers were men of mean extraction, without any degree of education sufficient to qualify them to bear his Majesty's commission... Gen'l Howe had been deceived by Col^o Rogers who recommended these men for commissions in the Queens Rangers in direct violation of a General order of October, 76 - by which Commanding officers of Provincial Corps were ordered to be particularly careful to inform themselves of such

⁹⁸ Petition of Maj. Armstrong and his fellow officers, PRO: TS 11\221.

persons as they intended should bear commissions in the Corps and to recommend none such as were Strictly unexceptionable.⁹⁹

This document seems to be criticizing the officers not because of lack of merit but because of their class. It goes on to criticise the professions of the officers they are complaining about. To put it into the context of the time however, regiments were run by officers from a specific class. In the British Army, commissions were purchased, which made it a very hard system to break into, almost a caste system. There was an expectation not just amongst the officers but arguably amongst the rank and file too that officers would behave in a certain way.¹⁰⁰ It was often very difficult for men who were raised from the ranks to be accepted by those both above and below them. Yet, traditionally, American provincial regiments were different. Recruiting for rank was the common practice and by that system anyone could conceivably get a commission. The crucial point, however, is that the men who complained were American, or had all least lived in America.¹⁰¹ Some of them had served in British regiments but they would all be familiar with the colonial system which was replicated in all the Loyalist regiments at this time – excepting the Royal Highland Emigrants, the Nova Scotia Volunteers and the 60th Royal Americans- where officers were appointed. By explicitly criticising their commander they also laid themselves open to serious charges. This petition commenced a chain of events which would end in the radical reformation not only of the Queens Rangers but the whole provincial service. In a wider context it can be connected with the wider strategy British stepping up their effort in America in 1777. The campaign of that year would see several major battles and a new aggression on the part of the British and would prove to be one of

⁹⁹ Petition of Maj. Armstrong and his fellow officers TS 11\221. Another copy of this letter is cited in Cuneo, “The Early Days of the Queens Rangers” p. 67.

¹⁰⁰Houlding, *Fit for Service*, p. 80.

¹⁰¹ They were the former officers of the Queens Virginia Regiment.

the most decisive years of the war, and it was equally decisive for the Queens Rangers. They would be transformed as fighting force.

The fact that these men had waited for the whole winter to put in their petition shows that it was no rapid decision. They were potentially risking not only their military future but potentially their lives, had Howe chosen to back Rogers. However, as the chapter will demonstrate in the next section, they not only got away with it but got exactly what they wanted.

The Inspection

Howe acted swiftly on the Petition by taking prompt action in respect to the Queens Rangers that signified a new attitude towards the provincial corps by the British High Command in early 1777. Smith argued that the British changed their strategy towards the Loyalists as a result of the French intervention in 1778.¹⁰² However, while this is undoubtedly the case, the British had actually commenced reforming their provincial regiments on a smaller scale, the year before. The model for how future Loyalist regiments would be organised was the Queens Rangers.

Over the winter of 1777 Howe created the Provincial Service which made several administrative appointments aimed at turning the Loyalist regiments from a loose collection of regiments into a coherent body.¹⁰³ The most significant of these for the Queens Rangers, was the appointment of Alexander Innes as Inspector General of the Provincial Corps.¹⁰⁴ In January 1777 Innes, as a trusted aide of Howe, was promoted to

¹⁰²Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, pp. 74-82.

¹⁰³These will be described fully in Chapter 2. As well as Innes, the appointments included the appointment of Governor William Tryon as highest ranking Provincial officer and Edward Winslow as Muster Master General.

¹⁰⁴Innes was a Scot who had served as an officer in the 63rd Regiment in the 1760s and had immigrated to South Carolina in 1771 where he served as private secretary to Governor William Campbell. He was subsequently a British secret agent in South Carolina before returning to British lines in 1776. For

the provincial rank of colonel and given authority over all administrative matters relating to the Loyalist Regiments. Innes would have a major influence on the Loyalist regiments as he had the power to recommend changes in the command and the structure of the units.

Innes' first major assignment was the Queens Rangers. Howe, having just received Armstrong's petition, decided to act upon it and ordered Innes to inspect the regiment. What Innes found and the recommendations he made would have major repercussions for the Queens Rangers and the Loyalist regiments as a whole. Innes discovered abnormally high rates of desertion and several other "irregularities" which he detailed in a report to General Howe. He based his evidence upon examining the regiment and the muster rolls and accounts.¹⁰⁵ His conclusion was that the Rangers were "unfit for service."¹⁰⁶ He then proceeded, with the authorization of General Howe, to take steps to make the Rangers "fit for service." He dismissed Col. Rogers and twenty-three officers and allowed over two hundred of the rank and file to leave the regiment.¹⁰⁷ Innes stated in his report that many of the men that had been enlisted by the dismissed officers had chosen not to serve with anyone else so he recommended that they be allowed to leave on condition that they paid back "the Kings Bounty, if they have received it."¹⁰⁸ This codicil seems harsh. By necessity much of the bounty would have been spent on uniforms and other military accoutrements.

There were also allegations made against one of the recruiting officers, Captain John Griffiths, that bounties had been never been handed out in the first place. If this was

Information on Innes see the Online Loyalist Institute, www.royalprovincial.com, date accessed 10 October 2006; and Robert Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution*, (Columbia, 1987), p.72.

¹⁰⁵ The database shows a higher amount of desertions than the later Rangers.

¹⁰⁶ Inspector's Report to Adjutant General, 17 March 1777, PRO: TS 11/221.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Testimony of Col. Alex. Innes, London, 1784, PRO: TS 11/221.

¹⁰⁸ Inspector's Report, PRO. TS 11/221.

the case, then recruits would have to have to found money that they had never received.¹⁰⁹ Griffiths had previous convictions, he had served a prison sentence for counterfeiting before the war and the claim that he later made to the Loyalist Claims board was turned down as entirely fraudulent.¹¹⁰ Lt. Col. Rudolphus Ritzema, who knew Griffiths, claimed the captain was “one of the greatest scoundrels he ever knew.”¹¹¹ Rogers himself would wrongly appropriate bounty money in 1780 while commanding the Kings Rangers in Canada, and his pre-war record included numerous allegations of counterfeiting, and possibly even treason with the French.¹¹² While these events are not materially relevant to the charge of officers withholding bounties, they certainly make the claims of Innes and Armstrong more believable. The allegations of appropriating the bounties were never successfully upheld.

In the margins of Innes’ report the Adjutant General, Lord Frances Rawdon, states the action that Howe had ordered for each of Innes’ recommendations. Rawdon recommended that if the troops chose not to leave they could be transferred into another regiment. So essentially the choice was, pay back the money or be drafted into a unit they had not chosen to serve with. In some respects as the recruits had signed on to fight anyway this does seem reasonable, but the issue was that they had refused serve under anyone else. It brings up a complicated issue about volunteer soldiers. If a soldier volunteers for a specific regiment, is it right to force him to move into a regiment that he did not sign up for? However, to have stuck rigidly to this would have been virtually impossible. Regiments were depleted by service and it was far quicker and more efficient

¹⁰⁹ There is an untitled document in the treasury solicitors files which is form several private soldiers accusing Capt. Griffiths of keeping their bounty money for himself, Untitled testimony, n.d. [Jan. 1777?], PRO: TS 11/221.

¹¹⁰ Palmer, *Biographical sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, p. 343.

¹¹¹ Palmer, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, p. 343 Ritzema was Colonel of the Royal American Reformees, a unit consisting of Patriot deserters.

¹¹² See the Haldimand Papers, Add 21820, BL; Rogers’ ODNB entry, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23996?docPos=54>, accessed 28 November 2006.

to transfer experienced soldiers to another unit than it was to train up new recruits. This was common practice in the British Army at the time, although it was new to the Loyalist service.

The next section of the report refers to plans to provide compensation for the dismissed officers. Rawdon states that Howe ordered that they be given three months pay and "such of them as are deserving" were to be given the chance serve as officers in another provincial unit when "vacancies" arose.¹¹³ This would suggest that some of the officers were judged inadequate for the Queens Rangers yet perfectly acceptable for other regiments although the use of the word "deserving" demonstrates that some of them were judged unfit for any commission. However, what Howe's order raises is that he intended that the Queens Rangers were to have the best officers. It suggests that, despite everything, they were regarded as a specialist unit and care was to be taken with them.¹¹⁴

Innes' report highlighted the serious doubts the High command was beginning to have over the recruitment process for Loyalists.¹¹⁵ It is arguable that the discoveries Innes made when investigating recruiting for the Queens Rangers would lead the British into changing the way in which Loyalists were recruited. Howe began to debate the wisdom of raising for rank because of the officers it produced. The main objection that the British had to raising for rank was not corruption, which after all could go on (and did) in the system that the British normally employed to raise troops, but that technically anyone

¹¹³ Inspector's Report, TS 11/221.

¹¹⁴ The final clause refers to the Rogers' practice of allowing officers and men "indiscriminate leaves." This is another example of the clash of two styles of disciplines. In the colonial regiments prior to the Revolutionary War, men were frequently given leave to attend to farms and other domestic matters, whereas in the regular British Army leaves were infrequent as enlistments were long and the general expectation was that soldiers were to put aside their previous existences. Howe ordered that a system be put in place for regulating leaves and that it would be transmitted to the commanders all Provincial regiments.

¹¹⁵ The first section of the report is about general recruiting issues and does not refer explicitly to the Queens Rangers.

could become an officer providing that they raised enough men.¹¹⁶ At a wider level the changes were not made immediately as Smith demonstrates, they were carried out in a widespread way in 1778, but the changes to recruiting followed the pattern set by Innes for the Queens Rangers in 1777.¹¹⁷

In Innes' opinion, Rogers had promised companies to men "totally unfit for the service".¹¹⁸ Raising for rank was phased out in 1777 and only resurrected for the loosely structured militia companies of the Southern campaign, in 1780. As the chapter will show, the new documentary evidence proves that the British did have reasons for changing the regiment.¹¹⁹ It is possible to argue that some of the measures do equate to some form of social control—in respect to the complaints about the ethnicity of some recruits, as well as those complaints about the pre-war background of the officers.¹²⁰

Certainly, not everyone involved was prepared to accept that the measures that were taken were solely for the benefit of the regiment. In 1784 four dismissed officers would attempt to sue for wrongful dismissal stating that several of them had had previous military service in the British Army and they had all risked their lives to recruit troops. The crucial point of the suit was, were the Rangers truly "fit for service" in March 1777? If they were not then Innes was entirely justified in making his changes. The problem for the historian in trying to answer this question is that the evidence is so conflicting. The

¹¹⁶ For a detailed description of normal recruiting practices in the British Army of the eighteenth century see Houlding, *Fit for Service*, Ch. 2.

¹¹⁷ While Smith states that the problems with the Queens Rangers were part of a wider malaise that Howe had against the recruiting practises for Loyalists he does not quote from Innes' 1777 report, which demonstrates that origins of the changes lay with the Queens Rangers. He mentions the influence the changes to the Queens Rangers had on Howe; he does not go into any great depth on the Rangers. See Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats* pp. 34-36, 70-61, 74-76, for analysis of the change in recruiting regulations. He mentions the influence the changes to the Queens Rangers had on Howe; he does not go into any great depth on the Rangers.

¹¹⁸ Inspectors Report, PRO:TS 11/221.

¹¹⁹ TS 11/221.

¹²⁰ The larger issues about concerns over the background of officers will be discussed in Chapter 2.

four plaintiffs argued that the Queens Rangers would have been capable of serving without the re-organisation.¹²¹ All regiments suffered from desertion over the winter and they argued that it would only have taken a short time before the regiment was up to strength again. Given the fact that they had recruited so many men in the autumn of 1776, there is validity in this claim. Innes However, contended the opposite. He argued that because of the poor leadership qualities of some of the officers, the poor standard of the recruits, and ultimately the incapacity to command of Rogers, the regiment was incapable of serving in the spring campaign. If this was the case then wholesale changes were necessary.

The question that the controversy over the changes to the Queens Rangers raises is this: was this was a case of the British misunderstanding the nature of how Americans conducted warfare or were they just trying to make the unit more efficient? Arguably the Queens Rangers in 1777 were, in the way they conducted themselves and the tactics they planned to use, the epitome of an American unit. Rogers and his officers were wild, rumbustious men and their manners would have seemed strange to senior British officers used to deference from their juniors. Yet almost every Loyalist regiment raised until then would have shared at least some of these characteristics. Cuneo argues that after the changes, the Queens Rangers were "no more provincial than any other regular regiment."¹²² Therefore was this change the start of a de-Americanising process of the Queens Rangers and by extension the Loyalists? The probable answer is no, not to any great extent. There would be other changes to other Loyalist regiments but little on the scale of that carried out on the Rangers. However, many new Loyalist regiments raised after 1777 and before the Southern campaign of 1780 had British commanders and many British subalterns and would follow a similar pattern to that devised by Innes for the

¹²¹ Testimony of Griffiths, Fraser, Eagles and Brandon, TS 11/221.

¹²² Cuneo, *The Early Days of the Queen Rangers*, p. 75.

Queens Rangers in respect to the appointment of American officers.¹²³ Whether this was deliberately “de-Americanising” is doubtful. It is more likely that it was to keep up standards of efficiency and to ensure that the Loyalists were run the way the High Command wanted them to be run. What was undoubtedly the case was that the British would keep a far closer eye on their Loyalist units after March 1777. In some respects, while this could be seen as denying them autonomy, it simplified a lot of processes. Payments and supplies were not delayed quite as much. The advantage of British commanders was that they had access to the channels that were often blocked for American commanders and the ability to get things done, by having closer contact with the commanding generals. This would particularly be the case with John Simcoe, who was a close friend of Henry Clinton. While the Queens Rangers lost their American commander they gained a commander who would enable the Queens Rangers to join the elite of the British Army in America, a unit who were the first request of any general commencing a new campaign. However, before Simcoe, the regiment had two other commanders, Maj. Christopher French and Maj. James Wemyss.

The French and Wemyss Commands March-October 1777

This section will look at the administration and battlefield experiences of the Queens Rangers in the brief period between the dismissal of Rogers and the coming of Simcoe. There is very little documentary evidence on this period on which to make any kind of assessment. What is known is that the Rangers began to be an efficient and trustworthy unit in the eyes of the British. This is the only way the historian has of being able to tell anything about the French and Wemyss commands.¹²⁴

¹²³ Even in the South, where there were many Loyalist regimental commanders, many newly raised regiments had British officers serving somewhere, and even the new militia while commanded by Americans at a local level had an overall British commander, Maj. Patrick Fergusson.

¹²⁴ There are no papers for 1777 on the Queens Rangers in the National Archives or the Clements Library. There are no muster rolls covering this period, therefore there is a gap of 6 months in the

The task facing the new commander of the Queens Rangers, Maj. Christopher French, was to make the regiment fit for service for the coming campaigns. To accomplish this he set about changing the Queens Rangers. The only evidence extant for the changes that French made is a list of recommendations that he drew up on taking command of the regiment and he sent to the high command. French's proposals call for a complete reform of the regiment.¹²⁵ The first request reveals something about the character of the Rangers under Rogers. French asks that he be given permission to move the Queens Rangers to Upper Brookland, away from New York City, so "he can prevent their coming to town from thence."¹²⁶ From this it can easily be deduced that the men were used to going to New York taverns and other establishments. French asked to be given NCOs drawn from the "Privates of the Line". In other words a British private is suitable to be a NCO in a provincial regiment. While many British soldiers were undoubtedly very good, if they had not been promoted in their own units were they really suitable to be promoted in Provincial units? Fortunately for the Loyalist identity of the Queens Rangers, French was not given permission for this, as under Simcoe the NCOs were American-born like Sgt. Maj. Mundy, or pre-war European immigrants.¹²⁷

Most of the rest of the document is taken up with practical considerations such as getting better weapons and asking for permission to recruit more men, but the last paragraph is interesting. French asked for Rogers to line up his troops so that he could pick "the fittest." While this may of course mean the fittest in terms of physical considerations, it could also be those that French deemed suitable in terms of their

database. There are some reports of the actions that the Queens Rangers fought and some evidence from Stephen Jarvis who joined during this period.

¹²⁵ Proposals by Maj. Christopher French for the more speedily forming the Queens American Rangers, PRO: TS11/221.

¹²⁶ Proposals by Maj. Christopher French, TS 11/221.

¹²⁷ Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*. p. 16.

backgrounds or conduct. Certainly the testimonies of the dismissed officers claim that many of those dismissed were perfectly “able-bodied men”.¹²⁸ However, as a specialist unit, the Queens Rangers were always entitled to pick the kind of men who were most able to perform the kind of light infantry duties that the regiment was assigned to.

Of the ten original company commanders under Rogers only two remained under French, Richard Armstrong and Job Williams.¹²⁹ Of the eight new Captains, four were promoted from the existing Lieutenants. These were Robert Macrae, James Dunlop, John Buchanan and John Saunders, all Virginians.¹³⁰ The remaining four were brought in by Maj. French.¹³¹ Several of the original Lieutenants and ensigns would eventually become company commanders under Simcoe.¹³² Simcoe, in his journal described the change in officers:

Their officers had undergone a material change; many of the gentlemen of the southern colonies who had joined Lord Dunmore, and distinguished themselves under his orders, were appointed to supersede those who were not thought competent to the commissions they had hitherto borne; to these were added some volunteers from the army, the

¹²⁸ Proposals by Maj. Christopher French; Testimony of Capt. John Brandon, both PRO: TS 11/221.

¹²⁹ The dismissed captains were: Peter Fairchild, John Brandon, Ephraim Sandford, John Griffiths, Robert McGinnock, John Eagles and Isaac Gerow, List of Officers of the Queens Rangers under the Command of Lt. Col. Robert Rogers, n.d. [early 1777?], TS 11/22. Williams was killed at Brandywine, see Appendix 3.

¹³⁰ All of these men served under Simcoe and they will be discussed in Chapter 4.

¹³¹ They were Robert Muirderm, Francis Stephenson, John Mackay and Arthur French, none of these officers would serve under Simcoe, Mackay and Muirderm were casualties at Brandywine the others returned to their regular regiments. See Queens Rangers, New Appointments March 1777 TS 11/221; see also Appendix 3.

¹³² One of these men, David Shanks, a Virginian would in later life reach the rank of Maj. Gen. in the service of Canada. Queens Rangers, New Appointments March 1777; List of Officers of the Queens Rangers under the Command of Lt. Col. Robert Rogers, TS 11/221; *The Royal Military Calendar, Or Army Service and Commission Book*, (London, 1820), p. 134.

whole consisting of young men, active, full of love of the service, emulous to distinguish themselves in it, and looking forward to obtain, through their actions, the honour of being enrolled with the British Army.¹³³

Simcoe states that some of the officers had come from the regular army. While this would suggest that the British were trying to pack the unit with regular officers it is noticeable that the Rangers retained their Loyalist second in command, Richard Armstrong, and that Simcoe's eventual successor, John Saunders, was one of the original Lieutenants.¹³⁴ These officers that he found when he joined were in many ways as responsible for the success of the unit as he was to be. They had helped hold the unit together through the traumatic times of Rogers' dismissal and throughout the hectic summer campaign of 1777 when the regiment performed well enough to earn the thanks of General Howe. Therefore many of the qualities that the regiment would show under Simcoe must have been formed in the six months before he assumed command.

French had been called in to make the regiment efficient and the most important step in doing this was the change of officers. As the first line of command under him, he had to have complete confidence in his captains. In a way he was doing exactly the same thing as Rogers had done six months before. He was appointing men he could trust. The regiment needed to be brought up to a standard where it was fit for battle within a few weeks so therefore experience was needed. Contrary to the Cuneo thesis, there does not appear to be any underlying anti-American motives, and the appointments were made out of expediency.

¹³³ Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 18-19.

¹³⁴ Simcoe, both in his journal and his private correspondence keeps his own council on the Rogers era. His statement that the previous officers were "not thought competent," is as far as he would ever go. He also does nothing more than mention the commands of French and Wemyss. His papers contain nothing on his predecessors either, in terms of either letters or administrative documents like muster rolls or pay information.

French did not remain as commander for long, being replaced by Maj. James Wemyss in May 1777. However, in just over two months in charge he had had a substantial effect on the regiment. The major changes to the company commanders were taken not by Simcoe but by French and Wemyss.¹³⁵ If there is little information on French's command there is even less on Wemyss'. It is difficult to tell what innovations Wemyss made beyond battlefield ones. Because the muster rolls are incomplete for 1776 and not extant until November 1777 there is no way of determining who he recruited. The November Muster roll records that 103 men were recruited in October 1777. This would mean that 390 men were in the Regiment in August 1777. It is impossible to tell how many of them were recruited by Wemyss as there is no surviving record of those men who were dismissed by French in March 1777. However, there must have been a considerable number as the regiment took casualties before August of 1777 that had to be replaced.¹³⁶ The recruiting practices did change from Rogers' command but there is no direct evidence to show this until Simcoe's command. Simcoe, we know, changed little in

¹³⁵ French's company commanders were: Arthur French, John MacKay, Francis Stephenson, Robert Muirdern, John Saunders, James Buchanan, James Dunlop, Robert McCrea, Richard Armstrong and Job Williams. See *Queens Rangers, New Appointments March 1777* PRO: TS 11/221; see, Appendix 3. Wemyss' company commanders were: James Kerr, John MacKay, John McGill, John Murray, John Saunders, John McGill, James Dunlop, Robert McCrea, Richard Armstrong, Job Williams/Francis Stephenson and John Smythe. See, *Muster Rolls from 22 August 1777 to 24 November 1777, C Series Vol. 1861*, National Archives of Canada. Arthur French, Robert Muirdern and James Buchanan left before August 1777. Little is known about these three men. Inglis biographies do not give any information. Buchanan was a Virginian see *Petition of Queens Rangers Officers n.d [Jan 177?]* TS 11/221. Of Wemyss' officers all but Williams would serve under Simcoe. Williams who had been acquitted of the murder of Lt Peter Taylor of the Queens Rangers by Court Martial on 17 May 1777, was killed at Brandywine Creek on 11 September 1777. See *Queens Rangers Database*; Stephen Jarvis, *Journal*, 170; *Court Martial of Job Williams* WO 71/83/ff.309-331 online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/courts/cmwilliams3.htm> accessed 12/3/2009.

¹³⁶ See Johann Ewald, Joseph Tustin, (ed.) *Diary of the American War*, (Yale University Press, 1979,) p. 44.

regard to recruiting, and used the bounty system.¹³⁷ The methods of financing the regiment –including bounties—were established under Wemyss but the evidence available is for the Simcoe period so the issue of finance will be discussed later.

Stephen Jarvis's journal gives some clues to the state of the Rangers in the early summer of 1777. He joined the regiment during this period but because he transferred from another regiment he does not shed any light on recruiting practices and enlistment of volunteers. However, he does give some detail about the regiment that he found when he joined.¹³⁸ Jarvis says little about the character or effectiveness of Major Wemyss but he does make some interesting comments about the state of the regiment at this time.¹³⁹ He is full of praise for many of the officers he came into contact with particularly Captain MacKay and Lt. Fitzpatrick “a generous open hearted Irishman” but some of problems that had earlier dogged the Queens Rangers still remained.¹⁴⁰ He is particularly critical of

¹³⁷Incidentally the controversy on recruiting did not cease with the changes of March 1777. Captain Smyth, who was the main recruiting officer throughout the Weymss command and the early part of Simcoe's, was dismissed from the army for recruiting irregularities in 1779. He attempted to bring charges against Simcoe by Court Martial for monies owed to him for bounties paid. Smyth was alleged to have claimed bounty money for more men than he had actually brought in. While there is no evidence that he indulged in this practice during 1777 it is possible, especially as there are no accurate figures extant: Memorial of John F Smith in Daniel Parker Coke, *Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists*, 1783-85, (Egerton, 1971,) p. 127.

¹³⁸ As recounted in the previous chapter, Jarvis had attempted to transfer before but he had been put off by Rogers' erratic behaviour.

¹³⁹ Stephen Jarvis, *The Narrative of Colonel Stephen Jarvis*, in James J. Talman (ed.) *Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada*, (Toronto, 1946). Stephen Jarvis (1756-1840) was from Connecticut and served in the Queens Rangers as an NCO and latterly Quarter Master from 1777 until 1780 when he was commissioned as a Lieutenant and transferred to the American Legion. After the revolution he briefly returned to America to marry before immigrating to Canada where he had a distinguished career, attaining the rank of Colonel, in the Canadian Service, in the War of 1812. He wrote his account in 1830, although it was not published at the time. It appeared in abridged form in 1906 in the Canadian Magazine and in full form in 1946.

¹⁴⁰ Stephen Jarvis, *Narrative*, p. 161. MacKay would serve the regiment throughout the war, later commanding the Highland company. Fitzpatrick served as a Lieutenant from 1777 until 1783 in 3 companies, see Queens Rangers Database.

the existing sergeants in his company. Jarvis had been appointed sergeant on joining and says that within days of his arrival “the whole duty of the Non-Commissioned Officers devolved on me as the other Sergeant was a drunken vagabond and was of little use to the company or Service.”¹⁴¹ This would suggest either that not all the offenders from the Rogers era had been weeded out or that the recruits from the subsequent period were not as efficient as they should have been. Jarvis says the men claimed that the third sergeant in his company Sgt. Purdy, had deserted to the Patriots the day after Jarvis joined, taking several of the men with him. However, on consulting the database constructed for the Queens Rangers, it can be established that a year later a Sergeant Purdy was serving in Captain Stephenson’s company. While it might not necessarily have been the same man, it is possible that he had been captured instead of deserting— it is not uncommon for the muster rolls to record a man as deserted and later amend it to captured— and had found his way back to the regiment. Jarvis sheds no light on the mystery.¹⁴² Jarvis later recounts a successful action where his company engaged the American Horse and Jarvis personally captured an American and his horse. The horse was appropriated by Captain Mackay despite the Horse being given to Jarvis by “order of the commander in chief.”¹⁴³ Jarvis’ account is often gossipy and full of anecdotes like this but is invaluable as being the only lengthy account by a Queens Rangers ranker. If not all his tales are verifiable or even accurate after comparison with sources like the muster rolls they undoubtedly add colour, and as Jarvis says himself he wrote “from memory only.”¹⁴⁴

In this period, the Queens Rangers began their transition from colonial Rangers to organised light infantry. Again there is no record of their training, although they would

¹⁴¹ Unfortunately the identity of the drunken Sergeant cannot be established, see *ibid.*, p. 161

¹⁴² In April of 1777 a Private Brady had also attempted to induce men to desert to the Patriots, he was caught and sentenced to 1000 lashes, see footnote 114; Muster Roll of Captain Stephenson’s Company 25 October to 24 December 1778. C Series 1847 Vol. 1861; Queens Rangers Database.

¹⁴³ Stephen Jarvis, *Narrative* p. 162.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 162.

not have been used in such a capacity if they had not received adequate training, so it is certain that Wemyss implemented new drills and training exercises. From June 1777 the Rangers were used as light infantry alongside the Hessian Jaeger corps, a unit they would serve alongside frequently on later occasions.¹⁴⁵ Becoming light infantry entailed the Rangers serving as skirmishers for the main army. Skirmishers were placed in front of the battle line. Their duties were to engage the enemy skirmishers and to inflict damage to the organisation of the enemy lines by shooting officers and NCOs from long range with rifles.¹⁴⁶ Although this may seem extremely dangerous, the fact that skirmishers were not restricted to a tight formation and could move about freely and make use of cover, mitigated this danger. Fuller, the tactician and historian, states that “to attack agile skirmishers by means of a shoulder to shoulder formation is like attacking a swarm of angry wasps with a sledgehammer.”¹⁴⁷ Fuller’s highly descriptive phrasing conveys a sense of the effect successful skirmishers would have in a battle; fast moving and able to seem to be in several places at once.¹⁴⁸ They were also able to disrupt formations to make it easier for the heavy infantry to break them. The Rangers were able to master these tactics rapidly until they were used as the main skirmishers for Howe's army at Brandywine-which will be discussed in this section- but they had a few early setbacks.

The Hessian officer Captain Ewald relates in his journal how the Queens Rangers under Major Wemyss suffered a heavy defeat on 23 June 1777. "The Queens Rangers had been assigned to cover the right flank but had strayed too far from the army and were

¹⁴⁵ The British Army in America had lost much of its light infantry at the battle of Bunker Hill so replacements had to be found without the vast expense of training too many new light infantrymen in Britain and then shipping them to America. Foreign mercenaries and American Provincial soldiers were deemed to be the answer. See Chapter 2.

¹⁴⁶ J.F.C. Fuller, *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth century*, (London, 1925,) p. 154.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.154

¹⁴⁸ The development of light infantry in America and in the British Army and their role on the battlefield is discussed in Chapter 2.

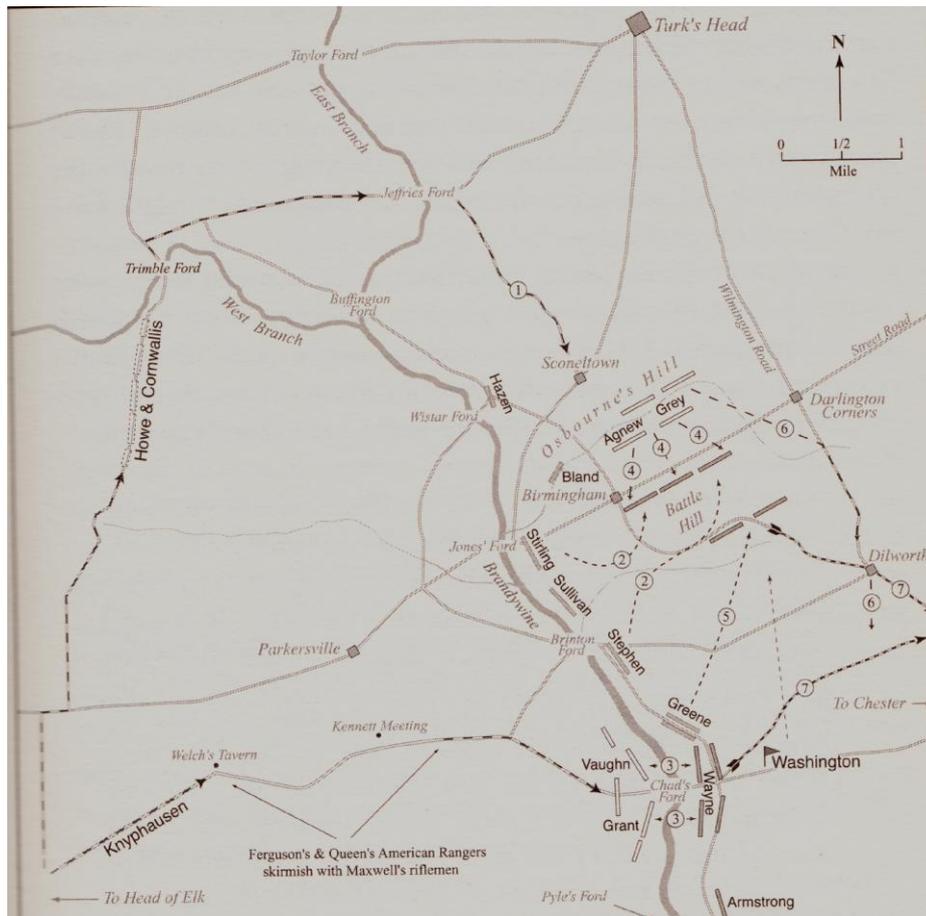
attacked so severely by a superior force that half the corps were killed and wounded."¹⁴⁹ This seems as severe a defeat as that suffered under Rogers the previous autumn but hardly seems to have caused any ripples.¹⁵⁰ It could seem in this case that Wemyss was guilty of the same kind of incompetence and overconfidence that Rogers was accused of. Just as Rogers had not placed proper sentinels so Wemyss had pushed his men too far forward which resulted in them being outnumbered by an enemy and taking heavy casualties, the greatest danger to skirmishers. However, it could also be argued that the Queens Rangers as light infantry were intended for offensive and scouting operations rather than defensive operations. It could also be said that this they had not yet been adequately trained for this kind of responsibility. Just over a year later, on 28 June 1778, the Rangers would perform a similar defensive duty after the battle of Monmouth Courthouse and carry it off with aplomb. Given Wemyss' later successes this would also imply that everyone was learning by practice, including the officers.

From the sketchy evidence it appears that Wemyss was beginning to have a largely positive effect on the regiment as they were at least performing their duties adequately. This is demonstrated by the fact that Howe had enough faith in them to use them in a prominent role at Brandywine. As with French there is little documentary evidence on Wemyss yet he was effective in turning the Queens Rangers into a regiment trusted by Howe. In a few short months Howe had gone from having extreme concerns about their "fitness for duty" to trusting them taking a major role in the autumn campaigns of 1777 and after the Battle of Brandywine singling the whole unit out for special praise.

¹⁴⁹ Johann Ewald, Joseph Tustin, (ed.) *Diary of the American War*, (Yale University Press, 1979,) p. 44.

¹⁵⁰ Indeed Ewald's account seems to be the only mention of it and there is very little other evidence of the Rangers movements before Brandywine.

Map 3: Brandywine Creek, showing the movements of the Queens Rangers, 11 September 1777.



Source: Hugh Bicheno, *Rebels and Redcoats*, (London, 2003) p. 73.

Brandywine Creek, 11 September 1777

The Battle of Brandywine Creek, on 11 September 1777, is vitally important in the forming of the reputation of the Queens Rangers. It was the first major engagement that the Queens Rangers served in and the first in which they would receive commendation from the highest level. In a wider sense it was the one of the first actions-excepting MacLean's Royal Highland Emigrants' stand at Quebec in 1775- where a Loyalist regiment would receive this kind of recognition. It was recognition equal and in some cases superior to that which regular British units received. One of the major questions which this thesis will ask is whether British-commanded Loyalist regiments attained more praise and recognition or at least had more chances to attain it. Certainly, the Queens Rangers from spring 1777 as well as MacLean's corps would fit this pattern.

The basic facts of the battle are as follows. Howe's army marched to meet Washington's at Chadd's Ford in Pennsylvania on the afternoon of 11 September and the battle ended that evening when the British forced Washington to retreat. Two weeks later the Patriots abandoned Philadelphia. Howe's plan was to split his army into two divisions. The first, under Lord Cornwallis, was to attack the Patriot positions on their right flank and the second, under General Knyphausen was to advance on the Patriot centre and assault their dug in positions on the banks of the Brandywine Creek, once the flank attack had started. The plan was so successful, Mackesy argues, that had Howe pushed on he could have utterly defeated Washington instead of just pushing him back.¹⁵¹ The Rangers were placed in front of Knyphausen's division as skirmishers to harass the enemy as the main attack went in.¹⁵²

The performance of the Queens Rangers at Brandywine makes clear that in a few short months the Queens Rangers had mastered light-infantry tactics. At Brandywine, the

¹⁵¹ Piers Mackesy, *The War for America 1775-1783*, (London, 1964), pp128-130.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* p128; John Ferling, *Almost a Miracle; The American Victory in the War of Independence*, (Oxford, 2007) p. 250.

Queens Rangers fought through three American defensive lines and in combination with Ferguson's Riflemen they forced the American light infantry under Colonel Maxwell to retreat across Brandywine creek.¹⁵³ This is particularly impressive. Not only were they effective against regular infantry but against their own kind of light infantry. This was a case of a Provincial unit beating the Americans at their own tactics.¹⁵⁴ Captain Ewald, who served alongside the Queens Rangers at the battle, records that the Rangers, despite being ambushed and taking casualties, continued on and "attacked the enemy with bayonets so courageously, without firing, that he lost ground." He goes on to relate that with a combined attack with Ferguson's riflemen they "forced the enemy across the creek".¹⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that the Rangers performed skilfully with the bayonet. The use of the bayonet was to be the cornerstone of Simcoe's tactics and the successful use of a bayonet charge at Brandywine makes clear that Wemyss must have taught the regiment these tactics during the summer of 1777, adding to the credit that this officer should receive and has not always been accorded.¹⁵⁶ The diary of John Andre, the ADC of Howe, gives great credit to the regiment. Although Andre was only a captain at this point, his influence was considerable, and it is reasonable to suppose that if Andre noticed this then so did the commanders.¹⁵⁷ This shows the progress made by the Rangers in the summer of 1777.

¹⁵³ Paul L Sanborn in Richard L Blanco (ed.), *The American Revolution 1775-1783: an Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 1. p. 157, Ewald, *Diary of the American War*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁴ See Fuller, *British Light Infantry*, p. 152-157.

¹⁵⁵ Johann Ewald, *Diary of the American War*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁶ Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, pp.3-4.

¹⁵⁷ John Andre, Henry Cabot Lodge (ed.), *Andre's Journal. An authentic record of the movements and engagements of the British Army in America from June 1777 to November 1778 as recorded from day to day*, (Boston, 1903), pp. 85-86.

The regiment took heavy casualties at the battle. Their casualties at Brandywine included fourteen officers killed or wounded.¹⁵⁸ George Washington recorded that they took among the heaviest casualties, stating that “from the best Accounts I have been able to collect, their loss [the British Army] was pretty considerable and chiefly fell on their Grenadiers and light Troops, composing their flying Army; The Queens Rangers (Rogers' Corps), who formed their advanced Guard, and who were first attacked in the Morning, are said to have Suffered severely.”¹⁵⁹ The muster rolls do not specifically list the casualties for this battle but losses for the period of August to November are shown as 68.¹⁶⁰ This would have included Brandywine and Germantown but the figures seem incomplete. Simcoe gives the number of casualties as at least a hundred and Ewald's account would suggest heavy casualties.¹⁶¹ The total of British casualties was 587, including 57 officers killed and wounded.¹⁶² If Simcoe's figures are correct, this would suggest that the Rangers took seventeen percent of the total casualties, their strength at the battle was under four hundred men out of a total of almost ten thousand which shows a disproportionate number of casualties.¹⁶³ Like in the summer, they lost men in an ambush, but this time the fault was that of the commanding general, Knyphausen, and not the fault of their commander, and they fought bravely and skilfully. The Queens Rangers division commander Maj. Gen. Knyphausen, wrote to Howe in a dispatch that the “behaviour of the Rangers” had made him “want for words to express my own

¹⁵⁸ *The Royal Military Calendar, Or Army Service and Commission Book* (Egerton, 1820), p. 134.

¹⁵⁹ Washington to George Clinton, 19 September, 1777, George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, online at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090252\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090252))) accessed 2/03/2008.

¹⁶⁰ Queens Rangers Database. There were 19 men listed as killed, 20 wounded or sick and 5 prisoners.

¹⁶¹ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 2.

¹⁶² Martin, David G.; *The Philadelphia Campaign June 1777-July 1778*, (Conshocken, PA, 1993), p.76.

¹⁶³ See Queens Rangers Database; Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, p. 128.

astonishment to give him [Howe] an idea of it".¹⁶⁴ Acting on this praise Howe sent out an order to the Rangers two days after Brandywine which read:

“The Commander in Chief desires to convey to the Officers and men of the Queens Rangers his approbation and acknowledgement for their spirited and gallant behaviour in the engagement of the 11th instant, and to assure them how well he is satisfied with their distinguished conduct on that day.”¹⁶⁵

That this approbation should come so soon after the regiment was changed only six months before could demonstrate that the changes were ultimately successful. Yet it is possible to say that the previous Rangers had only seen action on a large scale once, and that was only a few weeks after formation.¹⁶⁶ The personnel had changed since Mamaroneck but not completely, so can Rogers' influence be denied entirely?¹⁶⁷ Alternatively it may be that French and Wemyss were excellent teachers or that they had an unusually responsive group of men. Whatever the reason, Howe, who had ordered the changes to the Rangers, would naturally have been well pleased at being proved right.¹⁶⁸

Thus Brandywine was in some cases a watershed for the Queens Rangers and by extension for the Loyalist regiments in general. The Queens Rangers had proven that not only could Loyalists fight, but also that could outfight their nearest equivalents amongst their enemies. They had proved also that Americans could do not only as well as other Americans but as well as Redcoats and the legendary Jaeger Corps.

¹⁶⁴ Knyphausen to Howe 12 September 1777 cited in John *Simcoe's Journal*. p. 319.

¹⁶⁵ Howe's General Orders 13 September 1777, PRO 30/55/6 as cited in *ibid*. p. 319.

¹⁶⁶ This was at Mamaroneck.

¹⁶⁷ The database shows 39 men from the four companies of original unit that there are muster rolls for remaining in February 1778.

¹⁶⁸ Innes to Clinton 9 November 1779, TS11/221.

The Rangers under Wemyss then performed equally well at Germantown on 4 October 1777. At this battle the Rangers proved equally adept at defensive duties. Placed on their own on the extreme right flank of the Army, they held off a far superior force of Patriot infantry.¹⁶⁹ The burgeoning combat abilities of the junior officers of the Queens Rangers was demonstrated when a junior lieutenant, David Shank, with his platoon of skirmishers held off a flanking movement by an entire column of Patriots until help arrived.¹⁷⁰ Shank's tactics with a platoon of skirmishers bears out Fuller's points on the effectiveness of skirmishers against far larger formations.¹⁷¹ They were able to disrupt the enemy at little cost to themselves by being able to move freely.

Germantown was costly for the regiment, however. They lost their commander, Major Wemyss, who was severely wounded, as well as taking several casualties.¹⁷² The two battles coming in quick succession had certainly improved the skills and cohesion of the unit but they had also severely weakened them in terms of their strength. Simcoe notes that the regiment were "greatly reduced in numbers" and were in dire need of augmentation, which they got on 20 October 1777 when Captain Smyth brought in 103 recruits.¹⁷³ Thus the Rangers—which John Simcoe had taken over five days before—were vastly different in terms of personnel than they had been six months before.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ John Ferling, *Almost a Miracle*, p 255.

¹⁷⁰ *The Royal Military Calendar*, pp. 134-135. Shanks was a Virginian and was to become a great favourite of Simcoe's who appointed him to command of his hussar company and later made him commander of the reformed Queen Rangers in the 1790's. See Inglis, *The Queens Rangers*, p. 266.

¹⁷¹ J.F.C. Fuller, *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth century*, (London, 1925) p. 154.

¹⁷² The amount of casualties is not recorded. Wemyss recovered and went on to command the 63rd regiment before being captured in November 1780 in South Carolina, see Inglis, *The Queens Rangers* p. 276.

¹⁷³ 57 of them initially went to Captain's Smyth's company for training before being split up amongst the other companies; the rest went directly into the companies. Muster Rolls for 22 August to 24 November 1777, Vol. 1861 C Series; John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 17.

¹⁷⁴ See Muster rolls, C Series, Vols. 1861-1865; Queens Rangers Database.

The performance of the Rangers in the campaign of the autumn of 1777 attracted notice outside of the Army. A newspaper report from December 1777 observed “No regiment in the army has gained more honour this campaign than Major Wemyss’ (or the Queens) Rangers; they have been engaged in every principle service and behaved nobly; indeed most of the officers have been wounded since we took the field in Pennsylvania.”¹⁷⁵ While the opinion given is a highly subjective one, the behaviour of the Rangers had obviously been notable enough to attract attention and elicit this kind of praise.

This praise also draws attention to the achievements of Maj. James Wemyss. Rarely mentioned in any of the accounts of the Queens Rangers, which are either about the Rogers or Simcoe commands, he deserves credit for turning the regiment into an effective fighting force. Despite the lack of evidence, it is clear by the tactics he used that he must have practised similar drills to those later used by Simcoe and the commitment of the Regiment in battle shows that he was as capable of motivating the men as his successor. Arguably Wemyss was faced with the harder task. He inherited a disheartened, chastened unit, which he had to turn around rapidly, whereas Simcoe inherited a successful one. It is apparent that in six months, the Queens Rangers had come from being a unit almost dispensed with by the British Army to one that was rapidly becoming indispensable. Under their next commander, John Graves Simcoe, this upward trend was to continue.

Conclusion

The first six months in the history of the Queens Rangers, were, on initial examination, not particularly successful. They had been formed, they had fought one small battle; and then they had stagnated for several months before a group of the senior officers had grown so disgusted with conditions that they had complained to the

¹⁷⁵ The Pennsylvania Ledger, 3 December 1777 see Appendix 11.

commanding general; the general's inspector was so displeased with the regiment that he recommended a complete overhaul.

Much of the blame for this must be placed on the first commander Robert Rogers. He was a man of undoubted talent, who had had great success with his own brand of tactics and who had the vision to see that these tactics would be needed by the British Army because the Patriots would undoubtedly use similar tactics against them. The Continental Army would raise its own Light Infantry which was in many ways influenced by Rogers. It is possible to suggest that the early Queens Rangers would not have looked of place in the Continental Army. Rogers mooted the idea of an effective fast marching guerrilla unit that would constantly harass the enemy. His idea was successfully realised, but not by him. As this chapter has demonstrated, Rogers was unfit to do this at this stage of his career. The Rogers of 1765 would have been a real asset to the British yet his reputation was still a recruiting tool for the Loyalists. When he came to form the Queens Rangers he was ten years older, had suffered personal disappointments, his emotional commitment to the British was by no means certain and his reliability was in question, as his later conduct shows. He made a number of mistakes including appointing officers who the British judged were not up to the task and allowed his unit to fall into a state where it was considered "unfit for service." Rogers made an error of judgment in failing to realise that his unit would be under scrutiny and that he would not be allowed to do what he pleased with them. There was too much at stake for the British even at this stage of the war. They needed a successful Loyalist unit to act as a beacon for recruiting and their eye fell on Rogers' regiment. So why did the British chose the Queens Rangers as a test case for their plans for the future of the provincial corps? In some respects it was because Rogers' idea was a good one. The kind of regiment that he envisaged was exactly what the British wanted, and Howe as a pioneer of light tactics himself saw how useful it would be to be able to hit the Patriots back with their own tactics. Once Rogers had

shown himself incapable of seeing his vision through, Howe decided to appoint a succession of young, regular officers who he knew and trusted. The third, John Simcoe, would be the officer who would successfully implement many of Rogers' ideas and the next chapter will be about his command of the Queens Rangers.

Chapter 4
The Queens Rangers Under Simcoe

Introduction.

The history of the corps under his [Simcoe's] command is a series of gallant skilful, and successful enterprises against the enemy, without a single reverse. The Queens Rangers have killed or taken twice their own numbers.¹

General Henry Clinton, 1780.

The chapter aims to consider whether Henry Clinton's high opinion of the Queens Rangers was justified. It has three aims: first, to provide an overview of the composition of the regiment; second, to examine those aspects of the administration of the regiment which had an effect on military operations of the unit—in particular recruitment training and discipline; and third, to consider how these features shaped the regiment's effectiveness in battle. All of this will help to build a wider picture of the regiment than has previously been attempted in an attempt to establish the validity of Clinton's claims.

The literature on the later Queens Rangers is mostly Canadian in focus and thus of limited use in examining the regiment's composition and evaluating its military effectiveness in the Revolutionary War.² The same can be said of Mary Beacock Fryer and Christopher Dracott's recent biography of Simcoe, which is useful and well written,

¹ Clinton to Germain Charleston, 13 May 1780, CO5 99, ff. 248-250, PRO.

² The one full length work on them is by Christopher Ingles, commander of the modern regiment, the Queens York Rangers, in the 1930's. It is an entertaining work with many stirring tales of the regiment's exploits as well as some useful appendices compiled by the editor after Ingles' death. One of these appendices is a section of short biographies of most of the Queens Rangers officers. There is very little on Rogers' officers, indeed the reasons for the changeover are not even discussed, but Simcoe's men are covered well. Some of the entries are just a few words (obviously gleaned from the muster rolls as the information is the same) but there are some excellent entries on many others. See, Christopher Ingles, *The Queens Rangers in the Revolutionary War*, (Toronto, 1956)

although the bulk of the work is concerned with Simcoe's tenure as Governor of Upper Canada between 1791 and 1796.³ Of the three areas discussed in this chapter, regimental historian Ingles is most concerned with battlefield effectiveness.⁴ The vast majority of his work is spent on recounting the military exploits of the unit. At this he is knowledgeable-as befits an experienced soldier- and full of praise for Simcoe and his regiment. Fryer and Dracott only really mention the regiment in relation to Simcoe and how he impacted on it and vice versa. They too say little about composition or administration but also recount some of the regiment's battlefield adventures. Their work also uses Simcoe's Journal extensively but they have not consulted the Simcoe Papers in the Clements Library.⁵

There has been significant work on the British Army that deals with several of the issues that are relevant to this chapter. Sylvia Frey has worked with the soldiers of the British regiments of the Revolutionary War. Frey came up with the concept of group consciousness for British soldiers.⁶ This is entirely relevant to the Queens Rangers and will be discussed later on as will several other relevant works.⁷

³ Mary Beacock Fryer and Christopher Dracott, *John Graves Simcoe, a Biography*, (Toronto, 1998).

⁴ He does not deal with the composition issue. As for administration, he makes some mention of how effective Simcoe was in training the regiment. He also mentions the numbers of soldiers serving and his appendices make some mention of the muster rolls mainly those of the muster of October 1781 in relation to Yorktown. See, Christopher Ingles, *The Queens Rangers*, pp 230-240.

⁵ The Queens Rangers merit passing mentions in some of the more general histories of the Revolutionary War. Their commander, Simcoe is more frequently mentioned although never as frequently as his more controversial comrade Banastre Tarleton. See, Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, (Oxford 1964); Don Higginbotham, *The War for American Independence Military Attitudes, Policies and Practice, 1763-1789*, (London, 1983); John Fortescue, *The History of the British Army*, Vol. 3 (London 1912)

⁶ Sylvia Frey, *the British Soldier in America, A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period* (Austin, 1981), p. 137.

⁷ J. A. Houlding's work on training will be discussed intermittently as will J.F.C. Fuller's work on light infantry. Don Higginbotham's work on the continental army also throws up several comparisons as does work on later wars by McPherson and Ambrose. See, Don Higginbotham, The Early American Way of War: Reconnaissance and Appraisal, in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 44, 1987; James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, (Oxford, 1997), pp. 77-89; Stephen A. Ambrose, *Citizen*

This chapter has undertaken new research in an attempt to broaden knowledge of the Queens Rangers. In addition to the sources used in the previous chapter, this chapter makes extensive use of the regimental musters. This involves quantitative analysis undertaken by means of a database whose findings are reported in tables included with this chapter; the muster rolls constitute a near complete series from November 1777 until October 1783 but have not hitherto been systematically analysed in their entirety.⁸ The reason for constructing the database and why this chapter will make extensive use of it is to build up a clear picture of the life of the regiment in a way that has never been attempted before. The muster rolls have occasionally been analysed, but never in so complete a manner. This chapter aims to provide an account of the Queens Rangers by investigating both their service and synthesizing this with the administrative information provided by the muster rolls. It is therefore hoped to provide a complete account of the regiment from inception to Yorktown.

Equally valuable in terms of qualitative analysis are the papers and journal of the regiment's commander John Simcoe.⁹ The testimony of other officers like Clinton, Cornwallis, Arnold and Ewald provide anecdotal evidence of administrative history and

Soldiers, (London 1997); Holly Mayer, *Belonging to the Army; Camp Followers and Community During the American Revolution* (Columbia, S.C. 1996).

⁸ Clark's work is an unedited list of all Loyalist regiments who served in the Southern Campaign taken entirely from the Muster Rolls cited below, see, Murtie June Clark, *The Loyalists in the Southern campaign of the American Revolution, Vol. II*, (Baltimore, 1981), pp324-615: Series 1847 Vols. 1861-1866, Microfilms 4317-4318, National Archives of Canada: WO 12/11035 PRO.

⁹ Simcoe Papers, William L. Clements Library; John Graves Simcoe, *A Journal of the Operations of the Queens Rangers from the end of 1777 until the conclusion of the Revolutionary War*, (Exeter, 1787), subsequent editions were published with appendices in 1844, 1962 and 1969. The texts of the versions are exactly the same so the chapter will refer to all as Simcoe's Journal. The manuscript version held by the Clements Library has also been consulted, although there are no notable differences with the published work.

military operations.¹⁰ Simcoe's journal is an essential source. It is considered to be one of the outstanding works of its kind by military historians and by contemporaries like Henry Clinton.¹¹ It is by intention, a narrow work concerning itself with little beyond the operations of the Queens Rangers; Simcoe did not feel it appropriate to comment on the wider battles in print, which he left to his private correspondence with Clinton in the late 1780's.¹² Simcoe's work is not a personal memoir—he refers to himself in the third person throughout—but rather an account of the exploits of his regiment. The Simcoe papers held in the William L. Clements Library have also been vital to the completion of this chapter. Although fragmentary and often undated they provide a valuable picture of the Queens Rangers. It is of note that none of the other works on the Queens Rangers has made significant use of them.¹³

In some ways the most valuable sources are a letter of Sgt. Nathaniel Mundy and the memoir of Sgt. Stephen Jarvis, which enable the chapter to examine something which is all too rare: primary evidence left by those serving in the ranks. While they both praise their commander unreservedly they are not without criticism of the regiment. Jarvis in

¹⁰ Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library : Simcoe-Clinton correspondence, Simcoe Papers, William L. Clements Library; Howard H. Peckham, Sir Henry Clinton's Review of Journal, in the *William and Mary Quarterly* 2nd Ser. Vol. 21, No.4 (Oct. 1941), pp. 361-370; Cornwallis Papers PRO 30/11, PRO: Benjamin F. Stevens, (ed.) Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, *The Campaign in Virginia, an exact reprint of six rare pamphlets on the Clinton-Cornwallis controversy*, (London, 1888) Johann Ewald, Joseph Tustin, (ed.) *Diary of the American War*, (Yale University Press, 1979); John Andre, Henry Cabot Lodge (ed.), *Andre's Journal. An authentic record of the movements and engagements of the British Army in America from June 1777 to November 1778 as recorded from day to day*, (Boston, MA, 1903).

¹¹J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service*, (London 1980,) p. 233; Howard H. Peckham, Sir Henry Clinton's Review of Journal, in the *William and Mary Quarterly* 2nd Ser. Vol. 21, No.4 (Oct. 1941), pp. 361-370.

¹² Simcoe's correspondence with Clinton, Simcoe Papers, Clements Library.

¹³ Also of use were an unpublished collection of notes for an intended mass biography of Loyalist officers which the author was privileged to view. Young Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan. Professor Henry Young compiled index cards of biographical details of Loyalist Officers in the 1960's and these can be consulted under supervision. Prof. Young died before he could finish his project.

particular does not hold back in his opinions of several officers, which will be examined in detail.

John Simcoe

John Graves Simcoe took command of the Queens Rangers on 15 October 1777. He inherited a unit on the cusp of success but one which also been damaged by heavy casualties.¹⁴ The task he faced was to maintain the success of the regiment. To do this, the following factors had to be in place: the regiment had to be supplied with a constant stream of recruits, the regiment had to be financially secure, it had to be well trained and it had to be well disciplined. Simcoe was the longest serving commander of the Queens Rangers so for that reason alone this chapter needs to discuss him in depth. Simcoe, however, also employed novel methods to train and utilise his men. While he undoubtedly drew on the methods of Rogers and Weymss, he invented many of his own, and detailed them, both in his published journal and his unpublished papers. Simcoe was arguably one of the most successful officers of the Revolutionary War, albeit he only commanded at regimental level, and through the influence of his journal, he arguably made an impact on the future usage of light infantry by the British and other armies.

John Simcoe's background could not have been more different from Robert Rogers'; his personality too was the opposite of Rogers' but both men shared a skill and devotion to light tactics.¹⁵ Simcoe arrived in America in 1776 as a lieutenant. After seeing combat in the New York campaign, he applied for permission to create and command a Loyalist regiment consisting of African-Americans, but was turned down. This indicates

¹⁴ A one in five rate of casualties was heavy for eighteenth century combat.

¹⁵ Simcoe was born into a naval family in Devon in 1751. His father was a naval captain, who had sat on the court martial of Admiral Byng in 1757, and who had been with Wolfe at Quebec, dying not long after of pneumonia. Simcoe was maternally related to Admiral Samuel Graves, who took much of the blame for the enforced evacuation of Boston in 1776. Simcoe, however, chose the army after Eton and Oxford.

that he was either a highly enlightened man for his time or that he was desperate for a command. After Rogers' dismissal he applied for command of the Queens Rangers, but was turned down in favour of Major French. Simcoe was a young man of no great fortune or army connections, and a command of Loyalists was an ideal way for him to rise in the army. It would avoid the prohibitive costs of purchasing rank in the regular army, which often meant that the higher echelons of the army were reserved for the wealthy and the aristocratic.¹⁶ Thus Simcoe, like his contemporaries Tarleton and Ferguson, sought advancement by this route.

Most of the accounts of Simcoe, both contemporary and secondary, describe him as a gallant and gifted officer. Simcoe was unusual in that he was also an intellectual. By his own account, his academic background made him different to most of his brother officers and he was an avid student of military tactics, particularly Tacitus and Xenophon.¹⁷ After distinguishing himself in several engagements, most notably at Brandywine Creek, where he was wounded, Simcoe achieved his ambition and gained command of the Queens Rangers at the age of just twenty-six.¹⁸ To put this into context, it was quite common for commanders of regiments to be in their fifties and there are cases of officers who were still only captains with forty years service, although this was less common in wartime.¹⁹ Certainly John Simcoe could never have afforded the cost of purchasing a colonelcy in a British line regiment. The king was aware that the command of Loyalists was a route to quick advancement for young inexperienced men and was

¹⁶ J.A Houlding, *Fit for Service*, p.99.

¹⁷His personal papers contain some poetry and a several essays. His wife, Elizabeth Postuma Gwillim Simcoe, would become a celebrated artist and diarist. See Undated Drafts, Simcoe Papers William Clements Library; John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 25; Mary Beacock Fryer, *Elizabeth Postuma Simcoe, 1762-1850 a Biography*, (Toronto, 1989); Dictionary of Canadian Biography <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=37540&query=Gwillim> accessed 12/6/2008.

¹⁸ Mary Beacock Fryer and Christopher Dracott, *John Graves Simcoe*, p. 10.

¹⁹ Houlding, *Fit For Service*, p. 108.

wary of it, as he wrote in a letter to Lord North.²⁰ However, he made no complaints about the promotion of Simcoe and would praise him highly on several occasions.

Simcoe was clearly an ambitious young man driven to rise in the army, yet the way he went about his command was very different from conventional regimental commanders. This talent for innovation could have held him back under unsympathetic senior commander but fortunately he had already found favour with Howe and Clinton. The next section will detail the way in which he rapidly set about putting his ideas into practice on his new command.

Section 1: Organisation of the Queens Rangers

Training and Company Organisation.

This section will discuss Simcoe's methods in training and preparing his men for combat and examine the changes he made in respect to the organisation of the regiment. The reasons for this are that training and organisation are vital to the smooth running of the regiment and its battlefield effectiveness. Simcoe set about improving the Queens Rangers as quickly as he could, building upon on the innovations of Weymss rather than starting from scratch. A grenadier company existed already, Simcoe added a highland company, a light company and a few of the men were mounted in 1778, and in the fullness of time they would be augmented to two troops of cavalry and as a troop of dragons.²¹ This breadth of types of military branches, demonstrates that the Rangers were an elite unit equipped for all exigencies of combat. This was a rare in the eighteenth century as it is now. The only unit similar in the British Army was the British Legion, which did not have artillery. It shows the originality of Simcoe's approach.

There are several published and unpublished accounts of how Simcoe trained his troops. His techniques were unusual, although they certainly owed something to the

²⁰ George III to Lord North, Dec. 18 1777, John Fortescue, *Correspondence of George III*, vol. III No 2164.

²¹ See Queens Rangers Database.

techniques of Rogers and Colonel Bouquet as well as to the undocumented methods of his predecessor, Weymss. Judging by the studies of British military training undertaken by historians Sylvia Frey and J.A. Houlding, Simcoe's techniques, while not breaking any established rules, were anything but standard.²² Simcoe placed little stress on the standard training manual, holding that "a few motions of the manual exercise were sufficient." He was of the opinion that time would be better spent instructing the men in marksmanship and bayonet fighting rather than complicated drills or inspection parades.²³ He stressed a "total reliance" on the bayonet in skirmishes and that his men should only open fire if it was absolutely necessary.²⁴ Yet when they did open fire he wanted them to experts. The Queens Rangers also spent long periods shooting at targets until the whole corps could be classified as "useful marksman".²⁵ This would not be unusual in a modern regiment but eighteenth century regiments rarely practised musketry and no great stress was put on aimed fire at all. It was not unusual for regiments to enter combat with soldiers who had never actually fired a live round.²⁶ Marksmanship and bayonet practice were also carried out at regular intervals throughout Simcoe's command especially when the Queens Rangers were in winter quarters.

The Simcoe papers contain an account of his rules for the tactics practised by his unit. Simcoe aimed to improve his men's combat readiness in a way that had not been attempted with Loyalist regiments before and by setting it down in an organised fashion he set an example for other regiments. The extant document is a copy of what would have been issued to the company commanders. It is not a coherent plan of training schedules, rather of series of loosely linked ideas but it does provide an insight into how Simcoe

²² Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America*; J.A. Houlding, *Fit For Service*.

²³ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p.3-5; Passim in drafts in Simcoe Papers, William Clements Library

²⁴ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, pp.3-4.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p4.

²⁶ J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service*, p. 92.

expected his regiment to conduct themselves.²⁷ These “rules” are worth examining as they demonstrate the innovative methods of Simcoe and by extension help explain the successes of the Queens Rangers. The rules relate to the behaviour of the unit whilst in winter quarters and on garrison duty. Traditionally winter was a quiet time for an army on campaign. The armies would confine themselves to barracks and wait for the warm weather. There would be activity but it would be on a small scale and would involve specialist units of which the Queens Rangers were one.²⁸ Simcoe believed that he had to keep his men alert at all times even during winter. He was very much aware of what Washington had accomplished at Trenton on 26 December 1776 and again on 2 January 1777, and saw no reason for lying inactive over winter. In a letter written sometime in early 1781 he mentions that the “rebels train over winter” and that he felt that they should be doing the same thing. He says those troops in “garrison had nothing to think of” and that this “led to indiscipline.”²⁹ Therefore he devised training exercises to keep his men occupied as well as engaging in actual operations as frequently as possible.

Simcoe’s rules state: “Soldiers even at barracks to be armed at all times, they are to join the first party under arms that they can.” The British were susceptible to raids even in the “safety” of their barracks and Simcoe drew up these rules to ensure that his men were never surprised as well as to build up familiarity with weapons. He goes on to deal with how the officers were to conduct their men if they were attacked by stating that “the most profound silence to be kept and the Lt. Col. recommends it to the officers not to fire if it can be avoided, they must judge for themselves.” He rationalized that it was better to keep the enemy guessing than to engage in sporadic and confused firing if there

²⁷ Simcoe to his company commanders, Oyster Bay, (n.d.) winter 1778-1779. Simcoe Papers

²⁸ Winter raids were not new to the Simcoe period, Rogers had perfected them during the French and Indian War (his journals refer to a memorable raid on snow shoes) but the Queens Rangers did little over the winter of 1776 when Rogers was in command. Robert Rogers, *Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, (Dublin, 1769), p.35.

²⁹ Simcoe to unnamed, (n.d), Simcoe papers, William L. Clements Library.

were a night attack. This also ties in with Simcoe's insistence that the Rangers be expert bayonet fighters.

Simcoe wanted constant readiness, "whatever quarter is attacked must be defended." Much of this seems like common sense but he was writing it down so his officers could have no excuse for being taken by surprise. "Every soldier must have his part in it. Their arms must be arranged, bayonets always fixed. When in barracks the corps officer must report to the Lt. Col. who will inspect them."³⁰ The reason for fixing bayonets was not only to preserve powder but also to maintain surprise. Simcoe's orders are unusual by the standards of the time, particularly for troops on garrison duty; troops were not usually trusted with fixed bayonets too often because of the risk of injury.³¹ Also, Simcoe gave his junior officers far more scope for initiative than was customary. The phrase "they must judge for themselves" is revealing. While obviously in a combat situation it was difficult for company commanders to receive clear orders from battalion commanders, British Army officers were often hindered by rigid orders, which prevented them from acting as the situation demanded.³² Simcoe's orders, while specific, allow for his officers to act as the situation dictates. This type of document personifies why the Queens Rangers are worth studying. They were a regiment who in their training methods and conduct in the field differed greatly from other units. The 1764 Drill Manual contains nothing like these instructions. It mentions deportment and discipline on guard duty but has no mention of what troops were to do on guard duty.³³

Simcoe also reorganized the regiment to allow the men to specialise in what they were best in. One of his most important actions was to add specialist companies to the

³⁰ Simcoe to his company commanders, Oyster Bay, (n.d.) winter 1778-1779. Simcoe Papers.

³¹ J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service*, p. 93.

³² Houlding *Fit for Service*, pp. 100-116.

³³ The closest section of the manual is Section IV Article II, The Duties of Sentries at their Posts. The article concentrates entirely on how the soldier should conduct himself. See, *Manual of Military Exercise of 1764* (London, 1768), pp. 32-33.

regiment which gave the regiment a far greater potential choice of tactics than the majority of infantry regiments. As mentioned above, within days of assuming command he had added a Highland company. This was commanded by Captain John MacKay, and consisted originally of survivors of the battle of Moore's Creek in North Carolina.³⁴ While this could be dismissed as merely a tool for attracting recruits of this background, this company had a more practical use. Highland troops were intended— although it was not always so in practice—to be used in a particular way by the British. Their main function was primarily as shock troops, based on the concept of the Highland charge, which had been used successfully against the British Army at Prestonpans only thirty years previously and used by the British at Quebec in 1759. The Highland troops were trained to be expert with the bayonet and this was the role of the Highland company within the Queens Rangers. The whole regiment was trained extensively in bayonet drill of course but the Highland Company was held to be expert in the use of the bayonet charge.

The other specialist troops were the Light Company and the Grenadiers. From 1770 all British Line regiments had a Light Company, but as Houlding mentions they often became repositories for the troublemakers in the regiment. However, under Simcoe, the Light Company held to its original purpose in that it consisted of the best marksmen. The Queens Rangers were Light Infantry as a whole anyway so therefore the Light Company were the best sharpshooters amongst a regiment of marksmen. The Grenadiers were armed with rudimentary grenades as well as operating the few three pounder cannons that the regiment carried.

Simcoe claimed that the Queens Rangers had the distinction of forming “the first horse raised in America in 1778.”³⁵ Simcoe cites the reason for forming his own cavalry

³⁴ Mary Beacock Fryer and Christopher Dracott, *John Graves Simcoe 1752-1806: A Biography*, p. 37.

³⁵ This is not entirely true. A troop of cavalry were formed by Jacob James in Pennsylvania in December 1777. James' troops were subsumed into the British Legion in August 1778. See John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p3; Warrant to Jacob James, (n.d. December 1777) PRO 30/55/827, PRO.

as one related to camouflage. The existing horsemen serving with the British at the time were the redcoated dragoons and Simcoe felt they would stand out beside his green-coated Queens Rangers.³⁶ This shows that he was thinking in a similar way to Rogers and other tacticians of American warfare. He engaged a sergeant from the 16th Dragoons to train the men and they quickly became Simcoe's personal favourites. By 1780 the cavalry had become crucial to the success of the regiment. They enabled them to hit the enemy quickly while the infantry took advantage of the confusion the cavalry had created. To do this properly the infantry were trained to keep up with the cavalry as best they could. This necessitated the troops learning a new march, the quick time, a march that was new to them but would later be standard to all light infantry units.³⁷ Simcoe also added in 1779 fifteen dragoons, initially as part of the Hussars.

Thanks to the addition of the cavalry and dragoons the Queens Rangers were able to offer far more than standard infantry regiments. Most regiments, then as now, were specialists in one particular area. In the eighteenth century, the distinctions were infantry, cavalry, artillery and more specialist units such as engineers and pioneers. The Queens Rangers were then almost a microcosm of an eighteenth century army in that they had infantry, cavalry and even some three-pounder cannons.³⁸ This meant that they could be deployed independently in the field and be relied upon to be reasonably self-sufficient provided they were not outnumbered too greatly. They also had the ability to move at a far faster rate than most infantry regiments.

Finance.

An eighteenth century regiment was in many ways more self contained than modern military units. This applies to the administrative side of the regiment as much to

³⁶ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p.3

³⁷ John Simcoe, *Simcoe Journal*, p.3.

³⁸It is known how many cannons they had. The cannons were taken away from the Rangers and given to the Artillery in April 1781 See, John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, pp. 106.

its fighting duties. Initially, Loyalist regiments were raised by commanders who were given a certain amount of money to do the job, money which they did not always receive up front. When the British took more control of their provincial regiments in late 1776 and appointed Alexander Innes to administrate them, they took greater control over the running and financing of the units. The Queens Rangers were, from 1777 onwards, funded and run in a similar way to the British line regiments. Simcoe was not a rich man and could not have afforded to finance a regiment himself as was done in some cases. But he was given a budget to run the regiment which varied from month to month depending on the strength of the regiment. As there are very few documents relating to the financing of the Queens Rangers it is very difficult to estimate how much the regiment cost to run. The table below, sets out the daily wages for two companies:

Table 7: Daily Wages for Two Companies of the Queens Rangers.			
<u>Rank</u>	£	s	d
Capt.		10	
Capt. Lt.		4	8
Lt.		4	8
Ens.		3	8
6 Sgts.		9	
6 Cpls.		6	
1 Drummer		1	
194 Privates	6	9	4
Total for 2 companies	8	8	4

Source: Daily Pay for two companies of the Queens Rangers, undated loose document, Simcoe Papers Clements Library.

Thus, by dividing £6, 9s 4d by the one hundred and ninety four privates it is possible to calculate that in this period a soldier received 8d per day.³⁹ Therefore, one soldier cost approximately £12 a year in wages alone. With average company strength of thirty five rank and file, a company of thirty five men would cost £420 p.a. in wages for the rank and file alone. Multiplying this figure by fifty gives a rough estimate of today's values,

³⁹ This is the same amount as Privates in the Royal Highland Emigrants and the British Legion, see Chapters 2 and 5.

which works out at £21,000. In 1779 the costs of running the regiment increased dramatically when they were put on the American Establishment and the wages became comparable to British line regiments. Private soldiers wages increased to a shilling a day, the standard wage for British soldiers until the First World War.

Given the scarcity of sources, accurate judgments on the finances of the regiment are difficult as many expenses have to be taken into consideration above and beyond running cost. One of the most significant costs was recruiting bounties, which will be considered in the following section.

Recruiting

The increasing renown of the Queens Rangers meant that they were often used in combat. The frequency of combat meant high battlefield casualties which combined with attrition from sickness and disease ensured the regiment was always in need of recruits. Their combat successes brought prestige which ensured that there seemed to be a reasonable supply of new recruits and the Rangers had a steady stream of new recruits. As mentioned earlier, from March 1777 these men were recruited by recruiting officers or sergeants. These men were existing appointees of the regiment and did not gain extra rank from the number of recruits they brought in. The inducement to recruits was a bounty. The bounties that the Queens Rangers offered varied on the type of troop, thus a cavalryman would be given a large bounty but was expected to provide his own tack and if possible a horse. The Rangers recruited by sending out recruiting parties into the countryside but also by newspaper advertisements. They advertised in Loyalist Newspapers and offered bounty and a full uniform. A standard recruiting poster for the unit read:

ALL able bodied men who are free and willing to serve his Majesty King
GEORGE the Third, by bearing arms in the cavalry or infantry of the Queens
Rangers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Commandant

J. GRAVES SIMCOE,

Each approved Recruit shall immediately receive Three Guineas Bounty Money, by applying to Capt. SHANK at No. 3, Fletcher Street, between Burling-Slip and the Fly Market, or to Lieutenant MATHESON, at No. 1033 Water-Street.

Whoever brings a Recruit shall instantly receive One Guinea Reward.⁴⁰

The bounty of three guineas was a dramatic increase from the earliest known figure for bounties (for the Rangers) of twenty-three shillings in early 1777.⁴¹ Out of this, the soldier would be expected to buy his uniform and equipment, although not his firearm. The differences between this style of recruiting and raising for rank is that the latter could be said to offer some social status whereas this poster offers a financial reward to recruiters. As argued in chapter two it could be said that this could attract recruits who were more attracted by pecuniary advantage rather than motivated by a political ideal or increasing their standing in society.⁴² An earlier recruiting poster from the New York Gazette in August 1777 does not mention a reward so it is possible that desperation for recruits had caused a relaxation in how they were encouraged to join.⁴³

Establishing accurate figures for recruits is very difficult due to the absence of data. Some of the muster rolls record when a man was recruited but not all and there are gaps between rolls which mean that the information may have been recorded but is now lost. The table below is a breakdown by company of those men who were recorded as being recruited by company.

Table 8: Men recorded as enlisted in the Muster Rolls 1777-1783.								
Company	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783	Total

⁴⁰ *The Royal Gazette*, (New York), 16 September 1780 in www.royalprovincial.com , accessed 25/1/2008.

⁴¹ Recruiting Warrant for the Queens Rangers N.D. c. Jan 1777 TS 11/221 PRO.

⁴² See Chapter 2 Recruiting section.

⁴³ The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, 25 August 1777.

McGill's		19	27	13	3			
Wickham's		7	33	19				
Saunders's	13	2	2	1			3	
MacKay's		5	3	4				
Murray's	16	12	27	7				
McCrea's	2	4	34	15	1			
Dunlop's	4	8	10	10				
Stephenson's	11	6	19	2	8			
Shank's		1	13	69				
Agnew's		6	1	4	2			
Smythe's	59		4					
Kerr's	3	6	8	8	5			
Moncrief's				2				
Armstrong's	12							
Shaw's				3	3			
Whitlock's				6	3			
McNab's					2			
Smith's					2			
Cooke's					40			
Total	120	76	181	163	69	0	3	612

Source: Source: C Series Muster Rolls, Vols. 1861-65, TS 11 221, WO 12/11035. Compiled using Queens Rangers Database

All these men were officially recorded as having being recruited. The muster rolls give date enlisted and sometimes the man who enlisted them. Shank's company shows a lot of recruits in 1780. This is because Shank was put in charge of a newly formed cavalry company in that year and recruited new men. However, far more men joined the Rangers than are shown here. A more comprehensive way of establishing recruits is to take the first date the man appeared on the muster. The table below does this:

1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783	Total
320	664	394	375	298	199	32	112	2019

Source: Source: C Series Muster Rolls, Vols. 1861-65, TS 11 221, WO 12/11035. Compiled using Queens Rangers Database.

So what do these figures tell us? The table demonstrates there was considerable recruiting done in 1777. This conforms to the known facts as this was when the regiment

⁴⁴ The reason for starting in 1778 is that some those soldiers who appear on the rolls for the first time in 1777 may have joined in

was reformed. The recruiting after that was done when men were available and were needed. There is an overall downward trend from 1777, with the exception of 1783. This is possibly because at the end of the war men joined because of the promise of land in Canada. They may also have been moved in from other regiments who had already disbanded.

Another avenue of recruits for the Queens Rangers was their enemy. In 1777 General Howe wrote: The provincial corps except Wemyss corps [The Queens Rangers] is not to enlist deserters from the rebels"⁴⁵ This regulation goes back to the command of Rogers and under Simcoe the Rangers went on enlisting deserters. Turncoats would have been regarded with suspicion, although they would also have been able to provide valuable information about the enemy. Once these men had earned the trust of Simcoe they would prove invaluable to the Queens Rangers, as they not only brought detailed local knowledge but knowledge of Patriot positions and emplacements that could be used on raids. Simcoe mentions gaining valuable intelligence from deserters in a letter to Clinton.⁴⁶ Six men are recorded on the rolls as having "joined from desertion" but there were more, as it is known that Simcoe smuggled men aboard the hospital ship the *Bonnetta* at Yorktown in October 1781, to prevent them being hung by Washington for desertion.⁴⁷ The recruits, from whatever source, once acquired had to be turned into

⁴⁵ Orders of General Howe 3 July 1777, PRO 30/55/6; quoted in a draft letter from Simcoe to Clinton, Simcoe Papers; John Simcoe *Journal*, pg. 19.

⁴⁶ Simcoe to Clinton, (n.d, 1780), Simcoe Papers, Clements Library.

⁴⁷ The term used in the enlistment column of the rolls is "Joined from desertion." Some men are listed as having "returned from Desertion" which presumably means they have deserted from a Loyalist regiment. As none of the 6 appear on the rolls before it is possible to assume that they are Patriot deserters. Peter Edor is definitely identified as a Patriot deserter. These men were James Bentley, Peter Edor, William Mead, Stephen Sands, Nathaniel Shelley and Pater Woods. Another man, Richard Doyle deserted from the Queens Rangers and was "claimed by the rebels" presumably meaning he had previously deserted from them. Queens Rangers Database; John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 147

effective combatants. The accepted way of doing this was by training and discipline. The next section will discuss the disciplinary record of the Queens Rangers.

Discipline

The essential differences between the Rogers' Queens Rangers and Simcoe's Queens Rangers are not so much in fighting style but in discipline. Rogers' Rangers were allegedly more democratic than Simcoe's unit, which was run with tight discipline.⁴⁸ This section will look at how the Simcoe regiment fared. As has been shown in the previous chapter the men in the earlier incarnation of the Queens Rangers frequently went absent without leave to drink and carouse in New York. Yet the Rangers, after 1777, had a very good disciplinary record, which, if not perfect, was certainly comparable to the best British regiments. A report by Colonel Innes, Inspector General of Provincial forces, on several Provincial regiments demonstrates this. Innes writes:

The indefatigable pains and attentions of the last of those gentlemen [Simcoe] first established that character which Lt. Col. Simcoe has so honourably supported. During the campaigns in Pennsylvania the whole army did ample justice to their merit and services and your Excellency is so perfectly acquainted with Lt. Colonel Simcoe's abilities and spirit and the good behaviour of his corps, on every occasion that it is perfectly unnecessary to mention either."⁴⁹

The telling phrase in Innes' report is "good behaviour." Analyzing his earlier letters on the state of the earlier Queens Rangers it sometimes seems as if in Innes' estimation, good disciplinary behaviour and good combat behaviour go hand in hand. Yet in one regard the Queens Rangers under Simcoe did not improve greatly from the Rogers period. Analysis of the muster rolls has demonstrated the Queens Rangers suffered from desertion throughout their lifespan as a regiment.

⁴⁸ John Cuneo, *The Early Days of the Queen's Rangers*, pp. 71-72.

⁴⁹ Innes to Clinton 22 September 1779, New York. CO 5 98, ff. 314-316. PRO.

Table 10: Desertion rates November 1777-1783 compiled from the Muster rolls.	
Year	Number of desertions
August 1776-March 1777 ⁵⁰	32
August- November1777	19
1778	105
1779	70
1780	26
1781	35
1782	42
1783	14

Source: C Series Muster Rolls, Vols. 1861-65, TS 11 221, WO 12/11035. Compiled using Queens Rangers Database.

It is noticeable that 1778 is by far the highest period for desertions of the Simcoe period. This is possibly related to the fact that not all those remaining from the previous regime would have accepted the changes that Simcoe made, as well as the Rangers not yet settling on the type of man they wished to recruit. However, as the war wore on and the regiment got better and the soldiers more experienced it is possible that they would have been less likely to desert their comrades. This assumption is given credence by James McPherson's work on the soldiers of the American Civil war. McPherson noted that soldiers were given courage by the men around them and their continued experience of surviving combats.⁵¹ McPherson's theory that desertion amongst Confederates dramatically increased as it became clear the war was lost, is not echoed in the Queens Rangers experience.⁵² The figures show that after 1781 the desertion rates were small. This is possibly related to the fact that the Queens Rangers as Loyalists were loath to

⁵⁰ Compiled from the extant rolls of four companies out of ten in the regiment.

⁵¹ James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, (Oxford, 1997), pp. 77-89

⁵² *Ibid*, pp 156, 162, 168-169.

return home as they did not know what punishment awaited them for their decision to back the British. At least by remaining with the regiment they would be looked after and they were also promised land in Canada, which the vast majority of them took.

An order of Simcoe's from May 1779 exemplifies how he secured devotion and respect from his men, important qualities in maintaining discipline in a unit. He addresses his sergeants and praises their "soldierly behaviour" that has attracted "universal notice" and promises that they may "depend upon his utmost support in the execution of their duty and his protection in every situation." However, he promises that genuine transgressions will be punished and the offender reduced to the ranks "without court-martial."⁵³ This is borne out by the muster rolls as there are several instances of NCOs being reduced to private. For example, Thomas Collins was demoted to from sergeant to private on 6 July 1781 and spent the rest of his career as a private.⁵⁴ The details of his offence are not recorded but he had been Sergeant since 1779, so his offence must have been relatively severe for Simcoe to demote an experienced Sergeant. Another letter mentions a sentence of 1000 lashes given to an offender, effectively a death sentence. The decline in desertion over time would demonstrate that it may have taken some of the men some time to accustom themselves to his methods, but those who stayed were far less likely to rebel against them. Analysis of the muster rolls reveals few punishments serious enough to cause a long term absence from duty and therefore a mention in the rolls. There are nineteen cases in the muster rolls of soldiers being held in prison at the time the roll was taken.⁵⁵

⁵³ Letter to the Sergeants of the Queens Rangers May 1779, New York, Simcoe Papers.

⁵⁴ Collins served between 1778 and 1782 and was in Armstrong's, Moncrief's, McGill's and Shaw's companies: C Series Muster Rolls vols. 1861-1864.

⁵⁵ See Queens Rangers Database.

As mentioned in chapter two, the Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies website has transcriptions of the General Court Martials held involving Loyalists.⁵⁶ They have three for the Queens Rangers, one for the Rogers era, one for the Weymss era and one for the Simcoe era.⁵⁷ The Court Martial from the Simcoe era is worth examining briefly here as it sheds light on some aspects of eighteenth century behaviour. In May 1778, Lt. Nathaniel Fitzpatrick—the same man who Jarvis described as being “a warm open hearted Irishman⁵⁸”—was accused of contracting a “violent venereal disorder” described in the court martial (possibly syphilis or gonorrhoea) and passing it on to his company commander Captain James Murray through their shared mistress, a Mary Duche.⁵⁹ Fitzpatrick was accused of behaving in a “scandalous and infamous manner,” and of rendering both himself and Captain Murray unfit for duty. He was accused of knowing about his condition and not doing anything to stop Murray catching it. He was acquitted of this charge but the court ruled that his behaviour was highly improper, and “doth therefore adjudge that he should make a public apology to the Officers of the Corps to which he belongs.”⁶⁰ The database of the muster rolls reveals that Murray was sick for much of the next year before returning to duty in 1780. It is possible that the disease made a recurrence, although Fitzpatrick was obviously fit enough to go back on active service

⁵⁶ <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/courts/crtlist.htm>

⁵⁷ The Court Martials listed are selective and there are only a few for each regiment. The two pre Simcoe Court Martials are: Private Peter Brady who in April 1777 was accused of trying to persuade a British soldier to desert to the Patriots. He was found guilty and sentenced to 1000 lashes. Brady is not listed in the Muster Rolls for 1777 (he served in the Rogers period where the rolls are incomplete) but a Pvt. Peter Brady served in the regiment in 1779-80 so it is possible that he survived his sentence and reenlisted, see Queens Rangers Database and WO 71/83 ff.351-354 online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/courts/cmbrady.htm> accessed 13/3/2009; Captain Job Williams, see footnote 21.

⁵⁸ See footnote 24.

⁵⁹ Court Martial of Nathaniel Fitzpatrick, WO 71/83 ff.291-310 online at: <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/courts/cmfitzpatrick.htm> accessed 12.3/2009.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

as he was captured with the rest of the regiment –Capt. Murray included- at Yorktown in 1781.⁶¹

The Fitzpatrick episode is a fascinating insight into the sexual mores of soldiers in the eighteenth century. The court martial is very frank in its discussion of sexual matters and there seems to be an acknowledgment by both witnesses and those in authority that it was common behaviour for officers to pay for the upkeep of mistresses in taverns. This incident shows also that soldiers never really change, these problems probably faced the commanders of Roman soldiers in the Punic wars.

Other serious acts of indiscipline were severely punished. For example, Simcoe had two men hung for rape in 1781 although as it was on campaign the men were not tried by General Court Martial. Simcoe informed Cornwallis of the measures he took, stating “I have not the least doubt that Jonathan Webster and Lewis Trepan private Dragoons in Captain Cooke’s troop of the Queens Rangers were guilty of rape on Jane Dickenson yesterday.”⁶² Trapand and Webster only appear once in the muster rolls, in the roll for February 1781 which would suggest they were recent recruits. Trapand’s nationality is given as “French” and Webster’s as “American.”⁶³ These men were the only men executed for capital crimes in the Simcoe tenure.⁶⁴ There is no evidence relating to the effect that Trapand and Webster’s crimes and punishments had on the regiment. Had Jarvis still been the regiment it is likely he would have mentioned it and his testimony would have been invaluable. It is difficult to speculate what effect it had on the morale of the men in the regiment. It is noticeable that both the executed men were recent recruits,

⁶¹ See Queens Rangers Database.

⁶² Simcoe to Cornwallis Price Mile 2 June 1781 Cornwallis Papers PRO 30/11/6 f. 156. PRO.

⁶³ Muster Roll of Captain Cooke’s company 24 December 1780 to 24 February 1781, C Series, 1863.

⁶⁴ The only other documented execution was of Richard Carny of McGill’s company, which was carried out during Wemyss ‘command. No details exist of his crime. Carny was executed on 29 September 1777. Muster Roll of Captain McGill’s Company 24 August to 22 November 1777, Vol. 1861, C Series 1847.

probably hastily recruited in Virginia and the other soldiers would have little time to get to know them in the way that the long term soldiers knew each other, so possibly the effect was minimal.

Simcoe had political reasons for keeping his men disciplined as well. Simcoe appreciated that the Queens Rangers and other regiments needed recruits and that the British had to maintain the support of the civilian populace to gain them and as such it was in his interest to keep the Rangers from plundering and looting civilian property. There was sometimes a temptation by Loyalists to take revenge on the Patriots and the British were obliged to take action to prevent this. Simcoe by and large kept his men from any deliberate reprisals against civilians and appears so that the reputation of the Queens Rangers in this regard was relatively untarnished, unlike the British Legion. When some Queens Rangers soldiers were accused of plundering civilians Simcoe severely disciplined them, which shows that he personally did not approve of the practice.⁶⁵ He did not even approve of his men plundering captured soldiers although he allowed his men to relieve prisoners of their watches on raids behind enemy lines.⁶⁶ It was, however, seen as acceptable to destroy as much military property as possible and indeed the Rangers were expert at such. This issue will be discussed more fully in the section on combat operations. This section has demonstrated that while the Queens Rangers were not without disciplinary problems they were generally reasonably well behaved and this is reflected by the trust that was placed in them as a combat unit.

The Soldiers

This section will examine the service of men in the Queens Rangers. It will examine length of service and provide some comments on motivation. It will be principally based on the database and will make calculations and examine patterns of service. The table below provides calculations based on every man recorded in the

⁶⁵ Untitled report of disciplinary Measures, (n.d.), Simcoe Papers, William Clements Library.

⁶⁶ Walter Wilkin, *Some British Officers in America* (London, 1914), p. 97.

muster rolls based on their length of service. There are two figure used. Recorded service and maximum length service. Recorded service is the amount of time they are recorded on the muster rolls.

Table 11: Length of Service, Queens Rangers 1776-1783.				
<i>121</i>	Distribution of Service			
		Observed Values		
<i>Interval</i>	Recorded Days in Service ⁶⁷		Maximum (Projected) Length of Service ⁶⁸	
<i>61</i> ⁶⁹	<i>Soldiers</i>	% of total	<i>Soldiers</i>	% of total
0--60	199	9.06	199	9.07
61--121	725	33.01	646	29.43
122--182	213	9.70	100	4.56
183--243	144	6.56	156	7.11
244--304	95	4.33	73	3.33
305--365	75	3.42	90	4.10
366--426	69	3.14	48	2.19
427--487	92	4.19	45	2.05
488--548	69	3.14	35	1.59
549--609	52	2.37	65	2.96
610--670	49	2.23	55	2.51
671--731	50	2.28	28	1.28
732--792	39	1.78	29	1.32
793--853	26	1.18	66	3.01
854--914	24	1.09	28	1.28
915--975	24	1.09	31	1.41
976--1036	26	1.18	35	1.59
1037--1097	23	1.05	14	0.64
1098--1158	27	1.23	19	0.87
1159--1219	23	1.05	37	1.69
1220--1280	27	1.23	15	0.68

⁶⁷ These are the number of days by which the men are actually recorded on the rolls.

⁶⁸ Maximum length of service a projected figure based on the individuals first appearance on the rolls and his last. This figure takes accounts of gaps in the rolls.

⁶⁹ The interval is set at 61 days which is the usual length of time covered in a muster roll.

1281-- 1341	16	0.73	22	1.00
1342-- 1402	26	1.18	24	1.09
1403-- 1463	28	1.28	20	0.91
1464-- 1524	17	0.77	13	0.59
1525-- 1585	7	0.32	15	0.68
1586-- 1646	4	0.18	22	1.00
1647-- 1707	6	0.27	18	0.82
1708-- 1768	2	0.09	11	0.50
1769-- 1829	5	0.23	35	1.59
1830-- 1890	4	0.18	9	0.41
1891-- 1951	1	0.05	9	0.41
1952-- 2012	1	0.05	25	1.14
2013-- 2073	1	0.05	38	1.73
2074-- 2134	0	0.00	23	1.05
2135-- 2195	4	0.18	9	0.41
2196-- 2256	0	0.00	46	2.10
2257-- 2317	0	0.00	1	0.05
2318-- 2378	2	0.09	0	0.00
2379-- 2439	0	0.00	17	0.77
2440-- 2500	0	0.00	4	0.18
Total	2196	100.00	2195	100.00

Source: Source: C Series Muster Rolls, Vols. 1861-65, TS 11 221, WO 12/11035.
Compiled using Queens Rangers Database

This table demonstrates an extraordinary variety of lengths of service. The patterns that emerge are that there are two distinct groups of soldiers: the short term soldiers and the long term soldiers. The largest numerical group are the short term soldiers. Approximately fifty-six percent of soldiers are recorded on the rolls for a year or

less and forty nine per cent served a year or less as their maximum length of service. This means that half the regiment only served for a short time. Were these men they as committed as their long term counterparts? It is possible that the rigid demands placed on them were too much for many of them. Many of the men would have been killed or incapacitated of course. It is noticeable that the largest group of men served for two musters. This means that they completed their training and then left. In some cases they were transferred to other units but this is actually a rare occurrence on the rolls so they obviously did not always stay with the army. Ambrose's work on World War Two examines how replacements were more likely to disappear from the unit for whatever reason-admittedly desertion was a far more difficult proposition in World War Two.⁷⁰

The second distinct group that emerges is the long term soldiers.⁷¹ What becomes clear when looking at the figures is that despite all the casualties, desertions and other absences there was a large block of men who remained with the regiment for several years. 655 men or 30 percent of the overall total served for two years or more. Of these 335 or fifteen percent served for four years or more. 158 men, or seven percent served for six years or more, which was essentially the whole war for the Queens Rangers. So what do these figures mean? While they seem by far the lesser group, on closer examination of the rolls shows that these are the men who made up the bulk of the men in the companies on a muster by muster basis. The table below demonstrates the average regimental and company strengths of the Queens Rangers.

Table 12: Average Strength of the Queens Rangers 1776-1783.	
Average Company strength	44.26354
Average Regimental Strength	412.2903

⁷⁰ Stephen A. Ambrose, *Citizen Soldiers*, (London 1997), pp. 272-289.

⁷¹ There are some anomalies in this table. A few soldiers are shown as having served for nearly ten years, obviously impossible. This is because they are men with common names, for example, John Brown, and they are obviously more than one person but it is impossible to differentiate between them especially if they appear in the same company as they do on more than one occasion.

Source: Source: C Series Muster Rolls, Vols. 1861-65, TS 11 221, WO 12/11035. Compiled using Queens Rangers Database.

If there was a regimental average of 412 per muster then the bulk of these men were the 335 men who served four years or more. If it was otherwise the Queens Rangers would have 1000 plus men in every muster.⁷²

These long term men therefore, were dedicated Provincial soldiers. Whether they were dedicated Loyalists is open to question, but to serve for so long, something was keeping them with the regiment even if it was only loyalty to Simcoe or to an NCO. Sylvia Frey argues what makes soldiers stay together is what she terms “group consciousness.”⁷³ She equates it with family life, maintaining that these are men denied a normal family life and that they find it in a regiment. It is possible to say this is true with the Queens Rangers, Jarvis’ testimony supports it, but that there are some crucial differences. Unlike the British soldiers Frey deals with, many of the Queens Rangers came from stable and secure family backgrounds. They did not have to serve for reasons of poverty or deprivation. Their service actually endangered that secure life. Ultimately, many of them were serving because they wanted to, out of some sense of loyalty, similar to many volunteers in the American Civil War. In some ways they are more similar to their American counterparts dealt with by Don Higginbotham and Holly Mayer and also to descendants in the volunteer elites of World War Two dealt with by Stephen Ambrose.⁷⁴

It is useful to examine a few long term soldiers in depth. The first is Private Gabriel Barton. He joined the Queens Rangers in the autumn of 1776 and remained with

⁷² See table 11.

⁷³ Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America*, p 137.

⁷⁴ Don Higginbotham, *The Early American Way of War; The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes Policy and Practice*; Holly Mayer, *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community During the American Revolution*, Columbia, SC, 1996) Stephen Ambrose, *Band of Brothers* (London, 2000).

the regiment through to August 1782, appearing on twenty-three rolls. He served a total of 2,188 days. This is the total of his service including gaps in the muster rolls. The total amount of time he appears on muster rolls is 1,967 days.⁷⁵ The reason that these two figures are different is that all muster rolls have a beginning and end date. If the period from the beginning of one roll is significantly after the end date of the last roll, then a gap will appear. In Barton's case the two hundred day gap is largely accounted for by the fact that there is a gap in the rolls from March of 1777 until November 1777. He served initially in Captain Frazer's company and then in Captain McCrea's company. His nationality is given as American on the one roll that lists this.⁷⁶ The February 1780 roll shows that he was in hospital between 24 December 1779 and 23 February 1780.⁷⁷ After this he does not appear to be on active service again. He is listed as wounded in February 1781. Barton was then put on furlough in New York until August of 1782 when he was invalided out of the unit due to his injuries.

Another long term soldier is Solomon Parent who appears on the rolls for 1,270 days. He was recruited in autumn 1776 by Captain Eagles and captured at Mamaroneck in October.⁷⁸ He is back on the muster in March 1777, which means he was either exchanged or he escaped and it was not recorded. He served in the Grenadier Company and appears to have seen much service, having only one spell as sick in hospital. He is listed as an American on the August 1780 muster.⁷⁹ He served with the regiment up until

⁷⁵ Queens Rangers Database.

⁷⁶ Muster Roll of Captain McCrea's company 25 June 1779 to 24 August 1780. C Series Muster Rolls Vol. 1863.

⁷⁷ Muster Roll of Captain McCrea's company 24 December 1779 to 23 February 1780. C Series Muster Rolls Vol. 1863, National Archives of Canada.

⁷⁸ Muster Roll of Capt Eagles Company to 24 December 1776, TS 11/221, PRO.

⁷⁹ Muster Roll of Captain McGill's company 25 June 1780 to 24 August 1780.

his death on 21 October 1781.⁸⁰ The cause of death is not given but it is likely to be related to the siege of Yorktown where he would have served with his company.⁸¹

It is inevitable that in a unit where personnel changes often, the men who had been there the longest tend to stick together and disassociate themselves from new recruits until they too had served their apprenticeship. There is of course little direct evidence to support this view, and it is necessary to turn to other more recent studies of small military units. James McPherson examined the behaviour of Civil War soldiers and suggested the behaviour of veterans is markedly different to that of raw recruits.⁸² Stephen Ambrose's work also provides good evidence for taking this view.⁸³ Although the Civil and Second World Wars are far removed from the Revolutionary War, the characteristics of a close knit, highly motivated elite body of men are similar. The veterans in the Queens Rangers fit into this model. They were highly skilled men-like Ambrose's paratroops in "Band of Brothers"- who had prolonged exposure to combat. Therefore, while combat casualties were unpreventable, avoidable losses due to indiscipline were kept to a minimum.

Two Long term soldiers who deserve a section of their own have in many ways left the most intriguing documents about the Queens Rangers. Sergeants Mundy and Jarvis.

Mundy and Jarvis.

On the 22 August 1780 Sergeant Major Nathaniel Mundy took a risk. He took the kind of risk that even a veteran and senior NCO with years of combat experience might have been expected to have winced at. He wrote a letter that could very well have been regarded by some regimental commanders as highly impertinent and therefore a severe breach of discipline. This made Mundy liable to the severest punishment. As a NCO

⁸⁰ Muster Roll of Capt McGill's company 25 August to 24 October 1781, C Series 1864.

⁸¹ Muster Roll of Captain McGill's Company from 25 August to 24 October 1781, C Series 1864.

⁸² James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, (Oxford 1997), p.81.

⁸³ Stephen A. Ambrose, *Citizen Soldiers*, (London 1997), pp. 272-289.

Mundy was not entitled to ask to resign his rank or request a transfer to another unit. Yet this is precisely what he did. He wrote to John Graves Simcoe, then commander of the Queens Rangers and requested either a commission to ensign or a transfer, either only applicable only if Simcoe left the unit. Mundy asked for a commission “to relieve him of his current unpleasant rank”. This reads as almost a threat. It is doubtful whether any British sergeant would have written in the same way to his colonel and escaped without punishment. He further wrote “Notwithstanding it is his utmost wish to serve in any capacity, whilst Col. Simcoe personally commands, that his present rank being disagreeable to him in your absence, he does not wish that you sir should imagine he has the least intention of quitting the army. So far from that, that he would take the first convenient opportunity in some other corps as long as there is a rebel under arms in America. As he cannot imagine he would choose to leave the corps he is so thoroughly acquainted with and where he cannot expect to meet with its equal in the field but when its head is gone its glory has eclipsed.”⁸⁴ Mundy then said that his “presumption” would be forgiven because of his “pure zeal for his Majesty’s interest for a dependence founded upon the event of this unnatural Rebellion and that every suffering Loyalist may receive the reward due to his merit.” Mundy hopes Simcoe will pardon his presumption and that he will “seriously consider that the sacrifice an ample [unreadable] from his pure zeal for his majesty’s interest for a dependence founded upon the event of this unnatural Rebellion and that every suffering loyalist may receive the reward due to his merit.” Mundy demonstrates his “zeal” for the cause; his phrase about “any rebel under arms” is particularly resonant. Mundy, despite his presumption, obviously was a gifted soldier because Simcoe had no hesitation in arranging his commission, which was ratified two days after the letter was sent.

⁸⁴ Sergeant Major Nathaniel Mundy to Lt. Col. John Graves Simcoe, 22 August 1780. Oyster Bay. Unlabelled bundle, Simcoe Papers, Clements Library.

Mundy's letter is also one of the few pieces of evidence relating to the enlisted men of the Queens Rangers. The letter is both glowing testimony to Simcoe and a reflection of Mundy's belief in the cause he was fighting for. For this latter it is invaluable. Very little is known about the motivations for serving of rankers or indeed of junior officers. The testimonies of the dismissed officers in the PRO also have some justifications for service but there are none by non-commissioned officers. Mundy was writing asking for a commission, which may seem presumptuous and indeed his language often seems to be insubordinate.⁸⁵

Stephen Jarvis, a Sergeant in the Hussars, was similar in many ways to Mundy, indeed they were friends. Jarvis came of a similar background and like Mundy he was desperate to receive a commission as he felt he was worthy of it. In their own minds they were both "gentlemen rankers." In one memorable passage, he describes how when his company commander, Captain Alexander Wickham lost control in combat, he seized the initiative, he writes:

Now is the time I said to myself, this day I must either obtain me a commission or I must be left dead in the field. I immediately took charge of the Division, which Wickham had left, and encouraged them to keep their ranks and behave like

⁸⁵ Mundy appears on twenty rolls which detail his rise from Sergeant to Ensign. He would serve with the Rangers for the remainder of the war, going with them to Canada. He would then go to England and serve as a Lieutenant in the 54th Regiment (the Dorset-shires). Mundy obviously reaffirmed his commitment to the British crown by signing up for further service, unlike many other Loyalists who settled peacefully in Canada. It is possible of course that this was the only course open to him other than farming. Mundy had gambled and lost everything and a career in the British Army may have offered an attractive solution to the problem of what to do after the war.

The data on Mundy in the database is incomplete due to an error which will be rectified. At the moment he is not listed in the query days in service.

Rangers, and I urged strongly to charge back and bring off the body of our beloved Colonel.⁸⁶

This demonstrates that Jarvis was desperate enough to court death in order to secure a field commission. Jarvis attempted to procure a commission from his earliest times in the Provincial Service and was eventually successful in 1780.⁸⁷ It is interesting to speculate on the shared desire of increased status by Mundy and Jarvis. While officers were paid more and enjoyed greater material comforts than even senior NCOs like Jarvis and Mundy, it was obviously something greater than mere comfort that made Jarvis risk his life and Mundy his position. It would seem that in many ways they felt it was their due because of their service and abilities but seems to indicate a desire to serve the cause the best they could, which would be as officers.

Jarvis' account also mentions his "beloved commander" again echoing Mundy's regard for Simcoe. Jarvis did not find all his superiors so friendly. A particular target of Jarvis' ire was his company commander, Captain Wickham, who he describes as a "drunken, malicious unprincipled, cowardly and malicious officer."⁸⁸ Simcoe himself makes no critical comment on Wickham, although Jarvis relates that Simcoe was able to force out of Jarvis some condemnation of him which Simcoe seems tacitly to have agreed with.⁸⁹ Yet, in his journal Simcoe has nothing but praise for Wickham, who was killed in 1781 in South Carolina.⁹⁰ This condemnation of Wickham demonstrates that not all of the Queens Rangers officers were able and beloved of their men. However, Jarvis was later able to come to an understanding with Wickham and the two parted on reasonable terms,

⁸⁶ Stephen Jarvis, *Narrative*, p.174; the incident he refers to here is the raid at which Simcoe was captured on 25 October 1779. At the time he writes of, the men believed Simcoe to be dead.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, pp.160, 192-194.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*. p.177.

⁸⁹ His account tallies with the facts on the Muster Rolls, he was an American, that he joined the regiment in the Autumn of 1777, served with McGill, Shanks and Wickham and was eventually promoted Quarter Master are all verified by the database. *Ibid*. pp.178-179; Queens Rangers Database.

⁹⁰ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p.140.

when Jarvis left the Rangers to join the Kings Royal Americans. Jarvis is listed on the muster rolls for 1,110 days.⁹¹

The testaments of Sergeant Mundy and Sergeant Jarvis provide a valuable insight into the predicament of Loyalist soldiers. Letters from officers giving cogent reasons for serving the Loyalist cause are rare, while letters from men serving in the ranks are almost non-existent. Mundy's letter is a vital piece of evidence in piecing together why men served in this particular cause. Officers –by 1780 anyway- were generally expected and supposed to be of “respectable” character and possibly more naturally inclined to the “Tory” cause than the soldiers who served in the ranks. It is debatable whether Mundy's personal demonstration of Loyalty to the Crown reflects any wider anti-revolutionary sentiments from all of his comrades in the ranks. What is not in doubt is his loyalty to the regiment's longest serving commander, John Simcoe. Simcoe's standing with his men is surely demonstrated by the fact that his most senior and experienced NCO would rather risk severe punishment than serve under anyone else. It is testament to the measure of respect that Simcoe obviously had for Mundy that he commissioned Mundy two days after the letter was written.⁹²

The later Queens Rangers are almost impossible to divorce from their charismatic commander, whose influence on both officers and men would extend far beyond his tenure as commander. When he returned to North America as Governor of Upper Canada in 1792 it was the officers and men of the Queens Rangers he turned to, to help him establish a defensive force, forming the beginnings of the Canadian Army, Mundy and Jarvis were among several he asked for.

Section 2 Battlefield Effectiveness

⁹¹ Queens Rangers Database.

⁹² These Notes on Nathaniel Mundy are contained in the Young Papers in the Clements Library: Nathaniel Mundy: Ensign Queens Rangers: went on to be a Lieutenant in the 54th foot in the 1790's. Sergeant Queens Rangers Nov 1777. An American. Promoted to ensign 24 August 1780. Captured at Yorktown and paroled 14th Oct 1781, Young Papers, Clements Library.

4.1 The Commander

This part of the chapter will examine the combat record of the Queens Rangers under Simcoe. The ultimate goal of any regimental commander is to create an efficient and effective combat unit and all the methods that have been discussed up to this point were intended to make the Queens Rangers so. A well-run, well-trained, properly equipped and well-disciplined unit, stands a better chance of being successful in combat than one which does not have these attributes. The aim of this section is to investigate the battlefield effectiveness of the Queens Rangers by discussing in brief the various engagements and campaigns they took part in. Battlefield effectiveness of a regiment is a difficult thing to assess, as it is not always possible to quantify why one regiment performs better in combat than another.⁹³ The most obvious indicator is length and variety of service. If a regiment is used constantly then this would indicate that the High Command view them as reliable on previous performance. However, it is not foolproof. Troops were often used because they were in the right place at the right time. For example, if an attack happens where a unit is serving then obviously they would have been used unless they were completely unfit for combat for whatever reason. This would happen several times to the Queens Rangers, when the area they were in was attacked and they were automatically involved in the fighting. However, when a unit is deliberately moved to be where a planned attack or campaign is taking place then it becomes easier to classify their effectiveness. The fact that the Queens Rangers were frequently shipped back and forth between theatres of war would show that the High Command of the British Army had faith in their reliability in combat and thought of them as an asset to any campaign. Much of this was due to the great regard the High Command had for Simcoe

⁹³ See Houlding, *Fit for Service*, Chapters VI and VII; John Keegan, *Faces of Battle*, (London, 1976); Richard Holmes, *Acts of War*, (London, 1985); Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London, 2002); Dave Grossman, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*, (New York, 1995); Stephen A. Ambrose, *Citizen Soldiers*, (London 1997).

but they also had great respect for the regiment itself. The letter cited in the introduction to this chapter demonstrates this regard that the Regiment had from Gen. Clinton. As well as the section quoted earlier he stated:

Col. Simcoe himself has been thrice wounded: and I not scruple to assert, that his successes have been no less the fruit of the most extensive knowledge of his profession which study and the experience within his reach could give him, than of the most watchful attention and shining courage.⁹⁴

This letter shows Clinton's regard for Simcoe but its implications are that the Queens Rangers were also a very efficient regiment.

This brings up the question of how important a commander is to a regiment's battlefield effectiveness. Grossman's study of the psychology of soldiers emphasises the importance of leaders in warfare. Using in-depth studies of soldiers in war throughout history, Grossman theorises that a good leader has a massive effect on the efficiency of the men under his command. He identifies three rules for this. They are: "Proximity of the authority figure to the subject; killer's subjective respect for the authority figure; intensity of the authority figure's demands for killing behaviour."⁹⁵ By applying these rules to John Simcoe, the evidence presented in the subsequent sections will demonstrate that Simcoe was a good combat leader.

Every aspect of the running of the regiment was in the commander's hands.⁹⁶ Although Brigade and Division commanders took larger decisions the every day running of the regiment from pay to training was handled by the regimental commander. This was particularly the case in respect to the Queens Rangers because of the nature of

⁹⁴ Clinton to Germain Charleston, 13 May 1780, CO5 99, ff. 248-250 PRO. See also Clinton to Arnold New York 14 December 1780, PRO 30/55/26, f.55, PRO, where Clinton says that Simcoe is "much in my confidence."

⁹⁵ Dave Grossman, *On Killing*, pp. 144-145.

⁹⁶ Houlding, *Fit for Service*, Ch. III.

their duties. They often operated independently in small scale actions which were decided and planned by the commander.⁹⁷ The officers and NCOs of the Queens Rangers demonstrated time and again their considerable abilities as Simcoe frequently noted in his Journal.⁹⁸ The obvious regard that Simcoe had for his NCOs is at odds with Frey's ideas on the formal relationship between officers and men in most British units.⁹⁹ Yet, Grossman argues that it is important for a leader to "bond" with his men.¹⁰⁰ Sgt. Jarvis demonstrates that he had a close relationship with Simcoe, stating "In Colonel Simcoe I had found a friend, who was ready to redress any grievance I had to complain of."¹⁰¹ Given what Frey says about lack of fraternisation between officers and men—including a few extreme cases of officers being punished for drinking with their men—would suggest that the Rangers were an unusually close unit and this might possibly have contributed to their battlefield effectiveness.

Combat

Simcoe's Queens Rangers were masters of light infantry tactics. They conducted several raids on the Americans, most of which were victories. These raids would consist of the Rangers going behind enemy lines, often by boat, destroying enemy munitions or transport and making their way back. In their way they were the Eighteenth century equivalent of the British Commandos of the Second World War or the American Rangers, who took their name from Rogers' Seven Years War regiment.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, passim; passim *Simcoe Papers*, Clements Library.

⁹⁸ For a good example of independent action of the officers and NCOs of the Queens Rangers see John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, pp. 140-143

⁹⁹ Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America*, pp. 134-5

¹⁰⁰ Dave Grossman, *On Killing*, p.144.

¹⁰¹ Stephen Jarvis, *Narrative*, p.177.

¹⁰² Journal gives numerous examples of successful raids. They were particularly active in these tactics in the summer of 1779 see John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, pp. 80-120.

Simcoe claimed that the Rangers' never lost an engagement in which they were not outnumbered.¹⁰³ Whilst this may be a slight exaggeration, the Rangers combat record was certainly impressive. They were rarely used in set piece battles but served instead as Scouts. They performed a valuable service at the battle of Monmouth Courthouse, on 28 June 1778, before and after the battle as General Henry Clinton notes in his memoirs. In making a decision to fight at Monmouth Clinton was "convinced by the report of the Queens Rangers and the observations I had made myself that the enemy had not yet passed 1000 men."¹⁰⁴ This would suggest that the Clinton decided to engage at Monmouth at the time and place he did, largely on the recommendations of the scouts of the Queens Rangers. This demonstrates the trust that Clinton placed in the regiment and in Simcoe.

Their performance at Monmouth during the actual battle was also highly praised and they served as the rearguard after that battle while the rest of the army retreated. It was to be the last major battle they would take part in until the siege of Charleston in 1780. Their actions in the intervening period were small-scale raids and skirmishes. This however, did not negate their value to the British but in many ways added to it. They kept up constant pressure on the patriots in New York and New Jersey and their name became known and feared by the Patriots.

The Queens Rangers had a proud record in patrols and raids and were usually entrusted with intelligence gathering missions and prisoner snatches. Also their Loyalist status worked in their favour. Simcoe states in journal that he had a little book containing the names of all the men in his unit and where they came from in America so that he would never be short of local knowledge.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, the book no longer exists but

¹⁰³ Walter Wilkin, *Some British Officers in America*, p. 93; Simcoe Papers; John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Henry Clinton, William Wilcox (ed.) *the American Rebellion*, (Hartford, Connecticut, 1954,) p. 92.

¹⁰⁵ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 147; Walter Wilkin, *Some British Officers in America*, p. 94.

the knowledge it provided was to prove invaluable in raids and skirmishes.¹⁰⁶ Having guides allowed Simcoe to choose ambush sites and utilise footpaths normally known only to the Patriots. Line infantry regiments had to do without this knowledge and as such Simcoe made himself indispensable to General Clinton. The Queens Rangers local knowledge meant that they were often used as scouts for the main army. In many ways they may be seen as having the best of both worlds. Their Loyalist status gave them local knowledge yet their British commander insured that they were trusted by the high command in a way that few other Loyalist regiments were. Also Simcoe was constantly pressing for his unit to be used. He wrote that; “they are so well disciplined. And “should this succeed [a projected raid involving 100 men in New Hampshire in 1778] it will contribute to the ascendancy the provincial corps are gaining over the rebels a point that seems to be of general desire.”¹⁰⁷ Admittedly as their commander Simcoe, may be biased but there are enough testimonies to the effectiveness of the Queens Rangers from those in high command, such as Clinton and the King himself and even patriots like Colonel “Light Horse” Harry Lee, to support Simcoe’s statement.¹⁰⁸

One of the Queens Rangers most successful raids was on the coast of New Jersey, on 25 October 1779, where they destroyed a patriot powder magazine, 50 boats and assorted armaments.¹⁰⁹ Simcoe had received intelligence of a projected Patriot attack on New Jersey across the Delaware River. The Patriots had assembled numerous large flatboats at Van Vesser’s bridge in New Jersey with plans of using them to move a large

¹⁰⁶ The book is definitely not in any official papers. The only place it could be is in Simcoe’s personal papers in the Clements Library, but it is not there.

¹⁰⁷ Simcoe to Clinton (n.d.), Simcoe Papers.

¹⁰⁸ Walter Wilkin, *Some British Soldiers in America*, pp. 115-116.

¹⁰⁹ The raid is described in great detail in the journal: John Simcoe, *Simcoe’s Journal*, pp 108-120. Several drafts of letters from 1779 refer to this raid Simcoe Papers, October 1779 Clements Library; Clinton Papers October 1779.

body of men into New York.¹¹⁰ Simcoe resolved to destroy these boats as well as any munitions they found. On the 25th the Rangers crossed into New Jersey and accomplished this mission, burning 18 large boats and destroying much other equipment besides. They also destroyed the Courthouse in the town of Somerset. This destruction of Patriot Government property will be discussed in the next section. The aims of the raid—that of diverting the planned patriot attack on New York—were fully achieved and the Rangers returned in to Richmond in New Jersey in triumph on the evening of the 26 October. They had covered a massive amount of ground, Simcoe states: “the cavalry had covered upwards of eighty miles without halting or refreshment, the infantry thirty.”¹¹¹

Despite the success of the raid in damaging Patriot supply lines it was extremely costly to the Rangers as it deprived them of Simcoe for several months as he was wounded and captured.¹¹² They also took several casualties but the accounts of how many they took are confusing. Simcoe’s own account states that they were minimal whereas Simcoe’s friend Captain Ewald (who admittedly was not on the raid) states that the “majority of his (Simcoe’s) men were shot down.¹¹³ Ewald however, never gives exact figures, instead frequently making statements like “almost half the corps were either killed or wounded” which he does on at least two occasions.¹¹⁴ This could cast doubt on the validity of his evidence but it should be remembered that he would not have access to accurate figures, especially when editing his account in Denmark in the 1790s.

Simcoe takes the blame for the disastrous epilogue to his successful raid when the regiment was ambushed and he was captured, by stating that he should have stayed farther from the town and thus attracted less attention.¹¹⁵ However, as Simcoe had just

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 109.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 119.

¹¹² Maj. Armstrong took command in Simcoe’s absence.

¹¹³ John Simcoe, *Simcoe’s Military Journal*, p.182; Ewald, *Diary of the American War*, pp. 179-182.

¹¹⁴ Ewald, *Diary of the American War*, p. 81

¹¹⁵ John Simcoe, *Simcoe’s Journal*, p.182.

blown a powder magazine it is likely that the patriots would have found the Rangers no matter what route they had taken home and the area was full of patriot informers. When writing about Simcoe's misfortune Ewald does not apportion blame to his friend, instead stating that it was an example of how dangerous a business raiding behind Patriot lines was. This threat however, meant that the Rangers often had more reason than most to be hostile to the enemy and their symbols of power. The New Jersey raid of 1779 while a military success was arguably damaging to the cause at large because of certain actions that Simcoe took and that cast a more negative moral light his actions, which admittedly were largely impressive in a tactical sense. These actions and others will be discussed in the next section.

Intimidation and Reprisals

In early Patriot historiography the British and their Loyalist allies often have a poor reputation, in terms of their conduct towards civilians and treatment of patriot prisoners. This issue will come up several times throughout the thesis. The most obvious example of this is the reputation of the British Legion, but there is some evidence that the Queens Rangers were not blameless in their dealings with civilians and prisoners.

When discussing these events it is important to recognize the vast differences in how these events were reported on each side. What the Patriot media described as a massacre would be reported very differently by British and Loyalist sources. An example of this is the events of Hancock's Bridge New Jersey 21 March 1778. Two hundred and seventy of the Queens Rangers under Simcoe himself were part of a foraging and raiding party under Colonel Mawhood in New Jersey.¹¹⁶ The party consisted of Loyalist irregulars as well as the Queens Rangers. A large force of Patriots assembled at Hancock's bridge and in the ensuing battle the Queens Rangers surrounded and captured

¹¹⁶ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 47

the house of Judge Thomas Hancock, a prominent New Jersey Loyalist, which was occupied by Patriot militia.¹¹⁷ It is at this point that the evidence becomes conflicting and confusing. According to Simcoe, the house was seized by the Rangers in a fierce fight and the judge and his brother were accidentally killed. However, some Patriot evidence claims that the men were bayoneted while sleeping. They also put a different emphasis on the death of the Hancocks, saying that he was murdered in cold blood.¹¹⁸ Simcoe claimed that he had had been unaware that the judge was being held a prisoner there and that he deeply regretted the incident describing it as one of “the real miseries of war.”¹¹⁹ He does not mention whether the men they killed, he claims thirty, were asleep or not but does say that “surprise had been fully achieved” which could suggest that they were but that he did not disapprove of killing them in this state.¹²⁰

This kind of incident was highly damaging to the Rangers’ reputation amongst civilians and could have damaged recruitment. The event was something that happened in the heat of battle and is an example of how it is not always possible to maintain battlefield discipline in towns. On this occasion the crimes committed against civilians appear largely to have been unplanned. However, on at least one occasion the Queens Rangers appear to have taken deliberate action against Patriot government property and threatened civilian property.

One particular incident demonstrates this and also casts light on the motivations of the Queens Rangers. On the aforementioned raid on New Jersey on 29 October 1779 the Rangers burnt the Somerset county courthouse and threatened to burn civilian houses. Leonard Lundin comments that “officers of Simcoe’s type seemed to feel a peculiar hatred for courthouses, as physical symbols of American government” and further

¹¹⁷ *ibid.* pp48-50.

¹¹⁸ See report in *Star Ledger* 31 July 2001:

<http://www.nj.com/specialprojects/index.ssf?/specialprojects/revwar/rev11.html> .

¹¹⁹ John Simcoe, *Simcoe’s Journal*, p. 52

¹²⁰ *Ibid* p. 52

accuses Simcoe of “intimidatory tactics” and “bullying” the civilian populace.”¹²¹ The issue is a fascinating one. As a raiding regiment it was the Rangers’ job to harass and hurt their enemy behind the lines but a Court House had little strategic value and its loss would not really harm the Patriot war effort. It would seem to be a purely political move and casts an interesting light on the motivations of the Loyalist corps. Jarvis mentions that the “Court-House had been set on fire” but does not mention the houses.¹²² The raid is covered in depth in Simcoe’s journal and the incident is not denied but what is interesting is that Lundin approaches it the incident from a critical stance, which is quite rare, where Simcoe and the Queens Rangers are concerned. However, were also they trying exact some form of revenge? Many of the Queens Rangers officers had lost property and status and there would have been a great deal of bitterness.¹²³ By striking at government buildings the Rangers could alleviate their anger at the enemy. Damage to Patriot Government property was common and actively encouraged. However, it could be counter productive. Fires once started, are hard to control and it is possible that civilian property was destroyed in the process. The Queens Rangers were desperate for recruits yet they were hardly likely to win them by threatening to destroy people’s property.

While damage to property might be regarded as unacceptable but at least understandable when behind Patriot lines, one incident highlights that the Queens Rangers were not averse to intimidating civilians who were behind British lines. In March 1780 the payroll of the Queens Rangers was stolen from its courier in Smithtown New York. As the culprit could not be identified, the sum of £80 was levied from the

¹²¹ Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution*, (Princeton University Press, 1940), pp. 416-18. The raid is mentioned in numerous sources most notably John Simcoe, *Simcoe’s Journal*, pg. 108-118, *Simcoe Papers*, several drafts of letters from 1779 refer to this raid, *Clinton Papers* October 1779, *Clements Library*.

¹²² Stephen Jarvis, *Narrative*, p. 173.

¹²³ C.J. Ingles, *The Queens Rangers in the Revolutionary War*, pp.245-280. This work has an appendix giving brief biographical details of all of the officers. It shows that several lost property.

inhabitants of the town to compensate the regiment. This kind of rough justice was hardly likely to win them recruits from Smithtown.¹²⁴

There is also some evidence of where the accepted rules of war in relation to surrendering soldiers were said to have been breached. In March 1781 Captain MacKay's company were charged with having shot a Patriot soldier who was deemed to have surrendered. He was cleared of the charge by court martial. Also in 1781, Captain Saunders was cleared of having executed a prisoner.¹²⁵ Although both these officers were cleared of all charges, it potentially gave ample opportunity to Patriot propagandists to accuse Loyalists of brutality and the British of ignoring it.

It is easy for recent historians to criticize soldiers for acts of inhumanity but often this does not take into account the complicated and confusing nature of partisan warfare and in the "fog of war" it is often difficult for company commanders to have full control over their men. This was as much the case in the American Revolution as it is in present wars. The task for the historian is to decide to what extent these incidents were accidental or intentional. Certainly Lundin implies that the Rangers had a grudge against obvious symbols of patriot government in a way that possibly made them different to regular troops. Yet they appear rarely to have harmed civilians, which is in their favour.

Yet these actions, although Simcoe and his men justified them as necessities of war, put them in fear of Patriot reprisals, which were commonplace. Simcoe cites an example of Sergeant Adams of the Rangers Hussars, who was mortally wounded while on a raid with Simcoe in Virginia in January of 1781. Adams told Simcoe that he "didn't

¹²⁴ Receipt for Monies received. Simcoe Papers, Clements Library: This document is a receipt for £80 and is signed by Captain Smith of the Queens Rangers.

¹²⁵For the MacKay issue see Simcoe to Clinton, March 1781 (draft) Simcoe Papers, Clements library;; Dictionary of Canadian Biography for John Saunders, <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=37239&query=>

mind dying but for God's sake don't leave me in the hands of the rebels."¹²⁶ This is an extreme example of the fear Loyalists had of their Patriot compatriots. Simcoe illustrates the dangers facing his regiment when he stated:

“From this example one can perceive how dangerous is the service of Light troops in this country. One never sets true the information from the enemy. Each step that one makes is soon betrayed. And then one is likely to be surrounded by armed country people who are all excellent shots, without considering the regular troops of the enemy.”¹²⁷

This meant that the Rangers faced more than just regular troops; they faced a hostile population and one especially hostile to Loyalists. Captured Queens Rangers soldiers faced the possibility of tarring and feathering or in extreme cases, hanging. The most obvious example of this was the action that Simcoe was forced to take at Yorktown, in October 1781. Simcoe knew that Cornwallis was doomed and asked him if he could take the Queens Rangers to cut their way out through a secret path that he was told about by a spy. Given the skill of the unit it is possible that they could have done so.¹²⁸ Cornwallis reacted badly to this, and insisted that everyone must surrender together, Loyalists and British alike. Yet this was no act of self-preservation on Simcoe's part. He did genuinely fear for the lives of his men. The patriots had not always treated Loyalist soldiers as magnanimously as they had British POWs and all the Loyalists commanders waiting for surrender at Yorktown feared for the lives of their men. After the surrender at Yorktown, several Patriot deserters were extracted from the British and Loyalist

¹²⁶ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 94.

¹²⁷ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 182.

¹²⁸ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, pp. 145-7

regiments and hung.¹²⁹ Mindful of this Simcoe smuggled out as many as he could on the hospital ship the *Bonnetta*, which it was tacitly agreed in the articles of surrender that it could contain “such Soldiers as he may think proper to send to New York to be permitted to sail without examination.”¹³⁰ Of the soldiers hung, none were from the Queens Rangers, testifying to Simcoe’s quick thinking.

The Last Days.¹³¹

The Queens Rangers were in many ways at their most active in the last two years of campaigning, between 1779 and 1781. There are several reasons for this. One reason is connected to a trend, universal to the Loyalist regiments. This is the increasing reliance by the British on their American Provincial troops after the American-French Alliance, as Paul Smith has shown.¹³² The Queens Rangers however, had been used extensively since 1777, before the French Alliance, so in some ways this change in policy did not affect them as much as other regiments, who had scarcely been used at all. A major reason for this is simply that they were a very good regiment. It is often the way in wars, to overuse an experienced regiment until they are exhausted, as to rotate would mean using inexperienced troops. This may seem counter-productive but it is often seen as an easy way out. The reasoning would be that it is better to put new troops in with experienced troops—even depleted ones—rather whole units of inexperienced men. The Queens Rangers were experienced in combat and could be relied upon to operate under the severest pressure. The Queens Rangers never broke and ran and indeed had they been

¹²⁹ General Orders, George Washington 3 November 1781, in the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw230354\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw230354))) accessed 1/3/2008.

¹³⁰ Articles of Capitulation, 20 October 1780, PRO. 30/11/74, ff. 128-33, cited in George Washington, Donald Jackson (ed.) *The Papers of George Washington: The Diaries of George Washington*. Vol. 3. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978. pp.432-3.

¹³¹ This section could be expanded from existing material. Space was getting very tight.

¹³² Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, ch. 7, 8, 10.

allowed were ready to break out of Yorktown and harass the enemy in Virginia.¹³³ This is not to say that the British Army used the Queens Rangers recklessly, they were usually given a rest period over part of the winter but in last winter of the war, 1780-81, this was denied them and they were sent from New York to Virginia, after making two lengthy sea voyages in 1780 and serving in both the Southern and Northern campaigns of that year.

A principle reason for their continued use is related to the light infantry and guerrilla tactics British were using more and more in the last two years of the war. The British attempted to avoid large scale battles that would be costly in men and equipment so raids and skirmishes were deemed to be an economical way of hurting the enemy.¹³⁴ As has been mentioned at length, the Queens Rangers were experts at this type of fighting and were indeed considered the leading exponents of it. Therefore they were much in demand.

The Queens Rangers performed extremely well in the Virginia campaign of early 1781. The Simcoe papers give a very good example of the kind of operation the Rangers excelled at. Simcoe's friend Captain Ewald of the Jaeger corps was forced to hold off at least 300 rebels in a ravine before Simcoe and two companies of the Queens Rangers came to the rescue. Thus the light troops were able to combine and beat back a superior Patriot force.¹³⁵

¹³³ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p.147.

¹³⁴ Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, ch. 10.

¹³⁵ Ewald's account doesn't actually mention Simcoe but mention's several officers of the Queens Rangers who were present including Captain Murray. Ewald was unconscious for much of the action so this may account for several discrepancies that occur in the two accounts. In this campaign the Rangers destroyed a small patriot fleet of five ships. Simcoe's account of this action is as exciting as any novel and if he embellished his account it was to the credit of his men rather than himself he hardly mentions his own part in the action. Draft of Simcoe to Clinton, Describing an action of 19 March 1781. Simcoe Papers; John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 133; Johann Ewald, *Ewald's Diary*, p. 205. Simcoe states that there were over 300 patriots, Ewald claims the figure was much higher, at over a 1000.

The Queens Rangers fought on nearly every day of the Virginia Campaign and this chapter does not have the space to deal with all the engagements.¹³⁶ The aim of this chapter is to examine the Queens Rangers success or otherwise as a regiment and military community and to give examples of actions where they relate to their effectiveness rather than giving full campaign histories. Other works have examined individual engagements in depth. Fryer and Dracott give an excellent account of the action at Spencer's Ordinary on 20 June 1781 in which the Rangers were victorious over a far larger force. This is an interesting exercise and while the action itself was little more than a skirmish in the wider scheme of the 1781 Virginia campaign they demonstrate that the action brought out the best in Simcoe's and his regiment's courage and skill.¹³⁷

The combats that the Queens Rangers took part in, while almost always successful on a small scale, did not affect the outcome of the war. The Rangers along with Cornwallis' whole army were captured at Yorktown and in effect their war ended there. Despite this grim fate, on so many levels they were a successful unit as this chapter has shown, however, they did take heavy losses as the next section will demonstrate.

Combat Losses

No matter how brave and skilled a unit, casualties due to combat or illness could severely hamper a unit's battlefield effectiveness. The numbers serving in the Queens Rangers were constantly fluctuating due to illness and combat losses. This section will examine how the Rangers battlefield effectiveness was affected by attrition. The table below, compiled from the Database of the muster rolls, examines the total recorded absences from 1777 to 1783:

Table 13: Absences from Duty 1776-1783.

¹³⁶ For a detailed description of the Rangers activities in the latter part of the war, see, John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, pp.88-148.

¹³⁷ Mary Beacock Fryer and Christopher Dracott, *John Graves Simcoe, a Biography*, ch. 6.

Muster Period	Total Recorded on Muster	Fit for Duty	Sick	Deserted	Dead	Wounded	Prisoner	Total absences. ¹³⁸
31 August 1776 to 24 December 1776	262	150	34	17	6		33	112
24 December 1776 to 31 March 1777	181	136	21	15	4		1	45
24 August to 24 November 1777	490	422	12	19	19	4	5	68
24 December 1777 to 25 February 1778	416	324	28	34	1	2	11	92
23 April to 24 June 1778	340	284	27	9	1	5	3	56
24 April to 27 July 1778	156	105	15	19	1		7	52
25 June to 24 August 1778	355	262	26	21	2	1	8	93
25 August to 24 October 1778	460	359	38	22	4	4	8	101
25 December to 1 March 1779	473	395	18	20	4	4	6	78
24 February to 24 April 1779	406	375	7	3		5	10	31
25 April to 24 June 1779	350	324	4	10			8	26
24 June to 24 August 1779	437	365	20	22	2	7	11	72
25 August to 24 October 1779	459	374	41	12	2	1	15	85
25 October 1779 to 24 December 1779	543	454	32	3	8	6	18	89
25 December to 23 February	608	538	17	10	4	2	14	70

¹³⁸ Figure includes all absences including leaves and discharges not given in separate columns.

1780								
25 February to 24 April 1780	489	449	17	1			9	40
25 June to 24 August 1780	552	442	77	11	3	2	8	110
25 August to 24 October 1780	541	479	30	3	2		11	62
25 October to 24 December 1780	391	353	20	1	2		5	38
12 September 1783	320	270	7	12	1			48
31 December 1780 to 24 February 1781	574	548	11		6	3	1	26
25 June 1781 to 24 August 1781	638	563	26	8	12	1	18	75
25 August 1781 to 24 October 1781	495	199	10	27	28	1	222	296
25 December 1781 to 23 February 1782	552	113	6	1	2	2	402	439
24 February 1782 to 24 April 1782	563	136	18	7	3	1	364	427
25 April 1782 to 24 June 1782	553	194	12	25	4		291	359
25 June 1782 to 24 August 1782	430	113	11	2	6		278	307
25 August 1782 to 24 October 1782	166	71	11	7	1		71	95
25 October 1782 to 23 December 1782	99	78	1	2			17	21
24 December 1782 to 23 February 1783	102	79	1		2		17	23

24 February 1783 to 24 April 1783	382	195	2	7	1		167	187
Total	12783	9149	600	350	131	51	2039	3271
Average	412.3	295.1	19.3	12.1	4.8	3	67.9	116.8
Average Simcoe Period	413.4	340.4	26.2	14.7	4.2	3.5	10.4	67.5
Average Summer periods	431.3	321.1	23.3	13.9	6.4	2.6	48.6	122.7
Average Winter periods	424.3	290.4	28.3	11.7	7.3	2	71	127.3
Average on Southern Campaign	513.8	452.3	26.3	8.4	4.6	2	9.2	164
Average Northern theatre	407	275.1	21.5	13	5.1	3.2	75.7	102.9

Source: C Series Muster Rolls, Vols. 1861-65, TS 11 221, WO 12/11035. Compiled using Queens Rangers Database.

The most important statistic is those men fit for duty. This is the total number of men ready to fight on the date of muster. The table records variations over time, season and in the Northern and Southern Theatres. The average regimental strength is 412 men per muster. The later section on the rank and file will examine length of enlistment in detail. What this table demonstrates is that there was a lot of movement of personnel within the Queens Rangers. The average long term absences per muster are 116, which works out at twenty-eight percent of the average regimental strength. This meant that on any month over a quarter of the regimental strength was absent. This is not counting absences on regimental or company duty. The average number of men leaving the regiment permanently is eighty-eight per muster. The single greatest cause of absence is being taken prisoner with an average of sixty-seven men per muster being captured. This however, is slightly misleading as the majority of the regiment was taken prisoner at Yorktown. The average number taken prisoner before Yorktown was ten per muster. The second greatest cause of permanent absence is desertion with an average of twelve men

deserting per muster. It is the intention to compare these figures to other Loyalist regiments. The Queens Rangers status meant they were well treated by those in authority and in terms of equipment they had the best of everything? Would another regiment not quite so favoured have a higher desertion rate?¹³⁹

A total of 131 men were listed as dead in the whole period. There are some gaps in this particular figure as the full casualty figures for Brandywine and Germantown are not recorded due to gaps in the muster rolls. This figure is relatively low by later standards. An average of five men died in every muster period. The figures are far higher in the summer campaigning period and lower in the winter periods. Not all of these men were killed on the battlefield for a considerable percentage would have died of disease. The cause of death is rarely recorded, unfortunately.

The figures change slightly when the musters are separated into summer and winter musters. The average number of men in the regiment is significantly lower in the winter, 387 as opposed 444 in the summer. This would suggest that more recruits were added in the summer. There are also a slightly higher number of absences in the winter, 127 as opposed to 123 and ninety-seven men permanently leaving as opposed to eighty-seven in the summer. Average numbers of men killed in the winter is down to under three as opposed to over four in the summer.

The most interesting difference in figures is between the periods when the Rangers served in the Northern Theatre and their service in the Southern Campaigns. The average number of men serving is significantly up, 534 in the Southern Theatre as opposed to 384 in the Northern theatre.¹⁴⁰ This would suggest that recruitment was easier in the south. This would conform to the known facts. The move to the South opened up

¹³⁹John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, passim.

¹⁴⁰The regiment served in the Northern theatre from 1776-1780 and in the Southern theatre from 1780-1781. In 1780 they served in the Southern theatre from January until May before returning to New Jersey. They returned to the South when they were sent to Virginia in December 1780. The musters for the summer of 1780 were counted in the Northern theatre calculations.

new areas for recruitment and brought in many new troops. The Queens Rangers did have many native southerners –particularly amongst the officer corps- from their earliest days but it is impossible to tell how many, from the muster rolls.¹⁴¹ The most startling difference in figures between North and South is the number of men permanently leaving the regiment. An average of 126 men left the unit per muster in the South as opposed sixty-seven in the North. This is partly because of the high number of prisoners taken at Yorktown but the figures are still higher in the South when those taken prisoner are discounted, nineteen in the South, as opposed to eighteen in the North. The numbers killed in the Southern theatre are far higher than in the North. An average of nine men died per muster in the South, as opposed to an average of four per muster in the North. This is possibly related to the disease factor as well as to the fact that the fighting in the South was more intense.

Conclusion

Despite the many successes that the Queens Rangers had in 1780 and 1781 the war ended badly for them as it did for all British and Loyalist units. Ironically their only major defeat was when they along with every other regiment in Cornwallis's army were captured at Yorktown. They were eventually returned to New York, where Captain John Saunders, a Virginian, who had been with the unit since 1776, took command of the remains of the unit. Saunders had not been captured at Yorktown – he had been on detached duty in South Carolina- so was under no parole obligations. Those not bound by parole regulations- largely just Saunders company and any new recruits- took part in the occasional raid and skirmish before being demobilized in Canada in 1783.

After Yorktown, and after Simcoe had returned to England, the Queens Rangers were castigated by the new commander in chief, General Guy Carleton for allegedly pillaging civilian property. John Saunders wrote in the strongest terms to Carleton,

¹⁴¹ See Chapter 3.

protesting their innocence saying that their “honor and reputation” had been “highly injured”.¹⁴² They were cleared of the charge but it could not have done their reputation with the patriots a lot of good and further damaged their soldiers chances of returning to America after the war.

The Queens Rangers’ importance to the study of the Loyalist regiments or indeed the study of eighteenth century light infantry tactics cannot be exaggerated. By intervening in the Queens Rangers the British created a template for their ideal Loyalist regiment. In the Queens Rangers the British Army had almost a perfect little unit; experienced, highly motivated, skilled and –usually- disciplined and the database has allowed the chapter to analyse this as never before. They became, in effect a military community similar to Frey’s concept of group consciousness.¹⁴³ The rest of the dissertation will investigate whether this template was successfully applied to other regiments. The Queens Rangers can be seen as the bridge between the old style provincial regiments of the Seven Years war era and the later Loyalist regiments that would emerge after 1777 and set a pattern for future British provincial regiments in India and other places.

The survivors of the Queens Rangers would go onto to have a major influence in the military and governmental affairs of Canada. Several ex-officers would hold high commands in the war of 1812 and several would hold high office in the judiciary.¹⁴⁴ Little is recorded of the careers of the rank and file, with the exception of Jarvis. Many of them settled in the town of Simcoe in Upper Canada, which was originally inhabited exclusively by Queens Rangers veterans.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² John Saunders to General Carleton 1783, in John Simcoe, *Simcoe’s Journal*, p. 149.

¹⁴³ Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in the American Revolution*, p 137.

¹⁴⁴ For a summary of the post-war careers of the officers see appendix II in Christopher Ingles, *The Queens Rangers and the Revolutionary War*, pp. 245-280.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p238.

So, despite the fact that they served in a lost war, the Queens Rangers left a legacy that would serve the British and Canadian Armies well. Their commander perhaps sums them up best in his concluding words to his journal when he wrote:

Thus conclude the principal events of a light corps, whose services can best be estimated by observing, that for years in the field, to use the language of a former age, *they were the forlorn of the armies in which they served,*¹⁴⁶ and that even in *winter quarters*, when in common wars troops are permitted to seek repose, few hours can be selected where the Queens Rangers had not to guard against the attacks of a skilful and enterprising enemy.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Simcoe's italics.

¹⁴⁷ John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal.*, p.259.

Chapter 5

The British Legion

Introduction

This Chapter covers the British Legion and its role in the campaigns of the America Revolutionary War. It is not intended to be a biography of the regiment's second commander, Banastre Tarleton, tempting though this would be. Tarleton's well lived life, rich as it is with allegations of extreme brutality, financial and sexual scandals, has been well covered by historians and he even appears, under a barely disguised name, as the villain in a recent film.¹ This chapter will instead focus on its role in the Campaigns of 1778-81, the controversy surrounding its actions. The chapter will not provide as detailed an administrative history of the British Legion as the other two case studies, because of the need to offer a chapter concentrating on largely on the Loyalists in combat, but the organisation of the unit will be dealt with. The coverage of battles and actions will not be exhaustive as there is not the space in one chapter but the actions picked are all demonstrative of the themes of the chapter, namely military effectiveness and battlefield discipline.

The British Legion, while in many respects a very successful and effective regiment due to several impressive victories, is surrounded by controversy. This relates to the men's behaviour in the Southern Campaigns, where on more than one occasion they were accused of breaching the accepted rules of war in respect to their conduct towards surrendering prisoners and in respect to their conduct towards civilians and civilian property. Also, despite their many victories, their battlefield tactics have been called into question and they were arguably outfought and outthought by the Patriots several times in 1781. It is necessary here to draw comparisons with the Queens Rangers. Arguably, the men of the Queens Rangers can be seen by many as victims of the Yorktown Campaign,

¹ Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon*, (London, 1954); *The Patriot* (2000)

that they did everything that was asked of them and still ended up on the losing side through little fault of their own, whereas the soldiers of the British Legion, while at times truly superb in combat, arguably created some of the problems faced by the British in the Southern campaign by their conduct on the battlefield and must face some of the blame for its defeat. The chapter will examine the role that the actions of the Legion played in discouraging recruitment as well as their role—if any—in hastening Cornwallis's decision to march to Yorktown by having significant parts in the defeats of Cowpens and Guilford Courthouse in early 1781.

Historiography and sources

The literature on the British Legion is in some ways more diverse than that on the Queens Rangers, yet less detailed. The regiment's history is often shrouded in controversy and this is reflected in the literature on it. Anthony Scotti's recent work on Tarleton also deals with the British Legion.² The rest of the historiography is largely split into two groups; that on the regiment's role in the Southern campaigns of 1780-81 and that on Tarleton. The first group is general literature on the Southern campaigns that address the Legion in some depth because of the major role it took in these campaigns. John Pancake's account of the Southern campaigns gives a brief account of the origins of the Legion whilst Lawrence Babits' work on the battle of Cowpens gives a brief account of the history of the Legion and a detailed account of its behaviour at that battle.³ Interestingly Babits states that "the history of the British Legion, or Tarleton's Legion as it came to be known, was the history of Tarleton in America."⁴ This is a statement that this chapter will attempt to challenge, by putting the British Legion in a context of their

² Scotti attempts to reassess the reputation of Tarleton and the Legion by putting them in a more positive if not uncritical light see Anthony Scotti, *Brutal Virtue; The Myth and Reality of Banastre Tarleton*, (Bowie, MD, 2002) Ch. 3-4.

³ John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War, The British Campaign in the Carolinas 170-82*, (Alabama, 1985); Lawrence E. Babits, *The Devil of a Whipping; The Battle of Cowpens* (Chapel Hill, 1998)

⁴ Babits, *The Devil of a Whipping*, p. 114.

own. John Buchanan takes a critical view of Tarleton and the Legion but he does acknowledge their skill frequently.⁵ David Lee Russell takes a similar highly critical stance while Dan Morrill attempts to put the Legion's behaviour in context.⁶ John Shy's work on early American military behaviour takes a strong stance on the Legion; accusing them of "terrorism" similarly Smith states that the "worst atrocities" of the Southern campaign were "attributed" to the British Legion."⁷

The second group of literature deals with the reputation of Tarleton and the frequent accusations of brutality against him. The starting point is Tarleton's own History of the Southern campaigns.⁸ The 1780's saw the leading lights on the British side of the American Revolutionary War rushing into print to salvage their damaged reputations and there was a flurry of publications about the Southern Campaign many of which seemed to lay much of the blame for defeat on Tarleton.⁹ In 1787 he decided to publish his own account of events which will be referred to extensively throughout this chapter.

Tarleton's History added to the debate that had already flared up when Clinton and Cornwallis had engaged in a heated printed duel in which both tried to salvage their

⁵ John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, (New York, 1997).

⁶ David Lee Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies* (2000); Dan L. Morrill, *The Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* (Mount Pleasant, SC, 1993)

⁷ Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, (Chapel Hill, NC, 1964) p240; John Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed*, (Oxford, 1976) p222.

⁸ It is necessary to strike a note of caution with Tarleton's work. While Simcoe's account of his command of the Queens Rangers is exclusively about that unit and that unit alone, for the reason that Simcoe did not judge himself qualified to comment, in print, on events that he or his regiment did not take part in, Tarleton drew no such restrictions on himself. The work is an account of the all of the Southern campaigns and as such attracted a large amount of controversy at the time. He does refer frequently to the unit, but they are not the main focus. At times they seem to be the necessary means of Tarleton winning his laurels rather than having any personality as individuals. However, the work contains many documents relating to the Legion-rolls of recruits, casualty lists, correspondence with officers and other documents- that make the work essential to the chapter. See Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns in the Southern Provinces of America in 1780 and 1781*, (London, 1787).

⁹ Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon*, (London, 1956), p.259.

reputation at the expense of the other.¹⁰ Tarleton was highly critical of Cornwallis who was much offended by the supposed betrayal, but left it to others to respond.¹¹ It was Roderick McKenzie, a very junior officer, who defended Cornwallis and who also took on the task of criticising perceived errors in Tarleton's work.¹² Major George Hanger, Tarleton's friend and the sometime second in command of the British Legion, published a defence of Tarleton and his actions in the war.¹³ Mackenzie and Hanger's publications, while entertaining, were largely focused on airing personal grievances. However, both are useful in evaluating the controversy surrounding the actions of the British Legion and it is necessary to read both in order to take an objective stance. Both offer comments on the operations and discipline of the British Legion which providing the kind of contrasting accounts rarely available on the Queens Rangers due to the scarcity of sources critical of them.

After the immediate controversy subsided there was little written directly on Tarleton or the Legion until Robert D. Bass published his work on Tarleton and Mary

¹⁰ The results of this were printed in 1888 along with extensive correspondence between the two Generals and with others including Banastre Tarleton: Benjamin Franklin Stevens, [*The Campaign in Virginia, 1781. An exact reprint of six rare pamphlets on the Clinton-Cornwallis controversy, with very numerous ... unpublished manuscript notes by Sir H Clinton,*](#) (London, 1888)

¹¹ Tarleton had long been regarded as a close confidant and confederate of Cornwallis. Much of Simcoe's correspondence with Clinton in 1780 and 1781 relates to the preference shown to Tarleton by Cornwallis in regard to him achieving higher rank than Simcoe despite Simcoe's seniority. See Clinton Correspondence in the Simcoe Papers, Clements Library.

¹² Mackenzie was a junior officer of 71st regiment who had been wounded at Cowpens, where Tarleton had been defeated by Daniel Morgan, so he obviously had numerous grudges against Tarleton. The publication of the book was sponsored by Lord Rawdon. His work is a series of extended letters to the Morning Post newspaper collected together to form a full length criticism of numerous errors of fact and judgement in Tarleton's work. See Roderick Mackenzie, *Strictures on Lt. Col. Tarleton's "History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America" ... To which is added a detail of the siege of Ninety Six and the recapture of the island of New Providence.* (London, 1787); Robert D. Bass, *the Green Dragoon*, (London, 1956), p.260

¹³ George Hanger, *An Address to the Army: in reply to Strictures by R. M'Kenzie*, (London, 1789).

Robinson in 1956.¹⁴ This work is a well written biography of Tarleton and his celebrated lover, Mary Robinson. It does deal at some length with Tarleton's record in the Revolutionary War but does not devote much space to discussing the British Legion beyond the usual "Tarleton, at the head of the Legion" which is so common to works on the Southern Campaign. Anthony Scotti's 2002 work put Tarleton's conduct into the context of the brutal Southern campaign.¹⁵ This chapter will make use of a variety of sources some of which have been used in previous chapters.¹⁶ There is one excellent website on Tarleton which also contains a great deal of primary material on the British Legion.¹⁷

Section 1 1778-1780

Formation of the British Legion 1778

The British Legion was formed at a time of change for the British Army. Clinton and Germain were evolving their strategy for the war towards less reliance on British

¹⁴ Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon*, (London, 1956).

¹⁵ Anthony Scotti, *Brutal Virtue*.

¹⁶ Tarleton was not as assiduous a record-keeper as Simcoe but the British Legion are relatively well documented in the Public Record Office, the British Library and the National Archives of Canada. The Cornwallis papers particularly are invaluable for piecing together almost a day by day record of the Southern campaigns. The operations of the British Legion are mentioned frequently but there are also many documents relating to their administration as well as some in the Clinton Papers. Most of the muster rolls of the British Legion are contained in the National Archives of Canada and have been published in facsimile form. This collection also contains returns of troops and companies which were submitted with the muster rolls. The muster rolls for 1783 are contained in the Public Record office See RG 8 C Series Muster Rolls, Vols. 1883-1885, National Archives of Canada; Amherst Papers WO 34/125-137 PRO; Cornwallis Papers PRO 30/11/3-7, 74, 99 PRO; Carleton Papers PRO 30/55/33-35 PRO; Halidmand Papers Add MSS 21661-21892 BL; Clinton Papers Clements Library; Mackenzie Papers, Clements Library. Murtie June Clark, *The Loyalists in the Southern campaign of the American Revolution, Vol. II*, (Baltimore, 1981,) vol. 2, pp197-251; WO 12/11099 PRO.

¹⁷The website is called Oatmeal for the Foxhounds and is maintained by Mary Baskin. It contains a great deal of primary material on the Legion, including diaries letters and administrative documents, see <http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/btintro.html> accessed 6/7/2008

regulars and more on American recruitment.¹⁸ However, as they were to replace and augment regular British regiments, there was a need for high quality Loyalist units. Because of this the British decided not to entrust the new commands to Americans but to seasoned British officers. They had already gone down this route with the Queens Rangers twelve months before and it had proved effective. Clinton appointed two young aristocrats whom he trusted implicitly to two new regiments, the Volunteers of Ireland and the British Legion. Clinton wrote “The foundation of a legionary corps was also at the same time laid, [the same time as the Volunteers of Ireland] for the reception as such other Europeans as might choose to join it, the command of which I gave to a Scottish nobleman Lord Cathcart, with the same views and expectations as had influenced me with respect to Lord Rawdon’s.”¹⁹

Clinton’s intention was that the units were to have explicit links to recruits of British and particularly Celtic origin. Cathcart (a Scot) went to the Caledonian Volunteers, soon to be called the British Legion, and Lord Rawdon (an Irish peer) to the Volunteers of Ireland. However, while Ireland was not catered for by a Loyalist unit, Scotland was already represented by the Royal Highland Emigrants and the Queens Rangers (which had a Highland company) so the decision was made to change the name to the British Legion. This is clear justification that the British clearly targeted British born Loyalists and the fact that two promising officers were assigned to these units and not to more American based ones surely reflects that British born Loyalists were being given the same priority as they had been in 1775 with the creation of the Royal Highland Emigrants.

The First Commanders

On 15 July 1778 Lord William Schaw Cathcart was appointed to be commander, and on 1 August 1778 Banastre Tarleton was appointed Lt. Col commanding the Legion

¹⁸ See Chapter 2.

¹⁹Rawdon commanded the Volunteers of Ireland, see Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, p. 111

cavalry and Major Thomas Cochrane was appointed to command the infantry.²⁰ This section will briefly examine the three initial commanders of the British Legion. It will discuss the reasons for their appointments in light of the new strategy the British were adopting towards officering the Provincial regiments.

William Schaw, Tenth Lord Cathcart, was a university educated, career soldier, who was well-connected in high society.²¹ The significance of both his and Lord Rawdon's appointments to command new provincial regiments should be noted. The British had been raising Provincial regiments for two years and arming Loyalists since 1775, yet the British Legion and the Volunteers of Ireland were radically different in command structure than most Provincial regiments. The initial method of raising a Provincial Regiment was to find a rich or influential American or British Colonial official, appoint them commander and let them raise the unit. This began to change in 1777 when British regular officers were appointed to the command of the Queens Rangers. Most of the other Provincial regiments of the time were commanded by Americans, like Cordlandt Skinner, Beverly Robinson, Sir John Johnson, and John Butler.²² Although they lacked local knowledge, the new commanders did have the

²⁰ Oxford DNB; Cathcart's Correspondence with Lord Lynedoch MSS 3590-3624 National Library of Scotland Manuscript Collections; General Orders various June July 1778, Clinton Papers, Clements Library; John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 79.

²¹ He was born in 1755 in Surrey. As a boy he spent time in Russia where his father was British Ambassador and was educated at Eton and the Universities of Dresden and Glasgow. He was admitted to the faculty of advocates in 1776. In 1777 he joined the army and was sent to America where he served as ADC to Henry Clinton in the Highlands campaign in October 1777. There is little documentation of Cathcart's command of the British Legion. This is because he spent little time in active command of them and also because the Legion saw little combat under him. Much of the documentary material on the Legion does not really start until the Legion participated in the Charleston campaign in March 1780 at which point Tarleton and Cochrane were the commanders in the field. See entry in Oxford DNB online at

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.webfeat.lib.ed.ac.uk/view/article/4889?docPos=5> accessed 12/7/08

²² Commanders of the New Jersey Volunteers, the Royal Regiment of New York, the New York Volunteers and Butler's Rangers respectively. See Carleton Papers, PRO 30/54.

respect of the High Command, which could only be reflected in the treatment that their units received from authority. Rawdon and Cathcart had proved themselves able, both in combat and staff duties. Both had been and were about to be entrusted with the top administrative posts of the army in America; Rawdon as Adjutant General and Cathcart as Quartermaster General.

The fact that the units of Rawdon and Cathcart were formed by British officers from the beginning was a radical change from previous regiments. Rawdon and Cathcart were also different from the ambitious but poorly connected British officers appointed to the Queens Rangers. Both were young aristocrats intended to be future army commanders as befitted men of their background and influence.²³ The command of a Loyalist regiment was seen by both as an additional string to their bows. It could also be argued -and indeed it was- that by appointing these particular officers to commands Clinton was putting two close allies in positions of authority.²⁴ This trend would continue with the appointments of Alexander Innes to the South Carolina Royalists, and Patrick Fergusson as Inspector General of militia in 1780.

Lord Cathcart did not however, take much of an active role in the British Legion beyond forming it. The Legion infantry was under his command until August 1778, when he was appointed Quartermaster General of the Army in America when Major Thomas Cochrane became the field commander of the Legion's infantry. Cathcart would remain attached to the regiment in a formal capacity until spring 1780. He was supposedly involved with recruiting at the outset of the South Carolina Campaign in April but he did not serve in a combat capacity.

Two weeks after the initial formation of the Legion, on 1 August 1778, a young Captain of Dragoons from Liverpool was appointed to the rank of Lt Col. of Provincials

²³ They would both eventually attain the rank of full General, although their careers would lead them down different paths.

²⁴ Franklin and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis*, (London,1973)

and given command of the cavalry that was now attached to the Legion. Banastre Tarleton would assume full command of the whole unit from spring 1780 (there is dispute over the exact date of his assuming command) when they took part in the South Carolina campaign.²⁵ Tarleton was not an aristocrat like Cathcart or the Legion's infantry commander Major Cochrane, but he was a regular British officer of promise. His numerous contemporaries have noted he had considerable personal charm and had already shown himself to be an extremely capable cavalry officer.²⁶

As mentioned above, the Legion infantry was under the command of Major Thomas Cochrane, who, like Tarleton and Cathcart, was a regular British officer, although not one as well connected to the high command as them.²⁷ He commanded the

²⁵ Banastre Tarleton was born in Liverpool in 1754 the son of a wealthy merchant. He was educated at Liverpool Grammar School and briefly University College Oxford, before attempting to train for a legal career at the Middle Temple in London. Due to a fondness for gambling and other less than intellectual pursuits Tarleton managed to lose the money he had inherited from his father and in April 1775 persuaded his mother to purchase him a cornet's commission in the 1st Dragoons. He inherited £5000 in 1773, by 1775 there was little left. In 1776 he was posted to America with his regiment and arrived in America on 3 May 1776. Tarleton was part of the force sent to extend the war into the Carolinas under Henry Clinton. This expedition was a complete failure and Tarleton left with the rest of Clinton's army to join in the attack on New York in July 1776. On 13 December 1776 Tarleton was one of a patrol of Light Dragoons that captured the Patriot General Charles Lee. Tarleton would see service with his unit in 1777 being promoted to Captain and then Brigade Major of his unit in early 1778. During this period Tarleton made a number of friendships and alliances which would help him during his command of the legion. He became close to Lord Rawdon, Lord Cathcart, John Simcoe, and John Andre. All of these men were socially as well as professionally close to General Howe. Thus when Henry Clinton assumed command in May 1778 it was to these trusted young officers that he turned. See Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon* pp. 15-16; Oxford DNB; Anthony Scotti, *Brutal Virtue*.

²⁶ See Robert D. Bass *The Green Dragoon*; George Hanger *An Address to the Army* (1787); Mary Robinson *The False Friend* (1801); Henry Clinton *Memoirs*; Johann Ewald, *Diary*

²⁷ Cochrane was a Scot, born in 1749, the son of the Eighth Lord Dundonald. He had been a regular officer since 1764 and a Captain since 1774. He formed and recruited the Legion infantry from August 1778 see Don Gara, *Biographical Sketches of Infantry Officers of the British Legion*, in http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/odds/bl_infantry.html accessed 19/5/2008.; Muster Rolls of the British Legion, C Series.

infantry in their first combats of 1778 and 1779 through to the Charleston campaign in spring and summer of 1780. In August 1780 he returned to New York suffering from ill health brought on by the Southern climate.²⁸

The appointment of Cathcart, Tarleton and Cochrane to the Legion demonstrated that the while this was to be a Provincial unit it was to be an elite one. Like the Queens Rangers, it was a self contained unit in that it contained infantry and cavalry and was designed to operate independently as well as with the main army. If a unit was to operate independently, rather than within a strict tactical command structure such as a brigade or a division, then the commanders had to be experienced officers who the High command could trust to act in a way expected of them. This meant, not only that they had to be competent in action, but disciplined and intelligent as well. Whether this was a deliberate judgement against American officers is a moot point. More likely it was a choice of professionals over amateurs.

Recruitment and Appointments

The British Legion was formed in July and August 1778 in New York. It was not an entirely new corps but an amalgamation of several existing companies augmented by new recruits. They consisted of several existing infantry and cavalry companies, all of which had been formed in the previous six months. The infantry consisted of: the Caledonian Volunteers, raised initially in May 1778; the Scottish Volunteers raised by Lord William Cathcart in Philadelphia at an unknown date in 1778; the English Volunteers raised in spring 1778 and the American Volunteers also raised in spring 1778.²⁹ The Caledonian Volunteers were originally intended to be an infantry regiment

²⁸ He would return to active service in 1781 and was sent to Yorktown as a messenger by Clinton. He was decapitated by a cannonball while standing next to Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. See *ibid*.

²⁹ See Muster Rolls August 1778, C series vol 1883; Don Gara Biographical Sketches of British Legion Infantry Officers http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/odds/bl_infantry.html accessed 17/7/2008.

There is little information on the previous existence of these companies. It is probable that they were

made up of British born and particularly Scottish men.³⁰ Because of the Clinton's retreat from Philadelphia in June, recruiting and training were halted and the recruits that had been enlisted in these new companies were taken along with the main army, although not in a fighting capacity. In July the recruits from these four companies became the newly formed British Legion with the addition of the three cavalry troops.

The Legion cavalry came from three existing companies: the Philadelphia Light Dragoons raised in January 1778; the Chester County Light Dragoons raised in December 1777 and Kinloch's Light Dragoons raised in 1778.³¹ Unlike the infantry, these units were fully formed by the time they were merged into the Legion and two of the troops had seen combat. The Chester County Light Dragoons were raised by Jacob James, a former Innkeeper from Goshen, Chester County, Pennsylvania, in December of 1777.³² No

only partially raised before the retreat from Philadelphia which would account for the absence of information.

³⁰The unit was to be commanded by Captain William Sutherland of the 55th foot an a.d.c to Clinton. However, command was actually given to Captain Charles Stewart who would subsequently command an infantry company in the British Legion. There is no information on Stewart prior to his tenure in the British Legion. See Royal American Gazette, 7 May 1778; Donald Gara, Biographical Sketches of British Legion Infantry Officers, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/britlegn/blinf1.htm> accessed 15/8/08.

³¹ Clinton commenced raising the Caledonian Volunteers in May 1778, see recruiting notice Royal American Gazette, 7 May 1778; the Chester County Light Dragoons were raised by Captain Jacob James, subsequently of the British Legion in December 1777 under the orders of William Howe, see Warrant to Jacob James, (nd. December 1777) PRO 30/55/827, PRO; The Philadelphia Light Dragoons were raised in January 1778 by Richard Hovenden, see Don Gara, Biographical Sketches of British Legion Cavalry Officers, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/britlegn/blcav1.htm> accessed 15/7/2008.

Kinloch's Light Dragoons raised April 1778, Donald Gara, Biographical Sketches of British Legion Cavalry Officers, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/britlegn/blcav1.htm> accessed 15/7/2008.

³²James had been a guide for Howe since the autumn of 1777 and was given permission to outfit a troop of Dragoons by Howe at Philadelphia see Donald Gara, Biographical Sketches of British Legion Cavalry Officers, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/britlegn/blcav1.htm> accessed 15/7/2008; Proclaimed Traitors to the United States by the Supreme Executive Council of

muster rolls exist for the unit but they did fight at the battle of Crooked Billet along with Richard Hovenden's Philadelphia Light Dragoons on 4 May 1778.³³ The third troop of Dragoons to be merged into the Legion was Kinloch's troop.³⁴ Kinloch raised his troop on Long Island in April 1778. These three troops were merged into the Legion in late July and early August of 1778.

The existing troops and companies were kept together and the same officers remained as troop and company commanders in the newly formed Legion.³⁵ There were seven partially formed companies or troops to which one company of infantry were recruited in August and September 1778 by Major Cochrane and two companies of cavalry recruited by Lt Col. Tarleton and his company commanders. The company that was formerly the English Volunteers was amalgamated into all the other infantry companies in October 1778.³⁶

Officers and Companies

Pennsylvania, 8 May 1778, in the Pennsylvania Packet May 13 1778 in

http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/friends/ch_proscribed.html accessed 15/7/2008.

³³Richard Hovenden was a Trader from Newton in Bucks County Pennsylvania who was authorized to raise a troop of Dragoons in January 1777. John Simcoe, Simcoe's Journal, pp 56-60; Howe to Germain 5 May 1778, CO 5/96 ff. 15-17; Royal Pennsylvania Gazette, 5 May, 1778; Donald Gara, Biographical Sketches of British Legion Cavalry Officers,

<http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/britlegn/blcav1.htm> accessed 15/7/2008; Proclaimed Traitors to the United States by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, 8 May 1778, in the Pennsylvania Packet 13 May 1778 in http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/friends/ch_proscribed.html accessed 15/7/2008.

³⁴ David Kinloch was a Scot and a former officer of the 71st Foot. See Army List 1777 for 71st Foot.

³⁵ No muster rolls exist for the Troops and companies under their previous incarnations the first muster rolls for the British Legion contain the vast majority of the men who served in these troops.

³⁶ See Muster Rolls Vol. 1883; Don Gara: Summary of Infantry Companies.

This section will be an examination of the formation and structure of the Legion.³⁷

The Legion officers were a mixture of Americans and British emigrants, some of whom had served in the British Army. The following table is a list of company commanders with dates of service and nationalities where known:

Table 14: List of Company Commanders of the British Legion with nationality given.			
Name	Nationality ³⁸	Military Arm	Dates of Service
Captain Richard Hovendon ³⁹	A	Cavalry	August 1778- August 1782
Captain Jacob James	A	Cavalry	August 1778- August 1782
Captain Thomas Sandford	A	Cavalry	December 1780- October 1782
Captain David Ogilvy	B/S	Cavalry	August 1780-April 1783
Captain Christian Huck	A	Cavalry	October 1779-July

³⁷ Don Gara has constructed an admirable series of short biographical sketches of Legion officers which is available online and is constructed from various sources including the muster rolls. The rolls themselves provide additional information as do the accounts of Tarleton, McKenzie and Hanger: Don Gara, Biographical Sketches of Infantry Officers of the British Legion: Biographical Sketches of Cavalry Officers of the British Legion, in http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/odds/bl_infantry.html accessed 19/5/2008.; Donald Gara, Biographical Sketches of British Legion Cavalry Officers, <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/britlegn/blcav1.htm>, accessed 15/7/2008; C series Muster Rolls, Vols. 1883-1885; Banastre Tarleton, History (1787); Roderick McKenzie, Stricture (1788) George Hanger, Address to the Army (1789)

³⁸ B=British; B/S= British Scottish; B/I= British Irish; B/E= British English; B/W- British Welsh; A=American; NK= Not Known.

³⁹ Compiled from the Muster rolls.

			1780
Captain Nathaniel Vernon	A	Cavalry	August 1781- December 1782
Captain John Scott	A	Infantry	October 1778- April 1779
Captain Charles Stewart	B/S	Infantry	August 1778- October 1779
Captain Patrick Stewart	B/S	Infantry	August 1780- August 1782
Captain Francis Gildart	A	Cavalry	February 1781- December 1782
Captain James Edwards	B/I	Infantry	October 1778- December 1782
Captain Donald McPherson	B/S	Infantry	December 1780- December 1782
Captain David Kinlock	B/S	Cavalry	August 1778- August 1781
Captain John Rousselet	NK	Infantry	April 1779-August 1781
Captain Thomas Miller	B/S	Infantry	October 1779- August 1782
Captain Charles ⁴⁰ McDonald	B/S	Infantry	August 1780- August 1782
Captain Kenneth McCulloch	B	Infantry	September 1778-

⁴⁰ Captain Charles McDonald was Flora MacDonald's son.

			August 1780
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Source: Muster Rolls of the British Legion, C Series Vols. 1883-1885; Don Gara, Biographical Sketches of Infantry Officers of the British Legion: Biographical Sketches of Cavalry Officers of the British Legion, in http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/odds/bl_infantry.html accessed 19/5/2008.

There were in total seventeen company or troop commanders in the British Legion between August 1778 and April 1783. When assessing their nationalities, a pattern emerges, which is that the vast majority of cavalry Commanders were American whereas the vast majority of Infantry commanders were British. Of these officers, all but three were definitely Scottish.⁴¹ The infantry company recruited by Major Cochrane in September 1778 had had no restrictions and consisted of the best men available in New York and New Jersey. Two infantry companies were recruited in the South in 1780. Again while no concrete data is available for the nationality of these recruits, they were all civilian volunteers rather than transfers from regular British units so they were likely to be Americans or pre-war emigrants. The infantry was partially destroyed at Cowpens which meant that they were reformed with new Southern recruits between February and August 1781 and a completely new infantry company was recruited in Virginia in August 1781.⁴² This demonstrates that the Legion while commanded by a British officer was a Loyalist regiment in that the bulk of their members were Americans or pre-war European immigrants under the definition given in the introduction to this thesis.

⁴¹This is because of the origins of the regiment. The cavalry came from existing troops of American raised cavalry, from Pennsylvania and New York, whereas the original infantry came from the Caledonian Volunteers, the Scottish Volunteers and the English Volunteers, hence the nationality of their officers. It is harder to gauge the nationality of the enlisted men as the muster rolls do not contain this information. The cavalymen were recruited around Pennsylvania and New York and later on in the South so it is reasonable to suggest that the majority of them were either American born or pre-war emigrants. The infantrymen were initially to consist of British emigrants but this rule was relaxed on the formation of the Legion. Muster Rolls for August 1778, C Series, Vol 1883 NAC.

⁴² Muster Rolls for 1780 and 1781 C series, vols. 1884-1885; S. Pancake, *This Destructive War, The British Campaign in the Carolinas 170-82*, (Alabama, 1985) pp. 20-21; John Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed*, (Oxford, 1976), p.222; Donald Gara *Service Summaries of British Legion Officers* http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/odds/infantry_troop.html accessed 17/7/2008.

Numbers and types of Service

This section will examine the numbers of rank and file serving in the British Legion. The following table gives data on the numbers of enlisted men serving in the Legion from 1780-1782.⁴³ The recruits shown are those listed in the minutes of muster. They do not include transfers from other regiments.

Regimental Totals	Sgt	Cpl	Dr/Tr	Pvt	Cav	Inf.	Rec.	Total
25 October 1780	28	25	16	450	261	191	81	519
25 December 1780	26	27	14	427	273	154	18	494
24 February 1781	23	19	12	296	218	78	1	350
25 April 1781	24	16	11	287	209	78	3	337
24 August 1781	23	17	11	273	202	71	6	324
23 February 1782	8	8	5	184	146	38	7	205
24 April 1782	9	9	4	148	112	36	1	170
Average 1780-1782	20.1	17.2	10.4	295.2	203	92.2	19.3	342.7

Source: Muster Rolls of the British Legion C series Vols. 1883-1885; Murtie June Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign*, Vol. 2 (Ontario 1985) pp. 246-251.

There were usually nine companies serving in the legion at any one time. Before Yorktown in October 1781 there were always between five and six cavalry troops and four infantry companies. The numbers undergo considerable fluctuation over time.

⁴³ The figures give a list of all men serving with the regiment. There are few numerical discrepancies with the counts from the muster rolls. The rolls between 1778 and 1780 are incomplete and do not contain minutes of muster, which are tables of all men serving in the regiment. Thus, it is impossible to create reliable figures for this period from the muster rolls.

This is due to recruitment and casualties. There are some patterns that are apparent. The numbers of men serving in the regiment throughout 1780 are the highest. They decrease considerably from February 1781 but remain around the same until August 1781. After that they decrease and go on decreasing. This can be tied in with the combat service record of the British Legion. The regiment had a successful 1780. It saw combat many times that year but several notable victories meant that although they took casualties, there were many recruits willing to join them, particularly the cavalry. The figures for August 1780 demonstrate that 81 recruits joined in the period from June to August that year. Considering this was one of the Legion's most active periods this is a considerable number. In January 1781 the regiment suffered a severe defeat at the battle of Cowpens which saw the infantry substantially routed and only a few avoided capture. The cavalry took heavy casualties in this battle but escaped in good order. The infantry were reformed in February and March 1781 but not in the same numbers. The regiment again took heavy casualties at Guilford Courthouse and after this battle were largely withdrawn from active service although they did remain with Cornwallis until Yorktown. The cavalry served until Yorktown. Both the infantry and cavalry did active recruiting in the Southern campaigns. The table demonstrates that there was an average of 295 private soldiers recorded per muster and an average of 343 rank and file in total. To put these figures into context the Queens Rangers had an average of 324 private soldiers and 384 total rank and file for the period 1776 to 1783. This is higher than the British Legion, however, the Queens Rangers did not suffer a cataclysmic defeat such as the Legion did at Cowpens which may account for the lower average.⁴⁴ The comparison is a worthwhile one as the units were similar in structure and in type of service. They also served in roughly the same campaigns over the period with the exception of the autumn and winter of 1780

⁴⁴ Compiled from the Queens Rangers Database.

where Queens Rangers served briefly in New York and then in Virginia and the Legion remained in the Carolinas before joining the Rangers in late spring 1781.

Pay

The Legion were paid roughly equivalent to most other provincial regiments. The table below is the pay-scale for the British Legion from 1782-83:

Table 16: British Legion Rates of Pay 24 Dec. 1782 23 Feb. 1783.			
Rank	Daily Pay	Numbers	Daily Total
Cavalry Officers			
Lt. Col	24s6d	1	£1 4s 6d
Maj.	20s6d	1	£1
Capt.	15s6d	6	£4 13s
Lt.	9s	10	£4 10 s
Cornet	6s	5	£2
Adj.	5s	1	5s
Surgeon	6s	1	6s
Surgeon's Mate	3s6d	1	6s
Qrtr Mstr	5s6d	6	6s
Infantry Officers			
Capt.	10s	4	£2
Lt	4s8d	3	14s
Ens	3s6d	3	11s
Adj.	4s	1	4s
Total officers Pay for one day			£18 14s 6d
Total Officer Pay for 61 Days			£1142 4s 6d
Rank and File Cavalry			
Sgt.	1s7d	19	£1 11s 3d
Cpl.	1s1d	17	19s 7d
Trumpeter	1s1d	9	10s4d
Pvt.	9d	219	£9
Rank and File Infantry			
Sgt.	1s	10	10s
Cpl.	8d	9	6s
Drummers	8d	4	2s8d
Pvt.	6d	156	£3 16s6d
Total Rank and File Pay for one day.			£16 17s 11d
Total Rank and File Pay for 61 Days			£1030 1s 4d
Total Regimental Pay for 61 Days			£2220 15s ⁴⁵ 4d

⁴⁵ This figure includes an additional £27 13s 6d for various expenses.

Source: Compiled from British Legion Abstract of Pay for sixty one days from 24 December 1782 to 23 February 1783 C Series Muster Rolls Vol. 1885, f.1, National Archives of Canada.

The above table details the amount that the Legion was paid. Cavalry were paid almost double that of the infantry. The Legion was paid almost half as much as Butler's Rangers and slightly less than privates of the Queens Rangers and the Royal Highland Emigrants.⁴⁶ Interestingly the officers cost more on a daily basis than all the rank and file combined.

First combats, 1778-79.

The period of August 1778 until January 1780 was in many respects a quieter time for the British Legion than the following eighteen months. It was a period where the Legion formed itself from a loose amalgamation of independent Loyalist companies into a cohesive regiment. Although the regiment did not see as much action or have as much success as it would do in the Southern campaign, it did see combat and got used to the tasks that they were designed to fulfil. They acted frequently as scouts and guides and took part in numerous raids against the Patriots in New York and New Jersey. It was during this period that Banastre Tarleton emerged as the de facto commander of the unit. Lord Cathcart was officially the regimental commander until 1780 but he spent little time with the regiment after September 1778 as his duties as Quartermaster General took precedence.⁴⁷

The first actions of the Legion occurred within a few weeks of their formation.⁴⁸ The Legion cavalry under Tarleton were involved in several raids and skirmishes

⁴⁶ See Chapters 2, 4 and 6.

⁴⁷ There is no documentation for the training of the unit. Tarleton does not describe it in his history and there is no existing collection similar to the Simcoe papers relating to Tarleton, Cathcart or Cochrane. DNB (Earlier Ed.): Bass: The Green Dragoon, p 48; John Peebles Diary of a Scottish Grenadier 1776-1782 (Mechanicsburg, 1998) p.302, cited in Biography of William Schaw Cathcart at <http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/friends/cathcart.html#n17> accessed 15/7/2008.

⁴⁸ The best sources for documenting movements in the Northern Campaign of the British Legion are the Journals of Simcoe and Ewald as well as a few mentions in the journal of the Hessian Adjutant

alongside the Queens Rangers and Ewald's Jaeger Corps. The infantry was with Cathcart and Cochrane at Greenwich New York where they presumably were training.⁴⁹ The reason that the infantry was not able to be committed for several months was that the Legion infantry mostly consisted of raw recruits whereas the cavalry was composed of existing companies many of whom had already seen action. Thus they were able to be used in combat, alongside the Queens Rangers, less than a month after Tarleton's appointment.

The first action of the British Legion cavalry was against the Stockbridge Indians and Continental infantry at Valentine's Hill New York on 31 August 1778. The action was a spectacularly successful skirmish against a superior force.⁵⁰ This victory shows that the cavalry showed a great deal of skill even this early into their careers. While they were serving with highly experienced soldiers in the Queens Rangers and Emmerich's Chasseurs they certainly acquitted themselves well. Ewald's diary mentions this action. He states that on the previous day the "newly raised English [sic] Legion under Lord

General, Bauermeister. Don Gara has constructed an online chronology for their movements in this period using largely Simcoe and Ewald. John Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, passim; Johann Ewald, Joseph J. Tustin (ed) *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal*, (New Haven, CT, 1979), passim; Don Gara, *Calendar of the Operations of the British Legion in West Chester New York for 1778-1779* <http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/odds/bl1778.html>

⁴⁹ Bauermeister gives a plan of Distribution for all forces in New York for November 1778 in which is shown that the British Legion have moved to Jericho, Long Island see Carl Leopold Bauermeister, B.A. Uhlendorf (trans.) *The Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals 1776-1784, of Adjutant General Major Bauermeister of the Hessian Forces*, (New Brunswick 1957) pp. 151, 264, n.37.

⁵⁰ Bauermeister relates: "On the 31 August the Queens Rangers, Emmerich's Corps and Lord Cathcart's Light Dragoons surprised the enemy outpost at De Voe's House, one and a half miles this side of Valentines Hill. It was a Corps of Indians of the Stockbridge Tribe and was commanded by their Chief Nimham. They fell upon the front and both flanks of this outpost so quickly that only two men escaped. The chief his son and the common warriors were killed on the spot. About two hundred Continental Troops hastened to their support, but withdrew as quickly losing 12 men and one captain. Our loss was five dragoons killed, sixteen of the Queens Rangers killed and wounded and nine horses killed." See *Ibid.* p.208

Cathcart which consisted of five hundred fusiliers and two hundred light dragoons joined Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe today.”⁵¹ He goes on to describe how “the enemy party” attempted to ambush Simcoe, Emmerich and Cathcart at Phillips Manor but that splitting their forces they outflanked them and ambushed the ambushers.⁵² He relates that Emmerich’s Chasseurs and the Legion cavalry had hidden in woods and were able to take the enemy completely by surprise: “The cavalry of Emmerich and the Legion burst forth and drove back the enemy.” He relates that by “6 o clock in the evening, However, most of the enemy were killed, shot dead and partly cut down by the cavalry. No Indians received quarter, including their chief Nimham. Only two captains, fifty men were taken captive”⁵³

This account is interesting particularly in light of the subsequent reputation of the Legion. Ewald seemed to suggest that some of the enemy attempted to surrender but were not given the chance. This is an accusation that would be infamously levelled at the Legion at Waxhaw’s two years later. There also appears from Ewald’s account to be a difference between how the Indians were treated and how the Continental soldiers were treated.⁵⁴

⁵¹ These numbers seem to be very high. They will be checked against the original muster rolls. Ewald, *Diary*, p.144.

⁵² *Ibid.* pp144-145.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 145.

⁵⁴ Simcoe also gives an account of the action and unlike the other two accounts he relates the actions of Tarleton:

“Lt Col. Simcoe, who was halfway up a tree on top of which was a drummer boy, saw a flanking party of the enemy approach. The troops had scarcely fallen into their ranks when a smart firing was heard from the Indians, who had lined the fences of the road and were exchanging shot with Lt. Col Emmerick whom they had discovered. The Queens Rangers moved rapidly to gain the heights, and Lt. Col Tarleton immediately advanced with the Huzzars, and the Legion cavalry: not being able to pass the fences in his front, he made a circuit to return further upon their right. They were driven from the fences and Lt Col. Tarleton with the cavalry got among them, and pursued them rapidly down Courtland’s ridge: That active officer had a narrow escape; in striking at one of the fugitives he lost his

The Legion cavalry were again in action on the 16 September, where they once more were victorious, Simcoe relates how they “fell in with a patrol of cavalry and dispersed it.”⁵⁵ This is particularly significant. In their first action the Legion fought against infantry who had already been partially dispersed and were therefore open to attack and already weakened. Here, only a few weeks after formation, they were taking on Patriot cavalry and succeeding against them. The Legion would go on to give the Patriot cavalry a torrid time in the years ahead. After this action Washington moved his troops from White Plains which he had occupied for two years and Simcoe relates how “the country people among other reasons, attributed this measure to the continual checks which his light troops had received.”⁵⁶ What this emphasises is that the Legion had, within a short space of time, been included with the elites of the British Army in New York, and that they had more than proved to be up to the task. The aforementioned units were Clinton’s first line of attack and defence. The legendary Hessian corps of Ewald and Emmerich were vastly experienced mercenaries who would be used time and again by Clinton and were proven experts at Light warfare.⁵⁷ The previous chapters have demonstrated the regard Clinton had for the Queens Rangers, so it can be shown into what company the Legion had very quickly become accepted. The only other major combat that the Legion saw in 1778 was a successful repulse of Patriot troops while they

balance and fell from his horse; luckily the Indian had no bayonet and his musket had been discharged.” See John Simcoe, *Simcoe’s Journal*, pp. 84-85.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* pp.86-87

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 88-89.

⁵⁷ Ewald, *Diary; Treatise on Partisan Warfare*, Robert Selig, David Skaggs (eds.) (New York, 1991); *Treatise on the Duties of Light Troops* (Translation, London 1803); Lt. Col. A. Emmerich, *The Partisan in War, of the Use of a Corps of Light Troops to an Army*, (London, 1789)

were protecting a convoy of timber between 2 and 5 November 1778.⁵⁸ After that they withdrew to winter quarters on Jericho, Long Island.⁵⁹

Although the year 1779 was a not quiet one for the British Legion, it was to be less strenuous than later years. For most of the summer they fought alongside the Queens Rangers in actions and raids in New York state and New Jersey.⁶⁰ None of them appear to be particularly significant, but each successful contact with the enemy was developing the legion into the skilled unit they would become.⁶¹

Meanwhile the infantry under Major Cochrane were not inactive. Major Cochrane was in the process of teaching them an innovation that would have a major impact on their effectiveness, he was equipping them with horses.⁶² In a 1780 memorial Cochrane described this innovation.

He [Major Cochrane] was the first who introduced into the army the species of service of the mounted light infantry, a kind of corps heretofore unknown, though the subsequent advantages have been found from much experience to answer the most fullest expectations. The cavalry and infantry of the Legion has ever moved together, and have gone with confidence any distance from the main army when mutually supporting one another. Zealous for the honour of the corps and to promote the service, the infantry

⁵⁸ Ewald, *Diary*, p153.

⁵⁹ Bauermeister's plan of Distribution for all forces in New York for November 1778 shows that the British Legion were posted to winter quarters in Jericho, Long Island see Bauermeister, *Confidential Letter and Journals*, p 151.

⁶⁰ Simcoe's journal describes numerous skirmishes that the Rangers and the Legion fought together while on patrol or scouting for the main army, many in the vicinity of White Plains which is where much of the combat was that year. See, Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, pp 101-103.

⁶¹ The muster rolls show that they continued recruiting and Bauermeister writes that in a general increase in Loyalist recruiting in April 1779 the Legion cavalry had been increased to 350 men. See *Ibid.* 264; Muster Rolls for 1779, C Series Vol s.1883-4.

⁶² Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p.104.

have cheerfully often rode eighty miles in twenty four hours without either bridel or saddle, and only a blanket and piece of rope substituted for a bridle, assisting their cavalry to surprise and beat the enemy. With confidence Captain Cochrane can say that no cavalry can or has acted in America until the co-operation of mounted infantry was introduced with them, and that upon every occasion the infantry of the Legion have borne an ample share of either fatigue or honour in all actions since the formation of the corps.⁶³

The reason for including such a long passage is that what Cochrane describes so eloquently here is very arguably a huge leap forward in military tactics. It demonstrates that a Loyalist regiment were at the forefront of military thinking. Cochrane suggests that the addition of light infantry makes cavalry complete. There had been light infantry before, the Queens Rangers being the obvious example but not mounted up to this point. Dragoons were also equipped to fight on horse or foot and they were not a new innovation, but they largely acted as cavalry. Consultation of Tarleton's work shows that the Patriots used mounted infantry in the 1780 campaign and that the Loyalist New York Volunteers also had mounted infantry in 1780.⁶⁴ Certainly Tarleton got most of his horses whilst on campaign by buying them from local farms or taking them from those classed as enemies. While it is likely that the horses used by the infantry were inferior to those used by the cavalry any kind of horse would allow the infantry to move at far greater speeds than their opponents. In many ways what Cochrane writes of here is an almost perfect regiment. The cavalry and infantry were able to move quickly to support one

⁶³ Memorial of Major Charles Cochrane in *Chamberlain Mellon, Memorial of Charles Cochrane a British Officer in the Revolutionary War 1774-1781* (Cambridge 1891) pp5-6 from <http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/friends/cochrane.html#n6> accessed 18/7/2008

⁶⁴ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, pp 93-95.

another. Certainly this proved to be very effective. Arguably the Legion's biggest defeat came at Cowpens when they were fighting in conventional battle order with ordinary infantry beside them and therefore required to move at normal pace and to be tracked by the enemy. It is possible that had these combined tactics been adopted in a more widespread fashion then the British could have had a different result in the Southern campaign as they could have moved their troops far faster. However, mounted troops were expensive and it would have been an easy proposal to turn down.

The first major example of the Legion's use of mounted infantry was also their most significant action of 1779. It was a raid on Pound-Bridge and Bedford in Connecticut on the 7 July.⁶⁵ Tarleton was overall commander of the expedition, which consisted of seventy troopers of the 17th Light Dragoons, the Legion infantry and cavalry, Queens Rangers Hussars and some of Emmerich's cavalry, totalling two hundred men.⁶⁶ Tarleton's report of the action was published by the Government later that year and helped make him a person of note in Britain.⁶⁷ Before the raid, he knew he would be up against "Sheldon's Regiment of Dragoons, about 100 Continental foot" and Moylan's Regiment of Dragoons.⁶⁸ The expedition attacked Sheldon's Dragoons at Pound-Bridge and forced them to retreat causing twenty-six casualties and taking the standard of the unit—a great embarrassment to any regiment—as well as many prisoners and "the regimental baggage."⁶⁹ They then "broke and dispersed" the Continental infantry. The

⁶⁵ Mark Boatner, *Encyclopaedia of the American Revolution*, (1994) p884;

⁶⁶ Camp on the Bronx, the Remembrancer, 1779, pp.365-6
http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/src/remembrancer_1779_p365.html ;

⁶⁷ Henry Clinton to George Germain, New York, 25 July 1779 CO 5/98 f.103 in Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*, Vol. 17, pp.168-170.

⁶⁸ Banastre Tarleton's Report to Sir Henry Clinton 2 July 1779; The Second Continental Dragoons commanded by Lt. Col. Elisha Sheldon were raised in December 1776 and the Fourth Continental Dragoons Commanded by Lt. Col. Stephen Moylan were raised at the same time, both units served throughout the war, see Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army*, (Washington, 1983), p.106;

⁶⁹ Banastre Tarleton's Report to Sir Henry Clinton 2 July 1779, p366.

inhabitants of the town then commenced firing on the expedition which forced Tarleton into an action of the kind that would bring him great notoriety amongst the Patriots for years to come. As he relates:

The inveteracy of the inhabitants of Pound-Bridge and near Bedford, in firing from the houses and out-houses, obliged me to burn some of their meeting and some of their dwelling houses with stores. I proposed to the militia terms, that if they would not fire shots from buildings I would not burn. They interpreted my mild proposal wrong imputing it to fear. They persisted in firing until the torch stopped their progress; after which not a shot was fired.⁷⁰

This action shows the kind of ruthlessness that Tarleton and the Legion were to become notorious for. Tarleton's use of the phrase "mild proposal" is interesting as is arguable that the militia had little choice but to fire from the safety of the houses rather than putting themselves in the open against a well armed enemy. The action is similar to the raid by the Queens Rangers in September of that same year, described in the previous chapter, yet unlike that occasion, Tarleton destroyed civilian houses as well as government property. It is necessary here to evaluate his actions. While his decision was arguably tactically necessary, the effect that the destruction of civilian property had, went far beyond the actual destruction of property. It gave the Patriot press ample ammunition to attack the British and to turn people against them.

A newspaper account of the raid outlines how the incident was viewed from the opposing perspective. The article states that Sheldon's unit, consisted of 90 men and that Tarleton's force was "about 360 or 400 in number."⁷¹ Tarleton does not give a number for

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Extract of a Letter from an officer at Salem, 3 July 1779 in The Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser, 15 July 1779, p.2 in Newsbank <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw->

Sheldon's forces so the first part could be accurate but it is unlikely he would diminish his own numbers in a report to the commanding General. The report ascribes the Patriot retreat to the "great superiority of the enemy" and the "mountainous and rocky" nature of the terrain which caused several of their horses to "Blunder" and "fall into the hands of the enemy."⁷² It is necessary to point out that the British/Provincial force faced these conditions too. The report describes how with the assistance of militia they forced the enemy to "move off with such great precipitation, that we could not come up with them".⁷³ This makes the outcome of the raid sound very different to Tarleton's description, which says "the enemy hovered just out of sight" until Tarleton withdrew after firing the houses.⁷⁴ The newspaper of course mentions this which makes the statement about the withdrawal harder to believe as the firing was done, which would indicate that Tarleton's forces were not in a great hurry. The report relates:

Before the enemy moved off they burnt the meeting house at Poundridge, the dwelling house of Major Lockwood, together with nearly all his furniture, the house of Benjamin Hays of Bedford. They as usual plundered most of the houses they came to as well as setting fire to several other houses which were fortunately extinguished.⁷⁵

search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=C68A59FRMTIxNjczMjAxMC43MDU5OTY6MT04OnN0aXJsaW5n&d_db=EAN-LIVE&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&p_queryname=2&p_docid=10C02B72DC899A60&p_docnum=100&d_article_id=10C02B72DC899A60&d_release=release_0076&d_issue_id=10C02B7222EA7230&d_pbi=109E88DEE71EB5A0&d_format=gif&d_size=display&d_viewref=article

accessed 22/7/2008; The same article appeared in the New England Chronicle and New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury on 15 and 19 July respectively.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Banastre Tarleton's Report to Sir Henry Clinton 2 July 1779.

⁷⁵ The Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser, 15 July 1779, p.2 in Newsbank

This part of the report is the most damning towards Tarleton's conduct, interestingly it does not name him, and as yet his name was not synonymous with this kind of action. An interesting phrase is "as usual" suggesting looting and plundering were commonplace occurrences. Simcoe prohibited the practice, but Tarleton does not appear to have done the same. The two accounts give different casualty reports as well. The Patriot report gives eight missing killed and ten wounded on their side and one killed one wounded and four prisoners taken on the British.⁷⁶ Tarleton's report states one killed and one wounded in total. He does not give a full account of enemy casualties rather than the aforementioned twenty-six he claims earlier in the report.⁷⁷

Despite the controversies and differences of opinion, it is clear that the mission was, in the words of Henry Clinton, a "success."⁷⁸ The Legion cavalry had performed admirably but so had the mounted infantry. The experiment of using the cavalry and infantry together had worked. Tarleton closes his report by stating, "the infantry of the Legion mounted on horses, are extremely fatigued by a march of sixty-four miles in twenty-three hours."⁷⁹ The distance itself would have been remarkable at a time where marches of a maximum of twenty miles a day were the norm. The oft-neglected Legion infantry were thus able to be an effective part of what was to become a formidable force against the Patriots. This action was also to be one of the last against the Continental Army dragoons in Brigade formation, as Washington would break up the Dragoon brigade in the winter of 1778.⁸⁰ Although the reason given was "forage problems" the fact that they had been

⁷⁶ Ibid. p.2

⁷⁷ Banastre Tarleton's Report to Sir Henry Clinton 2 July 1779.

⁷⁸ Clinton to Germain 25 July 1779 in Davies, Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. 17. pp.168-170.

⁷⁹ Banastre Tarleton, Report to Sir Henry Clinton 2 July 1779.

⁸⁰ Robert K. Wright, The Continental Army, (Washington D.C., 1983), p. 150.

comprehensively defeated when up against British Dragoons and Hussars may have had some influence in the decision.⁸¹

Section 2: 1780: A Year of Success and Controversy

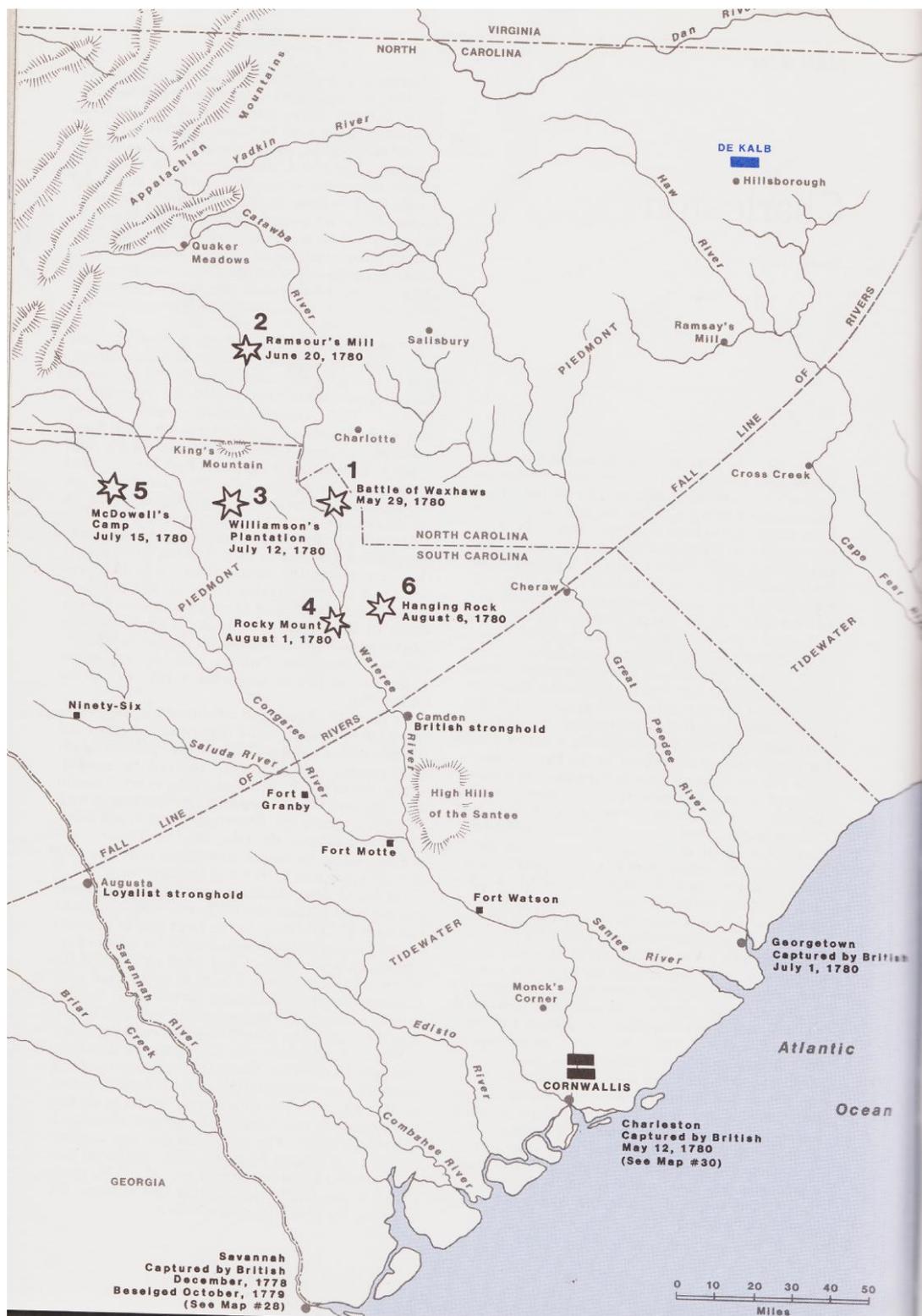
The year of 1780 was to be the year in which the British Legion and its commander, Banastre Tarleton achieved the peak of their success and controversy. Their reputation was made in a series of skirmishes, raids and pitched battles in which they were often spectacularly successful but where they laid themselves open to severe criticism for their conduct towards their enemies and the civilian populace. The terms “Bloody Ben” and “Tarleton’s Quarter” became commonplace to describe their commander but it was ultimately the actions of the whole regiment that originated them. This section will look at the Legion in 1780 and assess these two issues: how effective the Legion were as a fighting force; and their reputation as a brutal band of property destroying avengers. While the purpose of this section is not to give a blow by blow account of the events of 1780, that has been done before, and in greater length than this chapter has available, it is necessary to pick out major incidents as having significance to the themes of this chapter. These being the skill or otherwise of the Legion and their on field discipline.

On the 26 December 1779 General Henry Clinton and an army of 8500 men left New York City en route for Georgia and South Carolina.⁸² With them was the entire British Legion. They were still under the nominal command of Lord Cathcart for a few more weeks but his duties as Quartermaster General –a hectic job during an embarkation- meant that the de facto commander was Banastre Tarleton. He would be given full

⁸¹ The Legion took part in several more small-scale skirmishes in the late summer and autumn of 1779 around New York before going into their winter Quarters in Oyster Bay in November.

⁸² Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, p 340; Banastre Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p4.

Map 4: The War in South Carolina 1780.



Source: Craig L. Symonds, *A Battlefield Atlas of the American Revolution*, (Baltimore, 1986) p. 85.

command in April 1780.⁸³ It is at this point that one of the most invaluable sources becomes Tarleton's "Campaigns."⁸⁴

The summer campaign of 1780, arguably one of the most successful of the Revolutionary War, started badly. This was not because of any fault of Clinton's except, possibly his decision to sail in January. This decision, designed to surprise the Patriots and to ensure a full year of active campaigning, initially seemed like a bad one when the fleet was scattered by terrible storms. Tarleton described how most of the artillery and all of the horses were lost, he stated that "these accidents greatly deranged and impeded the attack upon Charleston. The loss of stores, cavalry and military equipage would have been sensibly felt in any situation, proved nearly destructive to the expedition."⁸⁵ All the British Legion's horses were lost. The fleet put ashore in Georgia, where the resources of the garrison of Savannah were put at its disposal and they were leant cannons by the navy.⁸⁶ Thus because of this disastrous start it was the 1 April before Clinton was able to land his army before the city of Charleston.

The British Legion put ashore in Savannah in late February 1780. The first task of the regiment was to secure some horses and then march to Charleston. Tarleton secured as many horses as he could from the local countryside and he paid for them out of his own pocket.⁸⁷ However, he commented that the "quality was "inferior to those embarked at New York" and realised that the best way of securing horses was to take them from

⁸³ John Peebles, *The Diary of a British Grenadier*, p.342.

⁸⁴ As explained earlier Tarleton's work is less a memoir or a journal and more of a contemporary historical account of the Southern campaigns. Never one to do anything in a small way, Tarleton attempted to put his own personal stamp on the whole campaign rather than to just explain his own role in it. Thus what emerges is a highly coloured, flawed but engaging account of the Southern Campaigns, by a major participant, a work which any historian covering the Southern Campaigns should consult- and disagree with- but not all have. See, Banastre Tarleton, *Campaigns*,

⁸⁵ Banastre Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p5.

⁸⁶ Piers Mackesy *War for America*, pp.340-341.

⁸⁷ Cornwallis got around to settling Tarleton's bill in June, Memoranda, Charleston, 3 June 1780, Cornwallis Papers, PRO 30/11/61 ff.7-8

enemy cavalry. This was one of the Legion's first priorities.⁸⁸ The infantry under Major Cochrane went on first on foot and after a few skirmishes they reached Port Royal Island just opposite Charleston.⁸⁹ An order was then sent to Tarleton, to join them. Tarleton then brought on the cavalry and during the march to Charleston they met with enemy cavalry several times, having mixed results.⁹⁰ By the 1 April they had arrived at Charleston and linked up with the infantry. On arriving at Charleston, a report from the Commissary Department shows their strength as 287 cavalrymen and 200 infantry. They were also accompanied by "11 blacks, 12 women and 8 children."⁹¹ However, this was only a fraction of the women and children that they had had under their care in Long Island.⁹² As chapter two has shown, Loyalist regiments were "military communities" in which women and children mixed in with the soldiers.

The Legion had a clearly defined role in these early encounters. General Lincoln, in Charleston was effectively besieged by the British forces, but he was able to communicate with the main Continental Army in New York, by means of his cavalry, which was also used to harass the British Army and its supply lines. The job assigned to the Legion and to Major Patrick Fergusson, and his light infantry,⁹³ was to neutralise the Continental cavalry as quickly as possible and thus ensure that Lincoln was trapped inside Charleston.⁹⁴ The first significant action of the Charleston campaign in respect to the

⁸⁸ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p. 8.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.7-8.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

⁹¹ Victualling at Charleston South Carolina, April 7-9 1780, McKenzie Papers f. 41. Clements Library.

⁹² It is not stated whether the eleven African Americans were slaves. They are listed as being fed by the regiment so it is possible they were employed as regimental servants. In November 1779 the Legion had 54 women and 14 Children, see Abstract of persons Victuals at Long Island 21 November 1779, McKenzie Papers, f. 18.

⁹³ Ferguson commanded what Tarleton describes as a Corps of Marksmen. These were highly skilled sharpshooters, Tarleton, *Campaigns*. p.15; ODNB.

⁹⁴ Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, p 341; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p. 15; Clinton Papers April 1780; Clements Library.

British Legion occurred at Monck's Corner on the 14 April.⁹⁵ The Legion, operating with Fergusson had orders to surprise the cavalry of Brigadier General Huger at Goose Creek. Tarleton was to secure as many of the enemy supplies as possible and "destroy them" if he had to, and to be "constantly moving."⁹⁶ The Legion successfully accomplished this on the night of the 13 and 14 April. At three o'clock in the morning the cavalry and Mounted infantry attacked the American camp, charging in on horseback supported by the fire of the infantry. Tarleton records that "The Americans were completely surprised." As well as inflicting heavy casualties the Legion captured "four hundred horses belonging to officers and dragoons, with their arms and appointments fell into the hands of the victors; about one hundred officers, dragoons and hussars, together with fifty wagons, shared the same fate."⁹⁷ This was a considerable haul and would enable the Legion to operate effectively for the next few months.

Clinton was delighted by the "surprise and defeat of the collected cavalry and militia of the rebels" which enabled the regular British infantry under Colonel Webster to secure the country side and "threw into his hands great supplies of provision."⁹⁸ This is an example of the effectiveness of the British Legion. The regiment had neutralised the greatest threat to the besieging army, provided supplies and secured their own future by capturing ample numbers of horses and forage.

The action though was not free from controversy. A French officer serving with the Americans, surrendered but was "mangled by sabres" after this.⁹⁹ He died of his

⁹⁵ Tarleton describes action in detail, Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p 15-18.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p15; Tarleton's orders from Clinton and Cornwallis are included in his work, John Andre to Tarleton Headquarters William House 1 April 1780, Earl Cornwallis to Tarleton 25 April 1780 St Thomas's Church pp 37-38.

⁹⁷ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p. 18.

⁹⁸ Clinton to Germain 13 May 1780, CO 5/91 f.181 in K. G. Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*, Vol. 18 (Dublin, 1978) pp.87-89.

⁹⁹ Charles Stedman, *The History Origin and Progress of the American War*, (London 1794)p. 183, cited in John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, (New York, 1997) p63.

wounds and as he lay dying he was “frequently insulted by privates of the Legion.¹⁰⁰ The witness to this was not a Patriot, but a serving Loyalist, Charles Stedman. This brutality was towards a beaten enemy was a foreshadowing of what was soon to come. After the action, several British Legion dragoons were found guilty of “attempting to ravish” a group of women as well as looting their house. The men were arrested and Major Fergusson demanded that they be shot in situ but they were instead flogged.¹⁰¹ Interestingly when two of the Queens Rangers were found guilty of similar crimes, they were hanged.¹⁰² Although there was no official censure to the regiment, Tarleton was warned by Cornwallis on 25 April to prevent his men from “committing irregularities.¹⁰³”

The action at Monck’s Corner was of great strategic importance. The neutralisation of a large part of the Patriot cavalry allowed the British infantry under Colonel Webster to push into the backcountry and to eliminate any possibility of the Patriots in Charleston receiving help. As a consequence of this and the bravery and skill of the besieging forces, Charleston capitulated on the 12 May 1780 and force of 5600 patriot soldiers, 1000 sailors and 400 cannons were captured.¹⁰⁴ The Legion, while not actually involved in the siege, had played no small role in the success. They had accomplished the role that Clinton had intended for them on formation. To provide a fast moving, skilled, Loyalist force which was able defeat the Patriots and by doing this provide an example for prospective Loyalists. In many ways the Legion had reached their apex. There would be future victories after this, but their reputation would be permanently tarnished in Patriot propaganda, when just one month later, an event

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 63.

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¹⁰² See Queens Rangers Part 2.

¹⁰³ Lord Cornwallis to Lt. Col. Tarleton, St Thomas’ Church, April 25 1780 in Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p.38

¹⁰⁴ Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, pp.341-2; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, pp. 22-24, Tarleton also includes the articles of capitulation, a return of all Prisoners taken, signed by John Andre and an inventory of guns and munitions captured at pp. 61-68

occurred that would not only hamper recruitment but arguably provide justification to acts of brutality against Loyalists and severely damage their cause and the wider British cause in terms of attracting support.

Waxhaws

On 29 May 1780 at Waxhaws, South Carolina, the Legion fought a victorious action which added to the Legion's growing dominance over the Continental cavalry.¹⁰⁵ The victory made the British the dominant force in South Carolina, as Clinton acknowledged: "that the Earl [Cornwallis] by detaching his corps of cavalry and with them the Legion Infantry (mounted) has completed the destruction of every thing in arms against us in this province."¹⁰⁶ Events would prove that the last statement was a premature one but there is no doubting that the victory at Waxhaws eliminated any immediate threat to the British in South Carolina and allowed them to commence the recruiting of Loyalist Militia on a large scale.¹⁰⁷ Yet the battle would have serious repercussions for recruitment and for the safety of captured Loyalists. The events of the battle were seized upon by Patriots and Tarleton and the British Legion became notorious as ruthless murderers in Patriot propaganda. The battle has been well covered in historiography but it is necessary for any study of the Legion to devote a sizeable section to what was undoubtedly its most infamous encounter.

Waxhaws was the culmination of a two day chase by Tarleton and the British Legion of four hundred Patriot infantry and artillery under Colonel Abraham Buford¹⁰⁸ and a small detachment of cavalry in an attempt to prevent them joining up

¹⁰⁵ Or Wacshaws and Wraxhaws.

¹⁰⁶ Clinton to Germain, Charleston, 4 June 1780, in Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p.80.

¹⁰⁷ Under Major Patrick Fergusson, see, Cornwallis Papers, Various June 1780, PRO 30/11/2; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p.25-26.

¹⁰⁸ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, pp. 27-29; David Lee Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies*, (2000) pp 149-150.

with another infantry regiment in North Carolina.¹⁰⁹ On the 6 May Tarleton had defeated the last major formation of Patriot cavalry under Colonels Anthony White and William Washington.¹¹⁰ Buford had been ordered to join up with them but had mistimed his march. Tarleton had 170 cavalry, 100 of the legion infantry, and he was ordered by Cornwallis to “consult his own judgement as to the distance of the pursuit or the mode of attack.”¹¹¹ This gave Tarleton considerable latitude. It also reflected that a lot of trust was being placed in a Loyalist regiment. Although there were forty regulars along, the vast majority of the force was Loyalist. In tactical terms the Legion was once again covering all the main fighting arms, being equipped to fight on horseback or on foot, and supported by cannon. In this way they were following the example of the Queens Rangers who had been similarly equipped since 1778. The Patriots had also adopted these tactics of single regiments with all three arms, which were also known as Legion units.¹¹² The basic facts of Waxhaws are that, Buford dithered in his march, continued marching even when he knew the Legion was behind him, left his artillery limbered at the front of his column and made no attempt to turn and organise a defence until it was too late and fled the scene accompanied by only a handful of his men.¹¹³

According to Tarleton, the Legion had covered, “105 miles in 54 hours,” two modern sources give the distance as 154 miles making the feat even more impressive, and

¹⁰⁹ Colonel Abraham Buford was commander of the 11th Virginia Regiment from September 1778 to February 1781, Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution*, (Baltimore, 1982), p. 131.

¹¹⁰ Lt. Col. William Washington was a distant cousin of George Washington and commanded the 3rd Dragoons. DAB; Francis B. Reitman, *Historical Register of Officers*, p.574; Colonel Anthony White commanded the 1st Dragoons, *ibid* p. 585.

¹¹¹ The cavalry force were 130 of the Legion cavalry and 40 troopers of the 17th Dragoons, see, Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p. 27.

¹¹² Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army*, p.345.

¹¹³ David Lee Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies*, p.150.

especially for the mounted infantry many of whom were two to a horse.¹¹⁴ Because of this the Legion were exhausted and it was decided first to put out a summons to Buford to surrender, claiming that Buford “was now encompassed by a corps of seven hundred Light Troops on horseback; half of that number are infantry with artillery the rest cavalry”.¹¹⁵ There were in fact barely half that number and the artillery was one small cannon. Buford turned this proposal down with the pithy reply of “I reject your proposals and shall defend myself to the last extremity.”¹¹⁶

The Legion then attacked and quickly overwhelmed the infantry, breaking any semblance of a formation. The fight then broke off into small scale skirmishes during one of which Tarleton was unhorsed. At some point in all this (the exact time is heavily disputed) Buford hoisted the white flag of surrender, but the Legion went on killing their opponents.¹¹⁷ This fact is not disputed even by the Legion’s defenders but the extent of this breach of accepted conduct is surrounded by differing opinions, ranging from a full blooded massacre to a lapse of control that lasted for a few minutes until Tarleton got to his feet and stopped it.

To make some sense of the mass of views on Waxhaws is not an easy task. There are numerous Patriot eyewitness accounts, that suggest that it was a massacre and many historians, including recent works such as those Russell, Buchanan and Wilson agree with them.¹¹⁸ Yet other contemporary accounts argue that it was not a deliberate massacre and they are supported by historians Boatner, Pancake and Morrill.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Tarleton, Campaigns, p 83; David Lee Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies*, p.150; Dan L. Morrill, *The Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* (Mount Pleasant, SC, 1993) p. 78.

¹¹⁵ Summons sent by Lt. Col Tarleton, Waxhaws, 29 July 1780 in *Tarleton Campaigns* p 78.

¹¹⁶ Buford’s answer to Lt. Col. Tarleton, Waxhaws, 29 July 1780, in *Ibid.*, p.79.

¹¹⁷ David K. Wilson, *The Southern Strategy: Britain’s Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia 1775-1780*, (University of South Carolina Press, 2005), pp.254-255;

¹¹⁸ David K. Wilson, *The Southern Strategy*; David Lee Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies*.

The main Patriot witness is Dr Robert Brownfield, the surgeon of Buford's regiment, who left a full account of events. Brownfield claimed that Buford sent an Ensign forward with the white flag and he was "instantly cut down."¹²⁰ Brownfield's account is damning:

The demand for quarters, seldom refused a vanquished foe, was at once found to be in vain; not a man was spared, and it was the concurrent testimony of all the survivors that for fifteen minutes after every man was prostrate, they went over the ground plunging their bayonets into any one who showed signs of life, and in some instances where several had fallen over the other, these monsters were seen to throw off on the point of the bayonet the uppermost, to come at those beneath.¹²¹

Brownfield's account makes Waxhaws reminiscent of Culloden. He also mentions how a Captain Stokes was bayoneted several times until protected by a Legion sergeant. Miraculously Stokes survived to live to old age.¹²²

Brownfield's version of events was written forty years later, but it does come across as vividly. However, it suggests that all the wounded were killed, which is not the case. According to the official reports, there were one hundred and thirteen killed, one hundred and fifty wounded- these were paroled and left in the care of local people- and fifty three prisoners.¹²³ The fact that the seriously wounded were released on parole

¹¹⁹ John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War*, (Alabama, 1985); Dan L. Morrill *The Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* (Mount Pleasant S. C, 1993).

¹²⁰ Robert Brownfield to William Dobein James, 1821, in William Dobein James, *A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion and a History of His Brigade*, (Charleston, 1821) appendix 1-7 cited in John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p.85.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p85.

¹²³ Return of Rebels Killed, Wounded and Prisoner after the Affair at Wacsaw [sic] 29 May 1780 in Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p.84.

shows that some semblance of order was restored. Pancake, commenting on Brownfield's account, claims that the bayoneting of the wounded is "hardly consistent" with the paroling of the wounded and "the fact that surgeons were sent from Charlottetown and Camden to assist them." He contends that the whole tale was an attempt to play down the fact that the Legion had defeated a "force that outnumbered them three to two."¹²⁴ Morril takes a similar view stating "if he [Tarleton] was completely insensitive to the accepted conventions of warfare, why for example, did Tarleton let the wounded patriots go and allow them to be hauled away by the Presbyterian Ladies."¹²⁵ Both these views have some sense in them, but the paroling of the wounded after the battle does not mitigate what happened during it. It is possible to argue that Tarleton saw what had happened, realised the effect if news leaked out and desperately tried to make amends. In his "Campaigns," Tarleton would acknowledge that his men had behaved "with a vindictive asperity not easily restrained" because the men thought that "they had lost their commanding officer" but his official report at the time was silent on events. His report contains nothing but praise for his men after what was admittedly a great victory.

The attacks were pointed at both flanks, the front and reserve by 270 cavalry and infantry blended, and at the same instant all were equally victorious, few of the enemy escaping on horseback. It is above my ability to say anything in the commendation of the bravery and exertion of my officers and men. I leave their merit to your Lordship's consideration.¹²⁶

This is consistent with Tarleton attempting to play down the events, for either self preservation or an attempt to stop Patriot propaganda seizing on the story. Clinton's

¹²⁴ John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War*, p. 71.

¹²⁵ Dan L. Morril, *Southern campaigns of the American Revolution*, pp.79-80.

¹²⁶ Banastre Tarleton, *Campaigns*, pp. 30-31; Tarleton to Cornwallis, Waxhaws 30 May 1780, CO 5/99 f.308 in Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*, vol. 18. pp.99-100

above cited letter shows he was either unaware of events or chose to ignore them at the time as he was happy with the result of the battle.¹²⁷

Whatever the contrasting views and controversies of the affair of Waxhaws it is apparent that while it was a major tactical victory for the British and specifically their Loyalist forces- who made up the vast majority of the combatants- it was strategically a disaster. Russell gives the opinion that “this act of barbarous inhumanity would do much to settle the case against the British for those that remained neutral” and it is hard to argue with his second statement, although several historians take issue with his first.¹²⁸ It may have been something that happened in the heat of the moment but Patriot propoganda, much of it passed by word of mouth, ensured that the moment would last for the remainder of the war and beyond. John Buchanan claims that “Tarleton and his legion stoked embers that became a fire nearly raging out of control for it roused a people whose heritage was border fighting in all its barbarous excesses.”¹²⁹ It gave the Patriots an excuse for reprisals against Loyalists under the justification of paying them back for “Tarleton’s quarter.” The survivors of the battle of Kings Mountain who were hanged to cries of this chant had every reason to damn the conduct of the British Legion because without Waxhaws it is unlikely that the justice meted out to them would have been so harsh. The chant of “Tarleton’s quarter” is also somewhat misleading. It was the conduct of the regiment as a whole and not just their commander that gave the patriots a propoganda victory. Much of the propoganda focused on the cruelty of “Bloody Ban” but as shown, Tarleton’s conduct, while absolutely questionable, was not the sole reason for events. It was the ordinary soldiers who did the killing after the flag of truce had been put up that ultimately did the damage. This chapter is about the British Legion as a whole and nowhere can this be better illustrated than here. Tarleton took the blame in mythology

¹²⁷ Clinton to Germain, Charleston 4 June 1780.

¹²⁸ David Lee Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies*, p.150.

¹²⁹ John Buchanan, *the Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p.85.

and the soldiers only really took reflected blame. While as commander, Tarleton takes the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of his men, it is arguable that being briefly indisposed he could do little to stop events once they had commenced.

So why did the men behave as they did? What makes soldiers lose the discipline that has been trained into them? Grossman's work on the psychology of soldiers assesses what he calls "surrender executions."¹³⁰ He argues that actually it is surprising that there are actually so few of them given the circumstances of close quarter's conflict. For it to happen en masse there has to be a trigger. The possible triggers at Waxhaws were: Buford's men allegedly firing at the flag of truce the Legion sent out; Tarleton being knocked off his horse and the fear that he might have been killed. It could of course been a combination of the above triggers mixed in with a general desire for revenge which boiled over without the presence of Tarleton to check it. This raises questions of the motivations of Loyalist soldiers. Were they out for vengeance? Were the men of the Legion recruited in the South avenging wrongs over Land seizures such as those documented by Leslie Hall?¹³¹ This is possible there were certainly native Southerners in the Legion.

In their favour it can be said that Waxhaws, while not an isolated incident was by far the biggest event of its kind. Was the British Legion a special case? Other than Butler's Rangers it certainly has the worst reputation of all the Loyalist regiments. Did Tarleton foster an atmosphere of brutality and lack of restraint or was it there anyway? The Queens Rangers had a number of incidents that are also questionable but they largely avoided gaining the same reputation as the Legion. It could be that Simcoe was a stricter commander than Tarleton; he was certainly a more serious man. The Legion does not appear to have a bad record in acts of indiscipline off the battlefield. They appeared to be remarkably well behaved while in rear quarters and they did not have reputation for

¹³⁰ Dave Grossman, *On Killing*, (New York, 1995) p. 200.

¹³¹ Leslie Hall, *Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia*.

brawling with each other.¹³² Possibly Tarleton's example of the devil-may-care rake did not encourage the same atmosphere of strict adherence to the Articles of War as Simcoe's command did.

Most of the other incidents when the Legion were accused of brutality, were either on a small scale or were acts that were open to interpretation. A good example, is early twentieth century historian Edward McCrady's accusation that the Legion had "sabred the fugitives" after Camden.¹³³ From a Patriot viewpoint this may seem like an atrocity, the men were running and thus unable to fight, but Tarleton was actually ordered by Cornwallis to do this. While perhaps questionable if viewed by the lights of "gentleman's war", it was a militarily sound thing to do. A running man has not yet surrendered and no commander can afford to assume that the man will not stop running and turn around and fight. The man is at a disadvantage and is therefore vulnerable, but military common sense would dictate that he may not be at this disadvantage for long. It was common practice to run down fugitives, examples being Prince Rupert, at Edgehill in 1642. The difference at Waxhaw's, was that the men HAD surrendered. They were no longer a threat and therefore under common military practice, were allowed to be spared their lives.

So why did the High Command ignore the incident and why were there no court martials? The Articles of War are unclear on treatment of Prisoners of War. The closest Article is one which deals with crimes contrary to the Laws of the Land, but this would seem to relate to treatment of civilians.¹³⁴ This does not mean that it was accepted behaviour to kill surrendered men, it was regarded as wrong and dishonourable, but the Articles of War, the disciplinary manual for the Army, is quiet on it. The other reason for

¹³² See McKenzie Papers 1780-1781. Clements Library; Clinton Papers, 1778-81 Clements Library; Carleton Papers, PRO 30/54 PRO.

¹³³ Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution*, (New York, 1902), p. 48.

¹³⁴ See Articles of War 1778, Section XI Article 1, a copy of the Article of War 1778 is online at <http://www.cvco.org/sigs/reg64/articles.html> accessed 8/8/2008.

a lack of punishments, is that Clinton and Cornwallis were both exuberant about the result of the battle, which as they saw it, quelled the last of the Continental Army in South Carolina.¹³⁵

1780: Summer and Autumn.

This section will look at the British Legion after Waxhaws. It will discuss their role in the battle of Camden-probably their biggest triumph- and the skirmishes and battles in the rest of the year. The events of summer of 1780 can be traced in the Cornwallis papers which give excellent details of all that was happening both militarily and administratively.¹³⁶ The attempts to recruit large numbers of Loyalists both to the militia and the Provincial regiments were of great concern to the General and all regiments were encouraged to recruit as much as possible. The Legion conformed in this. In August 1780 two new infantry companies were raised and which added 80 men to the strength, as well as constant augmenting of the existing companies.¹³⁷ Supplies for the Legion were at a premium but at this time they were able to buy horses and livestock from confiscated patriot estates.¹³⁸ Other supplies were attained by raiding and capturing Patriot supply trains and taking horses from Patriot troops.¹³⁹

The Legion was in action frequently throughout the summer and detachments were sent on raids deep into the Carolina backcountry. One of these resulted in one of the Legion's few defeats in 1780. In July 1780 Captain Christian Huck led a raid on Fishing

¹³⁵ Clinton to Germain, 4 June 1780.

¹³⁶ Cornwallis Papers Summer 1780 PRO 30/11/2-5 PRO.

¹³⁷ These were commanded by Captain Charles MacDonald and Captain Patrick Stewart: Muster Rolls for December 1780, C Series Muster Rolls vol. 1884.

¹³⁸ Tarleton *Campaigns*, p89.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

Creek South Carolina in an attempt to put down resistance on the farms.¹⁴⁰ He had with him, thirty Legion Dragoons, twenty mounted infantry of the New York Volunteers and sixty newly recruited Loyalist militia.¹⁴¹ Huck aroused the anger of the local inhabitants by burning civilian property, including an empty church and was ambushed by a small force of Patriot militia.¹⁴² Cornwallis reported to Clinton, that Huck “encouraged by meeting no opposition, encamped in an unguarded manner, was totally surprised and routed. The captain was killed and only twelve of the Legion and as many of the militia escaped.”¹⁴³ Tarleton does not hold back on criticising his unfortunate subordinate, claiming that “he neglected his duty.”¹⁴⁴ The event sparked some correspondence but did not really put out the warning sign that the backcountry was not safe for unsupported detachments in the way it should have done. At this point the British were still confident of having subdued the Continental forces in the South Carolina and the Patriot militia and guerrillas were not held to be a major threat.

Camden and Fishing Creek

Throughout the summer months the cavalry of the Legion served as scouts for the main army and also kept enemy cavalry occupied. In August 1780, the Patriots again took the offensive against the British in the Carolinas. Thomas Sumter formed a large irregular force that was intended to wage a guerrilla war against the British in North and upper South Carolina. General Horatio Gates with 4000 men marched from the Northern

¹⁴⁰ Christian Huck was a German born Lawyer from Pennsylvania. Emmerick Chasseurs Inspection Roll November 1778, C Series Muster Rolls, Vol. 1891 cited in <http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/friends/huck.html#n3>

¹⁴¹This disaster could be said to be a small scale version of what happened to Patrick Ferguson at Kings Mountain just 3 months later. A raiding expedition, complete with freshly raised militia arouses local non regular opposition and is wiped out. Tarleton, Campaigns, p.93; Cornwallis to Clinton, Charleston, 15 July 1780, *ibid.* p.119.

¹⁴² Edward McCrady, *the History of South Carolina in the Revolution*, (New York, 1901), p.591.

¹⁴³ *Ibid* p.119.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*p.93.

Theatre to join him.¹⁴⁵ Cornwallis, now commanding on his own in the Carolinas after Clinton's return to New York, marched to meet him with 2000 men, including the infantry and cavalry of the British Legion.¹⁴⁶ On the 15 August the Legion cavalry, by scouting and intentionally capturing three Patriot soldiers, fulfilled one its key functions and was able to provide Cornwallis with accurate intelligence of the enemy's numbers, movements and whereabouts enabling him to plan the upcoming battle.¹⁴⁷

On the 16 August the British comprehensively defeated the larger American force and forced Gates into a solo flight of 200 miles.¹⁴⁸ The Legion took a key role in the battle. The infantry served in Rawdon's division on the left flank of the army and alongside the Volunteers of Ireland, the Royal North Carolina regiment and North Carolina Volunteers and completely defeated their immediate opponents.¹⁴⁹ John Buchanan describes the Legion infantry as "high quality Tory regulars" and they certainly proved it at Camden.¹⁵⁰ They were facing the Maryland Regulars a seasoned Continental regiment.¹⁵¹ They took casualties; had to reform and faced a stiff assault which they held off until the right flank under Colonel Webster defeated their militia opponents and Cornwallis threw in his reserves in forced the Patriots' full retreat.¹⁵² It was at this point that the Legion cavalry joined the battle by attacking the rear quarters from both flanks.

¹⁴⁵Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, p. 343; Buchanan gives Gates' strength at the Battle of Camden at just over 3000 to Cornwallis's 2000, Gates' force was mixture of Continental Army regulars and militia, John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, pp.164-165.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid: Cornwallis to Clinton, Camden 21 August 1780 Davies; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, pp.102-110

¹⁴⁷ Cornwallis to Clinton 21 August 1781:Tarleton Campaigns p.103.

¹⁴⁸ Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, p. 143.

¹⁴⁹ John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, pp.163-164; Tarleton *Campaigns*, p. 106: Cornwallis to Clinton, Camden 21 August 1780.

¹⁵⁰ John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p.163.

¹⁵¹ Under Colonel Otho Williams, Colonel Otho Williams, Narrative of the Campaign of 1780, in William Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathaniel Greene*, (Charleston 1822), Appendix B, p.496.

¹⁵² Ibid. pp. 496-7; John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p.168.

They were split into two sections, Major George Hanger commanding one and Tarleton the other.¹⁵³ The cavalry attack was spectacularly successful, and “rout and slaughter ensued in every quarter.” As Tarleton put it, “in a pursuit continued for twenty two miles, many prisoners of all ranks, twenty ammunition wagons, one hundred and fifty carriages, containing the stores, ammunition and baggage, of the whole army.”¹⁵⁴ The capture of the baggage was one of the most important tasks the Legion performed that day. George Hanger, the Legion cavalry’s second in command at Camden described the haul as “an immense quantity of arms and ammunition for the supply of the whole province of Carolina”.¹⁵⁵ Again the Legion had supplied Cornwallis’s army, which was now away from the port at Charleston with the means to continue the campaign inland for several months. Examining the casualty figures, it would seem that although the cavalry won most of the plaudits, the Legion infantry had the harder part of the battle.¹⁵⁶ Table fourteen shows that there were far less infantry than cavalry.¹⁵⁷ At this point they had no overall commander as Cochrane had left, and they were fighting by company. The oft-neglected Legion infantry held under extreme pressure at Camden and proved to be a skilled and efficient unit.

The entire British Legion followed this victory two days later with a comprehensive defeat of Sumter at Fishing Creek or Catawba Fords. Some 350 of them surprised a force 700 men, including 100 Continentals, killed 150 and captured 310 and

¹⁵³ John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p169; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p. 107.

¹⁵⁴ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, pp.107-108.

¹⁵⁵ George Hanger, *An Address to the Army, in reply to the strictures by Roderick McKenzie*, (London, 1784) p.36.

¹⁵⁶ The Legion infantry took 18 casualties including 2 men killed and the cavalry took 10 casualties with four killed. In total they lost six men killed and 21 were wounded or posted missing, see Return of the Killed wounded and missing of the troops under the Command of Lt. Gen. the Earl Cornwallis in the battle fought near Camden South Carolina 16 August 1780 in Tarleton *Campaigns*, p.136.

¹⁵⁷ See Table 1, also the two newly raised companies of MacDonald and Stewart did not fight at Camden.

took forty-two wagons of stores and ammunition.¹⁵⁸ In return they lost nine men killed and six men wounded.¹⁵⁹ This despite the regiment being in Tarleton's words so "overcome by fatigue...the greater part of the corps could not be moved forward in compact and serviceable state."¹⁶⁰ The attack was therefore carried out by just 100 of the cavalry and sixty infantry. The cavalry and infantry "fought together as one body" and used the wagons as cover so that they completely surprised Sumter who he fled on an unsaddled horse, in a state of partial undress.¹⁶¹ It was a warm afternoon and many of the patriots were asleep. James Collins, a Patriot who fought at the battle, wrote: "Before Sumter could wake up his men and form, the enemy were among them cutting down everything in their way. It was a perfect rout and an indiscriminate slaughter."¹⁶²

There does not appear to be the same controversy in historiography about this action than there is about Waxhaws. The Legion surprised a sleeping enemy but they did not raise the white flag. Indeed as it was afternoon, the Legion would not have expected their enemy to be caught off guard so easily. It was actually a massive gamble by Tarleton that paid off. Cornwallis wrote in his report to Clinton that:" The action was too brilliant to need any comment of mine, and will I have no doubt highly recommend Lt. Col. Tarleton to his majesty's favour."¹⁶³

The Battle of Camden and the action at Fishing Creek were in many senses the high water mark of the British Legion. There would be victories after this but its days as a

¹⁵⁸ Cornwallis to Clinton 21 August 1781: Tarleton, *Campaigns*, pp.112-113; Return of Casualties for the action at Catawba fords 18 August 1780, McKenzie Papers, f.53.

¹⁵⁹ Return of Casualties for the action at Catawba fords 18 August 1780, Mackenzie Papers, f.53.

¹⁶⁰ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p.113.

¹⁶¹ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p.113.

¹⁶² James Collins, *Autobiography of a Revolutionary Soldier*, (Arno Press,1979), pp.252-253 cited in John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p175

¹⁶³ Cornwallis to Clinton 21 August 1781; It did, on 6 November Gen. Amherst reported to Germain that "his Majesty was pleased to express his sense of Major Tarleton's services in very flattering terms", Amherst to Germain, Whitehall 6 November 1780 Cornwallis Papers PRO 30/11/74 ff.3-4, PRO.

unified regiment were numbered and the next major battle it would fight at would end in the regiment being badly defeated. These two actions had shown the Legion to be superbly efficient regiment. They had fulfilled all the trust placed in them by Cornwallis and Clinton and defeated enemies outnumbering them at times by as much as five to one. There would still be question marks placed over the men's on field behaviour, but at this point their reputation had not really affected them. The August recruitments had shown that they could still attract recruits and their successes had made them one of the most feted units in the British Army. It had also, however, made the Regiment one of the most attractive targets for the Patriots, every Patriot commander wanted to humiliate Tarleton, for strategic as well as propaganda and personal reasons. The next section will examine the reversal in fortunes of the Legion.

Section 3: 1781: Defeat

In the months after Camden the Legion fought several actions and skirmishes. These are well documented in the Cornwallis Papers and in the work of John Buchanan.¹⁶⁴ One of the differences - it is debatable whether it was an advantage or disadvantage- of fighting in the South, is that regiments were able to fight throughout the winter. The Legion spent the autumn and early winter of 1780 acting as intelligence gatherers for the main army and trying to neutralise Patriot resistance in North and South Carolina. They got into a long drawn out game of chasing the "Swamp Fox," Frances Marion. There were some victories but not on the scale of the summer months. This also had the effect that supplies and forage became hard to come by. The Legion, were now far from Charleston and with no spectacular raids on the enemy they were forced to buy horses and supplies, and even that was not that easy, as prices were high.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Cornwallis Papers PRO 30/11/3-5, 67, 71, 74, 83-84, 91, 109; John Buchanan *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, Ch 14-21.

¹⁶⁵ Tarleton to Cornwallis, Woodward's Plantation, 14 December 1780, PRO 30/11/4 ff.325-6; Bass *The Green Dragoon*, p.324.

Finding supplies over the winter –even a mild one- was not a problem the British Legion had ever had to face before, having been in winter quarters in 1778 and 1779. The shortage of supplies meant that the regiment had to keep moving and not stay in the one place for long. This, however, also gave the Patriots problems in tracking them down. The war in the backcountry had changed greatly from the summer. Nowhere other than Charleston was really safe for the British, as the Patriots had mobilised militia and guerrilla units who were adept at surprising unwary British units. Fergusson’s defeat at King’s Mountain, North Carolina, had created a new Patriot hero and recruiting beacon, Daniel Morgan, and in December regular Patriot cavalry arrived from the Northern Army, under Colonel “Light Horse Harry” Lee and Colonel Muhlenburg. Tarleton wrote that he was not phased by this as “the more the difficulty the more the glory.”¹⁶⁶ However, the forces of Morgan and Lee began to be a great threat to the British campaign in the Carolinas. Morgan was rampaging through North Carolina. In January 1781, Cornwallis, seeing the problem gave Tarleton an independent command with orders to neutralise Morgan.¹⁶⁷ Cornwallis initially asked the Legion to track Morgan’s movements, but when it became clear that he would not be able to reach him with the main army in time, he ordered Tarleton to “push him to the utmost.”¹⁶⁸ On 9 January Cornwallis moved, intending to join up with Tarleton and trap Morgan, but on the 11th he was unable to cross the Broad River due to floods.¹⁶⁹

The British Legion now faced what could have been their greatest achievement. Wiping out Morgan and the Patriot cavalry with him, would have dealt a severe blow to the Patriot cause in the South. It could have forced Washington to move

¹⁶⁶ Tarleton to Haldane 24 December, 1780, PRO 30/11/4 ff.383-384, PRO.

¹⁶⁷ Cornwallis to Tarleton, Wynessborough 30 December 1781, and Cornwallis to Tarleton, Wynessborough, 2 January 1781 in Tarleton, *Campaigns* p.243.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Cornwallis to Tarleton, M’Alister’s, 9 January 1781 and Cornwallis to Tarleton M’Alister’s 11 January 1781 in Tarleton *Campaigns* p. 248.

south with the main army and freed Clinton to aid Cornwallis with the main British Army. They now had the chance to land one of the most decisive blows of the war. However, the Legion were not with the main British Army but with a force of about 1100.¹⁷⁰

The battle that now faced the Legion would be a very different affair tactically from most of their previous battles. With the exception of Camden, where they had fought alongside Cornwallis' main army, most of the Legion's successes had been skirmishes and large scale raids and ambushes. Here they would be asked to fight in line against seasoned American troops under a commander as seemingly invincible to his men as Tarleton was to his.

“The Unfortunate Affair of 17 January”¹⁷¹

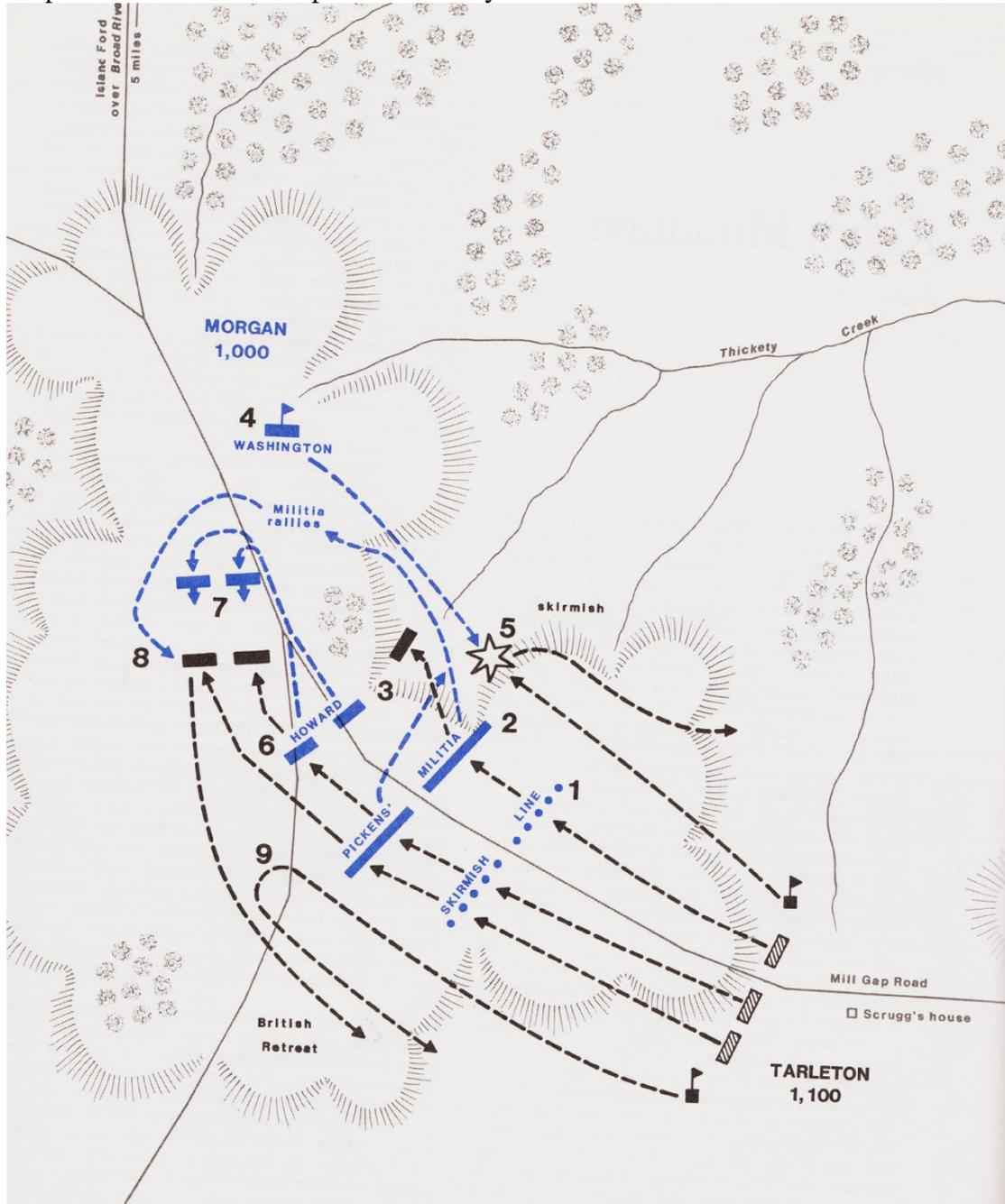
Cowpens was the British Legion's first proper defeat as a full regiment. It is possible to argue that the regiment was never the same after it, especially the infantry which was almost wiped out. The battle has been well covered in historiography.¹⁷² Therefore this section will not give a blow by blow account of the battle but will instead discuss its consequences for the British Legion. Tarleton's account of the battle does not shrink from addressing the defeat but mitigates his share of the blame in it as much as he can, instead laying much of the blame on Cornwallis for vague orders and being tardy in

¹⁷⁰ Tarleton's force consisted of the Legion's 450 men, 200 of the 71st foot, 200 new recruits of the 7th foot, 50 dragoons from the 17th and three cannons. There is some confusion about Morgan's numbers even in recent historiography. Buchanan credits him with just over 1000 whereas Babits gives a figure of approximately 1900 including militia Tarleton, Campaigns, p.212: John Buchanan *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, pp.309, 319; Lawrence Babbits, *A Devil of a Whipping*, pp. 41-2, 46;

¹⁷¹ Clinton to Cornwallis 5 March 1781, Franklin, *The Clinton Cornwallis Controversy*, p. 333.

¹⁷² Lawrence Babits' excellent monograph on the battle gives a comprehensive account of events as do John Buchanan and Don Higginbotham. Lawrence E. Babits, *The Devil of a Whipping; The Battle of Cowpens (Chapel Hill, 1998)*: John Buchanan *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p.319: Don Higginbotham, *Daniel Morgan Revolutionary Rifleman*, (Chapel Hill NC, 1979).

Map 5: The Battle of Cowpens 17 January 1781.



Source: Craig L. Symonds, *A Battlefield Atlas of the American Revolution*, (Baltimore, 1986) p. 91

coming to his aid.¹⁷³ To be fair to Tarleton he does praise the “bravery and good conduct of the Americans.”¹⁷⁴ Cornwallis would absolve Tarleton from blame for the disaster in a letter written a few days later:

You have forfeited no part of my esteem as an officer by the unfortunate event of the 17th. The means you used to bring the enemy to action were able and masterly. Your disposition was unexceptionable; the total misbehaviour of the troops alone could alone have deprived you of the glory that was justly your due.¹⁷⁵

This appears a harsh comment on the British Legion, many of whom were no longer around to defend themselves. Interestingly, Tarleton has no criticism of the conduct of the Legion in his journal.¹⁷⁶

The cavalry fought well and pushed the enemy back at one point before being beaten by Colonel Washington’s cavalry and then being forced to retreat after the infantry had broken. They managed to retreat with Tarleton, and 200 of them escaped.¹⁷⁷ It was the infantry that took the worst of the battle and the casualties. The seasoned Legion infantry was largely wiped out. They fought very hard until the 71st and the 7th broke and they too were forced to break. Most of those not killed were captured and very few escaped. Morgan’s sharpshooters made a special tactic of shooting officers and sergeants, so the command of the Legion infantry and their seasoned NCOs was largely lost before the mass of men broke.

Accurate casualty figures for the battle of Cowpens are extremely hard to come by as there are massively contrasting numbers given. Morgan claimed twelve killed and sixty wounded on the patriot side, but according to Babbitts he did not count the militia

¹⁷³ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, pp.220-222

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.222.

¹⁷⁵ Cornwallis to Tarleton, Fornay’s, 30 January 1781, in *Ibid.* p.252.

¹⁷⁶ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p.220; Roderick McKenzie, *Strictures*, p27.

¹⁷⁷ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p.222; Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p.333.

casualties.¹⁷⁸ British casualties were around one hundred killed (this is Babbits' figure, the other figures vary enormously) and anywhere between five hundred and eight hundred captured.¹⁷⁹ The British Legion's casualties are equally hard to put a firm figure on.¹⁸⁰

The muster rolls do not record officers killed or wounded but several were. They also do not record all soldiers killed as there were certainly more killed than was recorded here. This would account for the discrepancies in figures between the December and February rolls even counting the recorded losses. The last complete muster for the infantry was taken in October 1780, where 191 privates are recorded, plus thirty NCOs making 221. If there were 162 infantry casualties this leaves fifty-nine remaining, there may have been some decrease in numbers before Cowpens. The April minutes of muster show that there were ninety-one rank and file and NCOs men in the four infantry companies. This would suggest some recruitment, which there was, as there was some attempt to reform the companies. From December 1780 to February 1781 the cavalry had gone from 319 NCOs and rank and file to 267.¹⁸¹ This would suggest that the cavalry still retained its form and structure and were still a viable fighting force. However, the following table compiled from Cornwallis' figures of men fit for duty would suggest that a much smaller number of Legion soldiers were operational after Cowpens.

Table 17: British Legion Rank and File Fit for Duty with Minutes of Muster January-October 1781.
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¹⁷⁸ Lawrence Babbitts *A Devil of a Whipping*, p.10

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. p.152.

¹⁸⁰ The muster rolls record some of the killed, wounds are not recorded. They do record prisoners taken. Combining the muster rolls with Don Gara's list of prisoners taken produces the following figures, Infantry: 6 killed and 156 captured. Cavalry: 1 killed and 34 captured, which produces a total of 206 casualties.

Compiled from British Legion Muster Rolls C Series Vol.1884; Don Gara, Prisoners Taken at Cowpens, http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/odds/cowpens_infantry.html accessed 4/8/2008.

¹⁸¹ All figures from Table 15.

Date	Fit for Duty ¹⁸²	Minutes of Muster ¹⁸³
January	451	494
February	174	350
March	174	
April	174	337
May	173	
June	173	
July	173	
August	183	324
September	168	
October	168	
November		
December		205

Source: Compiled from State of the Troops that marched with the Army under the Command of Lt Gen. Earl Cornwallis: Rank and File Present Fit for Duty in Earl of Cornwallis, *An Answer to that Part of the Narrative of Lt. Gen Henry Clinton that Relates to the Conduct of the Earl of Cornwallis During the Campaign on North America in the Year 1781* (London 1783) pp.53, 77,237; Minutes of Muster Rolls in C Series Muster Rolls Vols. 1884.

These were the figures that Cornwallis submitted to Clinton throughout the campaign.

The repetitiveness is intriguing because throughout this period the Legion cavalry was continually in action so naturally there would be a decrease or increase in figures. Cornwallis had reasons for playing down his figures as he was agitating for reinforcements.

Guilford Courthouse and Beyond.

Cowpens was a disaster not just for the British Legion but for the whole British Army. Clinton stated in March that it made him “dread the consequences” of it.¹⁸⁴ It severely affected Cornwallis’ offensive operations and was undoubtedly one of the reasons for his abandoning the Carolinas in May, as he stated in a letter to Germain written after the battle of Guilford Courthouse, when he said “the unfortunate affair of the 17th January was a very unexpected and severe blow, for besides reputation our loss did

¹⁸² Fit for duty recorded on 1st of every month.

¹⁸³ Muster Rolls were usually on the 24th day of the month of muster.

¹⁸⁴ Clinton to Cornwallis, New York, 5 March 1781: *The Narrative of Sir Henry Clinton*, p.6 n1.

not fall below 600 men".¹⁸⁵ For the Legion the consequences were also ominous. They had lost not only a considerable number of men, but also their invincible reputation.

The cavalry were back in action on 1 February and would not slacken their pace until Guilford Courthouse on 15 March.¹⁸⁶ Tarleton was anxious to forget Cowpens and to keep the cavalry as an active arm and Cornwallis could not afford to lose the cavalry by too severe a reprimand of their commander. For the British Legion infantry the first priority after Cowpens was to reform. In the two months prior to Guilford Courthouse the regiment managed to reform enough infantry to take part in the battle, but the men were very different to their experienced predecessors lost at Cowpens, and they played little part in the battle.

The Legion infantry did not take further part in offensive operations and as a result the survivors missed being captured at Yorktown. A new company under Captain Donald McPherson was formed in August 1781 but they attracted few recruits and according to the muster rolls seem to consist mostly of paroled prisoners from Cowpens.¹⁸⁷ The Legion infantry had performed a valuable service for over two years of hard campaigning but their usefulness to the British Army really ended at Cowpens. They do not receive a lot of attention in historiography but they took a key role in all of the British Legion's victories of 1779 and 1780 and their use of horse for transport was undoubtedly innovative. Like the Queens Rangers, they were a successful Loyalist Light infantry unit who succeeded in taking on the patriots at their own tactics and for a time at least, being successful at it. Ironically their defeat came when they fought a traditional style battle and as Tarleton acknowledged, the loose formation that had served them so

¹⁸⁵Clinton had in fact used the phrase first, on 5 March, in a letter to Cornwallis. See Clinton to Cornwallis 5 March 1781, in Franklin, *The Clinton Cornwallis Controversy*, p333; Cornwallis to Germain 17 March 1781 PRO 30/11/5 ff.281-286 PRO; see also Cornwallis to Campbell, 23 January 1781 PRO 30/11/109 ff.1-2 PRO.

¹⁸⁶ Cornwallis to Rawdon, Salisbury, 4 February 1781, PRO 30/11/85 ff.1-2, PRO.

¹⁸⁷ Muster Rolls October 1781. C series Vol. 1884.

well up to that point, let them down, when faced by a closely formed and determined enemy.¹⁸⁸

The cavalry saw several actions against Patriot militia and went some way to retrieving their reputation. On the 15 March they served as the main cavalry at Guilford Courthouse, but their role was a very different one from Camden. They were to be held in reserve and used only if a British regiment was breaking or the enemy was. “Earl Cornwallis did not think it advisable for the cavalry to charge the enemy” wrote Tarleton.¹⁸⁹ This was not because of any lack of faith in them but from a necessity to preserve the only cavalry they had.¹⁹⁰ However, they did see action and were able to defeat to drive back a flanking force of Patriots and steady the British Line.¹⁹¹ Guilford Courthouse was a marginal British victory and proved that the Patriots could not yet easily defeat British regulars even when they were severely outnumbered. However, the British also took heavy casualties which they could not afford. The Legion lost three killed and fourteen wounded, including Tarleton who lost three fingers of his right hand from a sabre cut.¹⁹²

The Legion cavalry had proved that they were still a viable offensive force and still useful to the British Army. They had shown that they could recover quickly from a massive defeat and still be an essential part of Cornwallis’ force. It is a credit both to them and their commander that the defeat at Cowpens did not end their effectiveness as a unit, indeed examining how quickly they were back in action, it seems almost like just a small setback. However, in the long term their reputation had been damaged and their reduction in numbers meant that the British Legion were now just a cavalry unit, indeed

¹⁸⁸ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p. 221.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.275.

¹⁹⁰ John Buchanan, *the Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p376.

¹⁹¹ Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 275; Buchanan p.380.

¹⁹² Return of the Killed, Wounded and Missing, of the Troops under the Command of Lt Gen. the Earl of Cornwallis, in the action at Guildford, 15 March 1781, in Tarleton *Campaigns*, p.311.

one of the few such units the British Army now had and as such very valuable resource. Over the next campaign they would be used sparingly, and they would not be allowed quite the same freedom to range far and wide that they had been permitted in the Carolinas. However, they also would never face such a large defeat again other than a corporate one at Yorktown.

Virginia

This section will briefly examine the role of the British Legion in Cornwallis' Virginia Campaign. The reason for not focussing on this period in any great detail is that the Legion were essentially part of Cornwallis' army, functioning largely as scouts and intelligence gatherers, although there were some independent actions. Throughout the campaign they functioned effectively and did not let the army down.

The Legion cavalry arrived in Virginia on 3 May 1781. The Cornwallis papers reveal that throughout this period of open movement in Virginia, supplies and forage were a constant problem.¹⁹³ The populace of Virginia were in general not friendly to the British and Loyalists and were heartened by the recent Patriot ascendancy in the Carolinas. Tarleton again had to buy horses from his own funds to replace those lost in the spring.¹⁹⁴ This demonstrates that the technique of simply taking them from beaten enemies was no longer to be relied on, although they were still able to capture supplies.¹⁹⁵

The Legion would still be involved in raids. On June 4, the Legion with the Queens Rangers, raided Charlottesville Virginia. The raid was largely successful and a great deal of supplies were captured or destroyed, but the fact that they did not utterly defeat the Patriot mercenary Baron Von Steuben, led, in later years to a duel in print

¹⁹³ Cornwallis Papers May-August 1781, PRO 30/11/6, 70, 71, 86, 89, 93 PRO.

¹⁹⁴ Clinton to Cornwallis, New York, 6 June 1781, PRO 30/11/60 PRO.

¹⁹⁵ Tarleton reports having taken munitions and rum in Tarleton to Cornwallis, Halifax, 8 May 1781 PRO 30/11/6 f. 69, PRO.

between Simcoe and Tarleton which terminated any friendship that they had enjoyed.¹⁹⁶ It was on this raid, when the Legion captured a number of Patriot officers, that they missed capturing Thomas Jefferson by a few minutes.¹⁹⁷

For most of June and July the Legion was involved in raids in Virginia. They had returned to the tactics that had served them so well in 1780, keeping the enemy confused as to where they would strike next and bewildering them. However, the larger events of the war would put a stop to these tactics. They were undoubtedly effective but independent raiding meant that Cornwallis was denied the Legion's services as scouts so on 20 July, Cornwallis decided to order Tarleton to join him and cease the raiding and effectively kept the Legion close to the main army until Yorktown.¹⁹⁸ Thus the Legion's active days were more or less over. They were actually captured at Gloucester, not at Yorktown.¹⁹⁹ The members of the Legion not at Yorktown remained at New York where in 1783 they were placed on the British establishment. They were evacuated in 1783 and many settled in Canada. Tarleton returned to Britain to a career of scandal and politics.

In military terms they had been a very successful regiment. The chapter on the Queens Rangers has included some comparisons with the work of historians of later wars. In a similar way the Legion demonstrated a lot of these characteristics. They fought for each other and for their commander. Like the Rangers and like Ambrose's paratroops, they were elite troops with a long continuous run of success. For all Tarleton's faults he inspired a similar devotion amongst his men to Simcoe. Unlike Simcoe he would largely forget them after he returned home although he does praise them highly in his work.

The Legion's Reputation and conclusion

¹⁹⁶ Simcoe, *Simcoe's Journal*, p.301-302; Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 298

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p.297.

¹⁹⁸ Lord Cornwallis to General Leslie, Suffolk 24 July 1781, PRO 30/11/88 f.42-43, PRO.

¹⁹⁹ The Legion were ordered to Gloucester on the 4 August, see Cornwallis to Tarleton, Cobham, 4 August, 1781, PRO 30/11/89, f. 6.

The chapter has given several examples of the breaches of on field discipline that the patriots were able to seize upon and use as an anti British recruiting tool. The question to be asked, is did they do the British cause a disservice? Even in their first operations, several issues that would arise again can be found. The first is the Legion cavalry's undoubted competence. Until the Battle of Cowpens in January 1781 they would have a largely uninterrupted run of successes in combat against both cavalry and infantry. The second issue is the question of their conduct towards defeated enemies. Did the Legion cross the line between accepted conduct and brutality? The reputation they gained amongst Patriot and American civilian folklore is an unenviable one and even in their first combats there are question marks placed over them.

The situation in the South was very delicate. By 1780, the British cause in America depended jointly on the recruitment of Loyalists and by suppressing or discouraging fresh Patriot recruitment, particularly to the state militias. Any action that discouraged Loyalists from joining and encouraged people from taking up the Patriot cause could only be damaging the wider British cause. Undoubtedly the British Legion was guilty of this on more than one occasion. For all the claims that any crimes of inhumanity were exaggerated, which they certainly were, the fact is that they happened and gave the Patriot propagandists something to base their stories on. What the claims also did was to encourage Patriots to join the cause, not just in the main Patriot army, but in guerrilla groups in North and South Carolina, behind enemy lines. It was this development that arguably kept the Patriot cause active in the Carolinas after the main Continental forces had been defeated-something that the Legion had had no little part in-and gave the regular continentals time to reorganise because the British regulars like the Legion were tied up chasing the likes of Frances Marion and Thomas Sumter. Also the Legion was not entirely innocent of damaging Civilian property, something which certainly pushed many a neutral towards the Patriots.

The other question is, was the Legion an effective Loyalist recruiting tool? It is arguable that they did not lack for recruits at the height of their notoriety. It was only after they had been beaten that they really struggled for recruits. In some ways the humiliation of defeat was harder on recruiting than brutality. What the brutality claims did do, however, was to discourage neutrals from going with the British, especially those whose property had been damaged.

The Patriots were not free from blame of similar charges to those laid at the Legion's door. On several occasions Loyalists were killed after they had surrendered and some were even hanged after capture.²⁰⁰ Yet, these actions were often carried out as acts of revenge for the actions of the British Legion. The cry of "Tarleton's Quarter" or "remember Buford" was frequently used as a justification for reprisals. John Buchanan states that Waxhaws acted as a recruiting beacon for Patriots, whereas Patriot reprisals such as Pyle's massacre in February 1781, discouraged Loyalist from joining the British for fear of reprisals.²⁰¹ Buchanan's argument is a valid one, but there is also the fact that by early 1781, the Patriot cause was very much in the ascendant and anyone choosing to join the British cause at this late date would be joining a cause that looked at the very least to be faltering. The French at last seemed to be offering concrete support and the two notable victories of Daniel Morgan, at Kings Mountain and Cowpens and even the pyrrhic British victory at Guilford Courthouse, all added to the feeling that the British were fighting a losing war. Cornwallis's abandonment of Carolina would have certainly contributed to this as well.

The wider situation in the South also contributed to towards the brutality of the conflict between the Loyalists and Patriots that the men of the Legion were caught up in.

²⁰⁰ There were several notable incidents but two that particularly stand out were the Loyalists hung to the cry of Tarleton's quarter after Kings Mountain and the 6 Loyalists killed in "Pyle's massacre" to cries of "remember Buford!" in February 1781, see John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, pp.240, 364; John Dann, *The Revolution Remembered*, (Ann Arbor, MI. 1980) p.202

²⁰¹ John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p.364.

Struggles over land— such as those detailed by Leslie Hall, in Georgia, and Walter Edgar in South Carolina— inflamed local jealousies over land seizures and may have caused the southerners in the regiment to act vengefully towards Patriot authorities who had been confiscating the land of those who refused Loyalty oaths.²⁰² Many of the Legion's southern recruits would have felt this keenly and it may have been in their minds when they had the opportunities to vent their anger on the Patriots, particularly in occasions like Waxhaws when formal authority was temporarily removed.

So where do the Legion stand in terms of their role in the war? They were undoubtedly a highly skilled and successful regiment. Their victories brought them and other regiments recruits in the summer of 1780. They were even able to add recruits as late as August 1781. They played a notable part in some of the biggest British victories of the Southern campaign and some of their achievements against far greater odds would give them the right to be ranked against some of the best regiments to have served in the British Army and the best soldiers to have served in America. Their cavalry in particular, at times earned the right to mentioned in the same sentence as Cromwell's Ironsides or Stuart's Confederate cavalry in terms of lightning cavalry raids, and serving as a mobile aggressive arm in a conventional battle. Yet their defeats were arguably as damaging as their actions after some of their victories. This could seem a harsh judgement as they only really suffered one major defeat, but it was a cataclysmic one both for them and the wider British cause. Not only were they defeated but they were defeated by an army consisting of a large proportion of irregulars, the kind of men who had been discounted as a threat as late as autumn 1780. The British Legion, by no means take all the blame for Cowpens but as the commander's regiment the men were at the forefront of the action. Their role as Loyalist avengers is also a damaging one. Despite being commanded by a British regular, the vast majority of the Legion's officers and men were Loyalists and therefore they were

²⁰² See Leslie Hall, *Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia*, Ch. 5.; Walter Edgar, *South Carolina, a History*, (Columbia, SC, 1998) pp. 231-232

civil warriors fighting against their compatriots. Although they did not indulge in the killing of civilians such as that wrongly depicted by a unit resembling the British Legion in the film *the Patriot*, they did loot and damage civilian property. None of this helped the recruitment of Loyalists as it aroused resentment and hostility amongst the civilian populace. The actions of the men of the Legion also helped inflame the already brutal war in the south. Ultimately the story of the British Legion is rather like that of the British cause as a whole; in most of its actions they were successful, sometimes outstandingly so, but in the end they failed. While they were not to blame for the surrender at Yorktown, they have to take a small share of the blame for the failure of Loyalists to rise in great numbers in the south, which was something that played a major role in the eventual British defeat.

Chapter 6: Butler's Rangers.

If Jabez Stone had been sick with terror before, he was blind with terror now. For there was Walter Butler, the loyalist, who spread fire and horror through the Mohawk Valley in the times of the Revolution".¹

This quotation from the classic 1936 short story "The Devil and Daniel Webster," illustrates just how Captain Walter Butler, second in command of Butler's Rangers until his death in 1781, is regarded in American popular mythology; a man bad enough, to be on the Devil's "jury of the damned." W. Max Reid, writing in 1901, further illustrates the popular view of Walter Butler and his father, Lt. Col. John Butler, commander of Butler's Rangers:

The Butlers appear to have been not only arrogant and supercilious in a high degree, but barbarous, treacherous, revengeful, ferocious, merciless, brutal, diabolically wicked and cruel; with the spirit of fiends they committed cruelties worthy of the dungeons of the Inquisition. No wonder their lives are not attractive to historians.²

Yet, to showcase the cross border differences, in 2006, the Canadian government unveiled a bust of John Butler on the Canadian National War memorial, in Ottawa.

¹ The plot of the story is that an American farmer sells his soul to the Devil in exchange for prosperity, but when things go wrong, he sues and is represented by the advocate and politician, Daniel Webster. The Devil, however, gets to choose the jury and picks a jury of the worst men in Hell, on the condition that they are "Americans all." The story was subsequently an Academy Award winning film in 1941. See Stephen Vincent Benet, *The Devil and Daniel Webster*, (New York, 1937), p.55.

² W. Max Reid, *The Mohawk Valley It's Legends and It's History*, (New York, 1901) p.13, complete text online at <http://www.fortklock.com/Reidch13.htm>, accessed 26/8/2008; the quotation is partially cited in Gary Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, (London 2005), p. 252.

However, despite all this notoriety, the regiment that these men founded has only attracted a relatively small amount of historical notice.

This chapter is about Butler's Rangers from their formation in 1777 to the end of their war in 1784. The reasons for examining this particular unit are principally to provide a case study of a traditional Ranger unit, one which was officered and manned largely by American Loyalists.³ Butler's Rangers provide a sharp contrast to the second incarnation of the Queens Rangers and the British Legion, the other case studies in this thesis. The reason for providing this caveat for the Queens Rangers is that, Butler's Rangers were in many ways the regiment that the Queens Rangers was intended to become. They were a regiment who operated on the Canadian frontier and often worked alongside the Native Americans. They were equipped as traditional rangers, with camouflaged uniforms and their own choice of weapons and were not intended to take part in conventional warfare, but in raiding and scouting duties. Their overall objectives were to harass the Patriot frontier posts and to keep their army spread thinly. Both the Queens Rangers and the British Legion, although largely Loyalist in structure and personnel, were commanded by regular British officers, whereas Butler's Rangers were commanded by an American frontiersman and Indian Agent, a veteran of the frontier wars since the 1740s. John Butler provides a fascinating contrast to Simcoe and Tarleton, being a much older, vastly experienced American, fluent in the traditional methods of American warfare. Butler also provides an interesting comparison to his contemporary Robert Rogers. Butler was a less well known figure, and is therefore less extensively researched, but unlike Rogers he was not troubled by the same demons and was able to maintain an active presence for the entire war.

Butler's Rangers are a neglected regiment historiographically, yet they are worthy of examination, because despite this comparative historical neglect, they were an

³ While it is a dangerous assumption to say that the majority were American born, they do overwhelmingly appear to have been resident in America in 1775.

important regiment. They waged a relatively successful war for five years on the frontiers and participated in several successful raids, as well as keeping Patriot forces tied up on the frontier, when they could have been more useful further South. There is also considerable controversy surrounding the regiment, concerning their role in two alleged “massacres” of soldiers and civilians. The chapter will assess the regiment’s role in these actions and will evaluate to what extent the bloodthirsty reputation- as shown in the first paragraph of this chapter- is justified. The intention is to not to take a revisionist stance of clearing the regiment for all the crimes held against their name, but to take an objective view and to try and understand, if they were guilty of acts of brutality, what motivated them to commit them.

Butler’s Rangers co-operated effectively with the Native Americans-particularly Chief Joseph Brant- on a number of raiding parties. It is indeed arguable that Brant pioneered the concept of the use of Rangers alongside the Native Americans.⁴ The chapter will assess the nature of this co-operation with the Native Americans. This will enable the thesis to cover an oft neglected area of the Loyalist war effort, that of their alliance with their fellow Loyalists, those Native American nations who fought for the British.

Butler’s Rangers, as a Northern frontier based regiment, were not affected by the disaster at Yorktown and went on campaigning until the summer of 1782, indeed they won two notable victories that year, one against Colonel William Crawford (the Sandusky Expedition) and the other at the Battle of Blue Licks, against the legendary frontiersman, Daniel Boone.⁵ As the war effectively ended at Yorktown for both the Queens Rangers

⁴ Brant was using Rangers alongside his warriors in late 1775, see Isabel Thompson Kelsay, *Joseph Brant, 1743-1807, a Man of Two Worlds*, (Syracuse, NY, 1986) p.159.

⁵ William R. Nester, *The Frontier War for American Independence*, (Stackpole, 2004), pp.320-330; Michael A. Lofara, *Daniel Boone, An American Life*, (Lexington, KY 2003), pp.71-76; Ernest K. Mahon, Anglo-American Methods of Indian Warfare, 1676-1794, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 45. No.2, (1958), pp.254-275, p. 273.

and the British Legion, this gives the thesis a chance to explore the continuing war after 1781 and also to look at geographical areas not previously covered in the thesis, indeed often neglected in the study of the Loyalists, such as Ohio and Kentucky.

The chapter will also analyse the administration of the regiment. While there are no extant Muster Rolls for the regiments there is considerable information available on the regiment's financial running costs.⁶ This enables analysis of data on the day to day running of the regiment and its cost to their British paymasters in order to provide a picture of the running of a regiment of frontiersmen.⁷ The aims of studying Butler's Rangers are to provide a detailed analysis of an American Ranger corps and to highlight a relatively neglected part of the Revolutionary War, namely the war on the frontier.

Historiography

As mentioned above, Butler's Rangers have attracted a great deal of popular criticism but there are very few works specifically on their role in the American

⁶ The rolls were taken but none remain. The closest thing to a muster roll, is a complete pay list for 1778 which lists every serving soldier, Pay lists For Six Companies of the Rangers Commanded by Major John Butler, Add Mss 21765, ff. 57-68, BL, also on Microfilm Reel B-105, National Archives of Canada As the papers have been consulted in both in the British Library and Microfilm form the Library and Archives Canada the subsequent footnotes will just refer to the Haldimand Papers as the call numbers are the same.

⁷ John and Walter Butler incurred considerable personal financial costs toward the upkeep of the unit and they left detailed claims of these costs. These records also provide an interesting contrast to the other regiments examined in the thesis, where most of their costs were met by the British administration in America. These are held in the WO 28/4 collection and the Haldimand Papers. WO 28/4 is an administrative collection whereas the Haldimand papers contain both administrative information as well as documents on military activities. WO 28/4, also in the National Archives of Canada, Microfilm Reel B-2863; Amherst Papers PRO 30/51, PRO; The Carleton Papers PRO 30/54 PRO; Haldimand Papers Add Mss 21700-21800, British Library, also on Microfilms in the National Archives of Canada Reels B-01 to B-232, Reel A-682. The Haldimand papers are vast and confusing, so the summative British Library catalogue for them in them is a vital resource, see <http://www.haldimand-collection.ca/> accessed 8/8/2008; The Butler Papers MG 31 National Archives of Canada; William Smy, *The Butler Papers*, (Victoria, 1995); *The McKenzie Papers*, William L. Clements Library; *The Clinton Papers*, Clements Library.

Revolution. The first work on them was by Ernest Cruikshank's in 1893.⁸ This work, although dated, is invaluable for tracing some of the legends that have grown up around the Butler's Rangers. It will be used, cautiously, throughout the chapter. The reason for approaching Cruikshank's work with caution is the lack of references.⁹ In his appendices he gives a roll of Butler's Rangers compiled from two sources.¹⁰ Lt. Col. William A. Smy's 2004 roll, is much more reliable as it is compiled from a wide variety of sources, including the above mentioned pay lists of 1778. It is an invaluable biographical source for Butler's Rangers and represents years of patient detective work.¹¹ Howard Swiggett's work, published in 1933, deals with the reputation of Walter Butler.¹²

The general works on the Revolutionary War do not usually mention Butler's Rangers, except their role in the "Wyoming Massacre", one of the most controversial

⁸ Ernest Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara*, (Niagara Falls, ONT, Ont., (Tribune 1893).

⁹ He makes use of many of the important documents relating to the regiment but as he does properly not cite them or give the dates it is hard to verify their exactitude.

¹⁰ The problem with Cruikshank's roll is that it was compiled from post-war records of veterans of Butler's Rangers, who had settled in Canada in 1784, so it is not a complete record of the wartime Rangers. Not all of the soldiers for the six years of the regiment's existence would have settled in Canada. The roster is in Ernest Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers*, pp 117-123; Cruikshank's sources are: List of disbanded Rangers who Settled in Niagara, Lt. Colonel A S De Peysler, 1784 in *Report on the Canadian Archives, 1891* (Ottawa, 1892) pp.2-5; The Old U.E. *List in The Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada by the United Empire Loyalists, 1784-1884* (Toronto, 1885), Appendix B. pp 129-384.

¹¹ Smy's Roll contains a chapter on the administration of the Rangers, based on the Haldimand Papers which has been of great use to this chapter. Smy consulted numerous sources for his roll, but only one document from WO28/4. William Smy, *An Annotated Nominal Roll of Butler's Rangers 1777-1784 With Documentary Sources*, (St Catherine's ONT., 2004).

¹²Swiggett has a good grasp of a wide range of sources and his scholarship is impressive but in his revisionism of Walter Butler, he sometimes strays into hagiography and he is guilty, in his handling of the events at Cherry Valley, of blaming the Iroquois for crimes for which there is a good case for at least partially blaming Walter Butler and Butler's Rangers for. See, Howard Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara; Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers*, (Columbia, NY, 1933).

actions of the Revolutionary War.¹³ Gary Nash includes an account of John Butler in his recent work, and attempts to set the record straight on Butler's reputation.¹⁴ There are a few recent works that devote some attention to Butler and his regiment, particularly that by Glenn Williams.¹⁵ Williams is not sympathetic to Butler's Rangers but he does credit them skill and ingenuity. Recently there have been a number of works on the role of Native Americans in the Revolutionary War and it is necessary to examine these as to ascertain the nature of the co-operation between Butler's Rangers and the Native Americans and how influential Native Americans were on the tactics of the regiment.¹⁶ Works by Barbara Alice Mann and Colin G. Calloway are particularly useful for this.

¹³ Stephen Conway, *The War of American Independence*, (London, 1995), p.166; Hugh Bicheno, *Rebels and Redcoats*, (London, 2003), pp.121-122; George M. Wrong, *Canada and the American Revolution*, (New York, 1935), p.331; North Callahan, *Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution*, (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs Merrill, 1963)/

¹⁴ Gary Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, pp. 251-256.

¹⁵ The recent work that gives the fullest attention to Butler's Rangers is Glenn F. Williams' excellent work on Washington's campaigns against the Native Americans, see Glenn F. Williams, *The Year of the Hangman, George Washington's Campaign against the Iroquois*, (Yardley, PA 2005); See also William R. Nester, *The Frontier War for American Independence*, (Stackpole, 2004); Barbara Alice Mann, *George Washington's War on Native America*, (Santa Barbara, CA, 2005).

¹⁶ For Works on the Native Americans, see Barbara Alice Mann, *George Washington's War on Native America*; Glenn F. Williams, *The Year of the Hangman*; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country*, (Cambridge 1998); Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, (New York, 1972); Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*, (New York NY, 2006); Robert S Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies British Defence Policy and the Defence of Canada 1774-1815*, (Toronto, 1993); Andrew K Frank, The Times have Turned Everything Topside Down, in Andrew Frank (ed) *American Revolution: People and Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2008) pp 65-82; Cogliano devotes a chapter to the role of Native Americans in the Revolutionary War, see Francis D. Cogliano, *Revolutionary America, 1763-1815: A Political History*, (London, 2008) pp.15-30.

There is little secondary material on the administration of Butler's Rangers, despite the wealth of information in the sources.¹⁷

Part 1: Formation and Administration. 1777-1782

Butler's Rangers were formed on 15 September 1777 under the orders of Major General, Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Quebec.¹⁸ They were to be commanded by Major John Butler. The war in the Northern theatre, in September 1777, was at a critical stage for the British. The Northern frontier, later to be regarded as of less than vital importance, was then one of the most strategically important areas of the war. Major General Burgoyne was using the frontier to attack the Patriots in upper New York and General Howe hoped to link up with him.¹⁹ Therefore, recruiting in this area was regarded as vitally important and a new highly mobile Ranger regiment was thought to be a key addition to the Provincial corps. However, the British did not intend another repeat of the Queens Rangers debacle.²⁰ If they were going to have a Ranger unit then it was to be raised by a commander who would initially take full responsibility for them financially. They were not going to be raised by the British Army, but by Butler himself.²¹

Butler's Rangers owed their origins to the Ranger style of warfare pioneered in the Indian Wars earlier in the century and by Robert Rogers and others (including John Butler himself, at a lower level) during the French and Indian War. They also

¹⁷An exception would be Calvin Arnt's online article on the uniform of Butler's Rangers, which is a well researched piece that makes good use of the Haldimand Papers to examine the precise uniform of Butler's Rangers, a disputed topic. See Calvin Arnt, *The Butler Ranger Uniform, Fact Versus Opinion*, and (August 2007) online at <http://www.butlersrangers.ca/bruniform.pdf> accessed 15/8/2008.

¹⁸ Beating Order for Raising a Corps of Rangers to Major John Butler, Quebec, 15 September 1777, Haldimand Papers, Add Mss 21700, f. 3.

¹⁹ Mackesy, *The War for America*, (London 1964), p. 117.

²⁰ Where they had had to radically restructure a Ranger regiment that had lost discipline and structure, see Chapter 3.

²¹ Beating Order for Raising a Corps of Rangers to Major John Butler, 15 September 1777, Quebec, Haldimand Papers, Add Mss 21700, f. 3.

incorporated Native American tactics. Butler owed his command to his close relations with the Native Americans, notably Chief Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea,) a Mohawk of the Six Nations Iroquois confederacy. As mentioned above, Brant had been using units of Native Americans and Rangers from 1775. The Native Americans were a resource that the British particularly wanted to utilize, and in Butler, like in Sir John Johnson, the British had a key contact who they could make use of in getting the Northern tribes to fight for their cause, particularly after the defeat at Saratoga had left the Northern frontiers exposed.

Part one of the chapter will discuss the formation and organisation of the regiment throughout its existence. The reason for doing this, is to produce an administrative record of the regiment and to assess how the regiment was raised, maintained and staffed. It will also serve as a comparison with the chapters on the Queens Rangers that provide an administrative record of that regiment.

Raising the Regiment

At Quebec on 15 September 1777, Major General Guy Carleton, gave a Beating Order to Major John Butler.²² This order set out the rules under which Butler's new regiment was to be raised and administered, and so it is a very important document. The regiment was bound by the rules laid out in it and its officers frequently referred to it in correspondence; either to try and challenge it, or to cite it in their favour. Because of this it will be frequently consulted in this section. By the Beating Order, John Butler was ordered to raise the regiment, company by company rather than all at once. He was to form the other companies only once the first company was complete. The order states that "the first company be completed armed and fit for service and have passed muster before such person as shall be appointed for that purpose by some one of the Commanding Officers of His Majesty's Troops nearest to where the said companies so raised shall be at

²² Beating Order for Raising a Corps of Rangers to Major John Butler, 15 September 1777, Quebec, Haldimand Papers, Add Mss 21700, f. 3, BL.

that the time, before another is begun to be raised.”²³ The company was to consist of “a Captain, a First Lieutenant, a Second Lieutenant, three Sergeants, three Corporals, and fifty Private Men.”²⁴ This style of raising a regiment differed greatly from the way in which Provincial regiments were normally raised. It was the accustomed practice to appoint company commanders first and then to raise companies all at once. This was how it was done both before and after Innes’ reforms of March 1777.²⁵ The practice used by Butler’s Rangers, had the advantage that each company was completed before another competed for recruits with it, but it certainly slowed down the rate of recruiting. This is reflected in the fact that it took Butler’s Rangers until the summer of 1778 to have four companies.²⁶

John Butler was authorized by the beating order to raise a maximum of eight companies. This is two less than the norm, (although they would eventually have 10 companies by 1781.)²⁷ The reason for this number is that the intention was to pay Butler’s Rangers considerably more than other provincial soldiers.²⁸ They were elites, and two of their companies were to be Indian speaking. These men were paid more.²⁹ Thus their size would be limited as they would cost far more than most provincial units.

It was made plain that Butler Rangers were not to be a standard infantry regiment; it was to be a specialist unit, practiced in the art of woodcraft and Indian fighting. The relations between the Native Americans and the British were complex; it was not always possible or indeed expedient to order them about as would be done with a regular or provincial regiment. Therefore in creating Butler’s Rangers the British had a regiment

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ See Chapter 2 recruitment section.

²⁶ See Table 2 below.

²⁷ See Houlding, *Fit for Service*, Chapter 2; WO 28/4, f. 16, PRO.

²⁸ For a full account of the costs of Butler’s Rangers see table 9.

²⁹ See WO 28/4 ff. 2-4. The chapter will deal with pay, later on.

that was able to use Native American tactics and were still under their express command and bound by their rules and regulations. It is interesting to note that while these may have been Rogers' intentions for the Queens Rangers, he did not set out to recruit men with the express intention of using Native American tactics and there was no express provision for speakers of Indian languages in the Queens Rangers.³⁰

The document is worthy of study as it lays out the kind of tactics the regiment were to practise and highlights that they were to be paid well because of their expertise in these tactics. They were indeed highly paid. The daily rate of pay for most Provincial soldiers was around 8d and sometimes less.³¹ However, there is some variance between Sterling and New York currency, fortunately John and Walter Butler were punctilious record keepers and in the pay returns in WO 28/4 the total amounts paid to the men, are set out in New York Currency, Halifax Currency and Sterling.³² Thus it is possible to work out that the four shilling NY currency privates received 2s 2d per day and the two shilling privates received 1s 1d.³³ Most other extant papers relating to Provincial units are not so well set out and thus there is often a good deal of confusion. However, as the beating order clearly states, this high rate of pay was to provide for the men's clothing and equipment (a non standard practice) and was to cause the regiment a good deal of trouble in equipping their men properly.³⁴

Thus, the rules for the regiment were clearly set out at the beginning. They were to be a regiment of skilled, knowledgeable, highly trained and highly motivated men. The

³⁰ See Rogers Warrant in TS11/221, PRO.

³¹ See Pay section in Chapter Two.

³² The daily rates are given in Sterling for the Officers and NY currency for the rank and file, see Pay lists for Butler's Rangers, WO28/4 ff.3-4, PRO.

³³ See Footnotes 110-111.

³⁴ The letters in WO28/4 reveal that John and Walter Butler had trouble in equipping their men as they were not allowed to use the Northern Department's stores. This will be covered fully later in the chapter. See Calvin Arnt, The Butler Ranger Uniform, Fact Versus Opinion, (August 2007) online at <http://www.butlersrangers.ca/bruniform.pdf> accessed 15/8/2008.

stressed that all men were to be “well acquainted with the woods.” This would suggest that Carleton wanted men who had at least lived on the frontier, even if they were not born there. Butler’s Rangers then, were a regiment who were set up from the beginning to be experts in the American Way of War. This was a hybrid of Native American tactics and Colonial American tactics and methods. They were commanded by an American and few of their officers were transferred directly from regular units, as was often the case with the Queens Rangers and the British Legion.³⁵ This meant that the officer corps was fundamentally Loyalist in background. The next section will discuss their officers.

Butler’s Rangers Officers

This section will give brief biographies of the two dominant figures in Butler’s Rangers up to when they joined the regiment. It will then discuss the other officers.

John Butler.

John Butler was born in 1728 in New London, Connecticut, the son of Walter Butler, a British Army captain.³⁶ When the Revolutionary War threatened, Butler joined the British at Niagara. Butler was at this point regarded as one of the most important

³⁵ There was one exception, Major Potts, discussed below.

³⁶ In 1742 his father was posted to the Mohawk valley in upper New York, and brought his family with him. Butler soon got to know the famous Indian agent Sir William Johnson, and many notable Iroquois warriors, including Joseph Brant. Butler trained under Johnson for the career of an Indian agent. He was fluent in the languages of the Iroquois and in 1755 Johnson used him as an interpreter to the Mount Johnson Council of the Tribes. He was commissioned by Johnson in 1755 and given command of Mohawks. He attained the rank of Captain and fought in some of the crucial actions of the French and Indian War, including the victories at Fort Ticonderoga and Fort Niagara. He was Johnson’s second in command in the successful assault on Montreal in 1760. After the French and Indian War, Butler became a successful farmer, trader and Justice of the Peace, as well as remaining an Indian agent. He was executor of the estate of Sir William Johnson, on his death in 1773.

There is no published biography of John Butler; the best sources of biographical information are the DCB, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, online at http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=1785&&PHPSESSID=vosfln71o5u761f8s618dkd0v2 accessed 17/8/2008; ODNB <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.webfeat.lib.ed.ac.uk/view/article/53613?docPos=5> accessed 17/08/2008; see also, ODNB; Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, pp. 251-252.

contacts with the Six Nations, described by Gary Nash as an “invaluable British go-between with the Iroquois.”³⁷ However, in 1775 and 1776, the British were not entirely sure how to use their Native American allies. The first two years of the war, were a period when the British were unsure how fully to prosecute the conflict.³⁸ If the Patriots could be brought to the negotiating table, then there was a belief among some of the politicians and commanders, that matters could be put right with minimal bloodshed. There was a fear however, that if there was too great an American loss of life then the Patriots were more likely to resist. Thus it was felt that while there should be a threat of Native American involvement, actual involvement should be kept to a minimum, in case negative publicity should discourage people from joining the British cause. Butler offered to organise the Iroquois against the Patriots in the backcountry but was turned down by Carleton.³⁹ Butler was not to be discouraged though, and he organised a network of intelligence agents amongst the tribes, as well as organising a force of Americans and Indians to help in the winter campaign of 1775-76. He also assisted Brant in the first use of Rangers and Native Americans together in late 1775.⁴⁰ This was Brant’s command and it is therefore possible to argue that Brant is the founding father of Butler’s Rangers in that he gave Butler the idea for combined operations.

In 1777 the British strategy relating to the Native Americans changed. Burgoyne’s advance was to come through territory in which Native American help would be vital. Butler was ordered to command a force of Native Americans in the Oswego expedition under Colonel Barry St Leger and was appointed Deputy Superintendent of the

³⁷ Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, p.252.

³⁸ Piers Mackesy, *The War for America*, pp.35, 58-59.

³⁹ DCB.

⁴⁰ Isabel Thompson Kelsay, *Joseph Brant, 1743-1807*, pp.159-60

Six Nations.⁴¹ He raised 350 Senecas, and fought at the battle of Oriskany on 6 August 1777.⁴²

Oriskany was one of the few major Revolutionary War battles where the vast majority of participants were Americans; there were no regular British forces there. The non Patriot forces at Oriskany, consisted of 400 Six Nations Warriors and one company of Loyalists of the Kings Royal Regiment of New York under Captain John Johnson. Butler had with him twenty Loyalist rangers.⁴³ Therefore, it is arguable that this battle was the first engagement of Butler's Rangers, although they were not to be formally instituted for another month. St Leger was besieging Fort Stanix, and the Patriots sent the Tryon Country militia to raise the siege. St Leger, sent Johnson and Butler to ambush them, which they did successfully, although they were forced to withdraw after the garrison came out of Fort Stanix.

Butler's Rangers were created out of one of the bloodiest battles of the war, yet one that is rarely mentioned in depth in the general histories, possibly because the victors were Native Americans and Loyalists. The Patriots took 450 casualties, as opposed to 150 on the other side.⁴⁴ Unfortunately for St Leger, Benedict Arnold arrived soon after with a large force and St Leger was forced to withdraw, taking Butler with him. St Leger's part of the Saratoga expedition had proven to ultimately be a failure but Oriskany had proven that Native Americans and Loyalist rangers could successfully work together and achieve

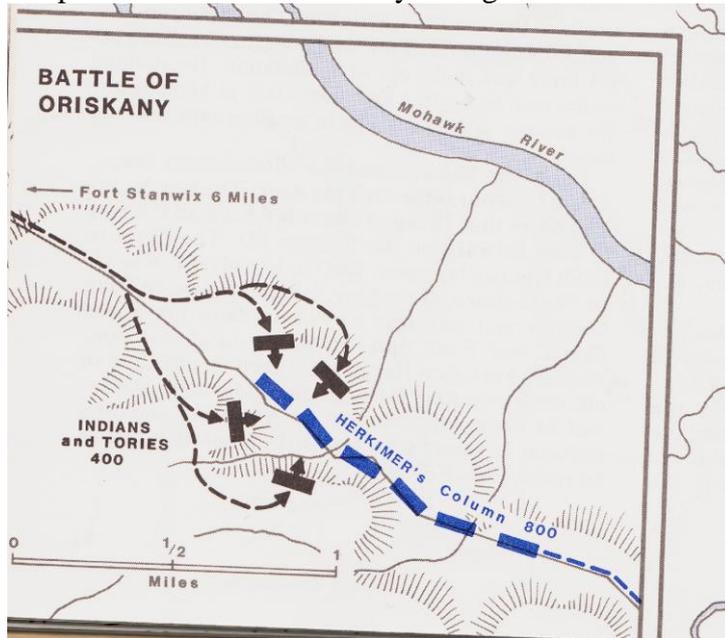
⁴¹ DCB; Mackesy, *The War for America*, p. 114.

⁴² DCB: Gavin K. Watt, James Morrison, *Rebellion in the Mohawk Valley*, (Toronto, 2002), p.156, passim Chapter 7: Account of Anna Ousterhoults Myers in John C. Dann, *The Revolution Remembered*, (Ann Arbor 1980), p. 270.

⁴³They faced 800 Tryon County Militia under General Nicholas Herkimer, see James Morrison, *Rebellion in the Mohawk Valley*, p.155.

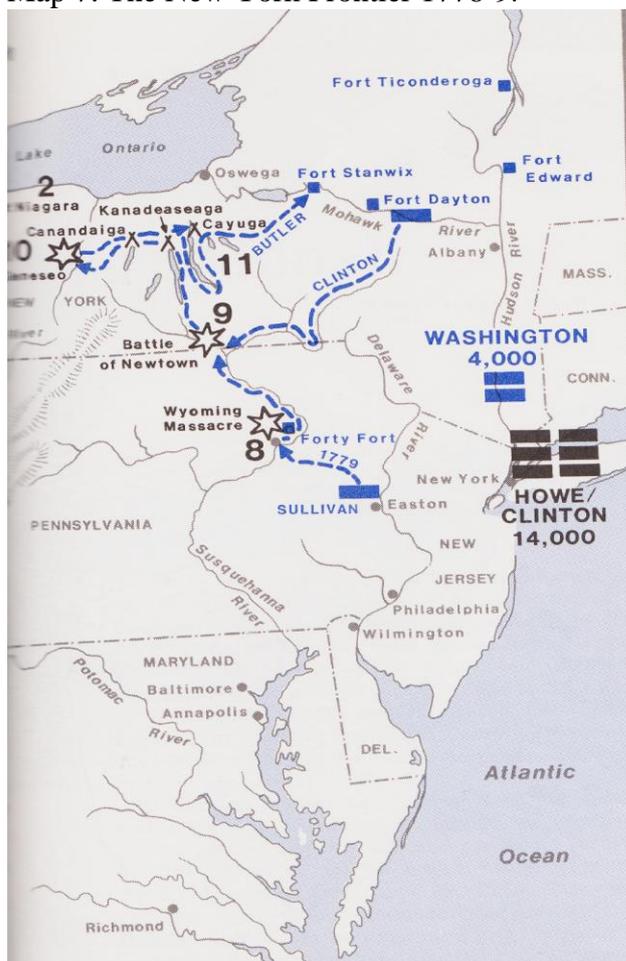
⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.160-161.

Map 6: The Battle of Oriskany 6 August 1778.



Source: Craig L. Symonds, *A Battlefield Atlas of the American Revolution*, (Baltimore, 1986) p.42.

Map 7: The New York Frontier 1778-9.



Source: Craig L. Symonds, *A Battlefield Atlas of the American Revolution*, p.73.

results. Less than a month after the battle, John Butler was promoted to Major of Provincials and given a warrant to raise a regiment of Rangers at Niagara.⁴⁵

Butler's reputation took a battering in early twentieth century popular culture. He was demonised in popular histories and even a film, DW Griffith's "America." Gary Nash analyses this anti Butler trend and argues that, because works about the Loyalists are no longer "treason texts," Butler can be reassessed.⁴⁶ Nash argues that Butler was a "sympathetic Indianist, a frontiersman par excellence, and a man loyal to the crown, like most of his Mohawk River Valley neighbours."⁴⁷ Nash's opinion of Butler is a fair one. Despite his poor reputation in Patriot circles- whether this is justified will be assessed later in the chapter- he does seem to have been all the things Nash suggests. It is hard to dispute the fact that the Iroquois liked him and that he liked them, he was undoubtedly a master of the woods, and his loyalty is hard to question- even if it did extend to lining his own pockets on occasion- and he certainly did suffer for this loyalty, not least in losing a son.

It is tempting to see John Butler as a more successful, if less charismatic, version of Robert Rogers. They were roughly the same age and had a very similar upbringing. Both were familiar with the customs and languages of the Native Americans, as well as being well-schooled in frontier warfare. It was the aim of both of them to command Ranger regiments in the Revolutionary War, and to take the war to the Patriots on the frontiers. Yet there were crucial differences. Butler did not attain the fame that Rogers did in the French and Indian War, although arguably, he saw a similar amount of service. Rogers was able to create a lot of his own fame after the war, by his books and his play. Butler did not have Rogers' flaws; he seems to have been relatively trustworthy with

⁴⁵ Beating Order for Raising a Corps of Rangers to Major John Butler, 15 September 1777, Quebec, Haldimand Papers Add Mss 21700, BL.

⁴⁶ Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, p. 252.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.252.

money, did not have a drink problem and, unlike Rogers, he had a happy domestic life, with a large family. On the eve of the Revolution, Rogers was on the run from creditors and under a cloud because of his 1768 court martial. Butler was a successful trader and Indian agent. Indeed, from 1776 to 1778, Butler was able monopolize all the trade involving refugee Loyalists in Niagara and a good deal of the trade with the Six Nations.⁴⁸ One of the crucial differences between the two men is how they were regarded by their superiors. Haldimand and Carleton needed Rogers but did not fully trust him and indeed Gage loathed him.⁴⁹ Butler on the other hand, was respected by Haldimand and Carleton, as a successful Indian agent and a useful contact.⁵⁰ According to the DCB, the two commanding generals were slightly wary of the Johnsons (Guy Johnson, John Johnson and their relative, Daniel Claus) and appreciated Butler, who they felt was trustworthy. Ultimately, although Butler and Rogers both chose the losing side, their fates were affected by these relations with the senior men. The British gave up on Rogers and let him die in poverty in London; they continued supporting Butler after the war and he lived to become a prosperous man and one of the most important figures in the early Canadian state.⁵¹

Major John Butler began forming his regiment in late 1777. His first orders were to rush to assist Burgoyne, but he received them after the surrender and before he had any recruits.⁵² The reason for the slowness may be that Butler had just lost his main recruiter. Even before Butler had been granted his commission he had sent his eldest son, Walter, to commence recruiting and all had not gone well...

Walter Butler.

⁴⁸ DCB.

⁴⁹ See Chapters 1 and 3.

⁵⁰ See DCB; Haldimand Papers, passant; Carleton Papers PRO 30/55 passant; WO 28/4 passant.

⁵¹ Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, p252.

⁵² DCB.

Walter Butler was born on his father's farm of Butlersbury, at Johnstown New York, in 1752.⁵³ He fought his first actions against the Patriots in Tryon County in July 1775 alongside Joseph Brant and the Iroquois. A letter to the Committee of Schenectady mentions that "the Indians were to be under the command of Joseph Brant and Walter Butler."⁵⁴ According to Swiggett, this is the first mention of Walter Butler in Revolutionary War records.

Shortly after this, both the Butlers were present at the Indian Council held at Oswego, where they were chosen to go to Montreal with Guy Johnson.⁵⁵ At Montreal in the autumn of 1775, Walter Butler fought in several actions with his father and the Iroquois, aimed at delaying the American advance under Arnold and Montgomery.⁵⁶ At this time his mother and his sister, were interned as hostages in Tryon County New York. Walter Butler was commissioned as an ensign in the 8th foot in 1776. However, he spent most of his time on detachment on the frontier with his father, and in 1777 he accompanied his father on the St Leger expedition and fought with him at Oriskany.⁵⁷ While John Butler returned to Niagara with St Leger, Walter marched through the Mohawk Valley with a party of Rangers and Indians, under a flag of truce, carrying a proclamation from St Leger and a message to the locals from John Butler and John Johnson, that they should join the British cause.⁵⁸ These documents effectively negated

⁵³ At the age of 16 he became an ensign in the Tryon County militia, ironically, later to be his opponents at Oriskany. He trained as a Lawyer at Albany, being called to the Bar in 1775. See entry in DCB at http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=1786&interval=25&&PHPSESSID=ggm6mutdhgbac8d0b3a49omqb7 accessed 18/8/2008: ODNB: Howard Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara, Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers*, (New York 1933) pp.6-9.

⁵⁴ Christopher Yates to the Committee of Schenectady, 13 July 1775, Tryon County Minute Book cited in Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p.62.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.62-66

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.65-66

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.78-85.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

any flag of truce, as did the recruiting Walter Butler carried out in the Mohawk Valley. Although Butler's Rangers had not been officially formed at this point, this was effectively their first recruiting expedition. As such, the events and their repercussions deserve to be examined here.

On the 13 August, at German Flats, New York, Walter Butler was captured. The local American commander, General Phillip Schuyler, explained in a letter to Washington that because of the papers he had on him, "I could not consider him a Flag and have therefore ordered General Arnold to send him and the party with him prisoners of War to Albany."⁵⁹ This letter would suggest that Butler and his companions and recruits would be treated as prisoners of war. Arnold had other ideas however, and a court-martial presided over by Colonel Marinus Willet, tried Butler as "trayter and spy" and "adjudged him to suffer the pain and penalty of death".⁶⁰ He was sentenced to hang. According to the Court Martial he had stayed in the town, holding meetings and "arguing with the inhabitants, endeavouring to persuade them to lay down their arms" despite the presence of several high ranking officers of the Continental Army at the meetings.⁶¹ This is an extraordinary example of the sense of unreality that can sometimes exist in a civil war. The sense that, despite all the differences, both sides were still countrymen and that matters could still be discussed in a civilised manner. After his sentence, Butler was not hung immediately because the army had to move following St Leger's withdrawal. He

⁵⁹ Phillip Schuyler to George Washington, 17 August 1777, Five Miles below Westchester, 17 August 1777, George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4, General Correspondence. 1697-1799, ff 153-154 online at http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage043.db&recNum=745&tempFile=./temp/~ammem_Frqz&filecode=mgw&next_filecode=mgw&prev_filecode=mgw&itemnum=16&ndocs=100 accessed 29/8/2008.

⁶⁰In the kind of coincidence that would be dismissed as too outlandish for fiction, Willett was the officer who led the ambush that killed Walter Butler, four years later, see footnote 220; Minutes of Court Martial of 20 August 1777, M Willet Judge Advocate, in Willett Papers, New York Public Library, image in Howard Swiggett, *War Out Of Niagara*, p.93.

⁶¹ Minutes of Court Martial, *ibid.*, p. 93.

was interned in Albany jail and wrote letters to Gates, stating his “case was “hard” and asking for a “hearing”.”⁶² He remained in Albany jail for several months, until General Schuyler wrote to Gates in December asking for him to be reprieved and put on parole.⁶³ After several months of incarceration at the house of Richard Cartwright, he got his sentry drunk and escaped on 21 April 1778, and once more went to Fort Niagara to join his father and to take up the rank of Captain of Butler’s Ranger’s, into which he had been commissioned in his absence in November of 1777.⁶⁴

Walter Butler was to American historians of the nineteenth century, one of the greatest hate figures of the Revolution, because of his role in the Cherry Valley massacre of November 1778. In his 1933 work on Walter Butler, Howard Swiggett gives two particularly vitriolic examples: “miscreants like ...Walter Butler of the Mohawk Valley present no redeeming quality to plead for excuse”; “a man of enterprising boldness, whose heart was a compound of hate, insatiable cruelty and unappeasable revenge.”⁶⁵ Swiggett describes him as “a most dauntless and enterprising leader, eager, ambitious, tireless...grasping early in the war the grand strategy of the long North-western flank, impatient of older men, defending his every action at Cherry Valley, scorning to make war on women and children.”⁶⁶ This kind of difference of opinion is not unusual in historiography of civil wars. While the chapter is about Butler’s Rangers rather than a biography of Walter Butler, it is hard to discuss the regiment without forming a view of Walter Butler, it’s second in command. The chapter will try and assess the evidence make its own judgment on him, one that is not motivated by strong feelings on either side.

⁶² Walter Butler to General Gates, 4 September 1777, Gates Papers, Box VII NYHS cited in Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p.100

⁶³ General Schuyler to General Gates, 8 December 1777, Gates Papers, cited in Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p.105.

⁶⁴ Haldimand to Germain 13 September 1777, cited in Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p.101.

⁶⁵ B. J Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, (New York, 1860) p.124; Nathaniel S Benton, *History of Herkimer County* (Albany, 1856,) p. 102, both cited in Swiggett, *War out of Niagara*, p.4.

⁶⁶ Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p. 4.

Butler's Rangers Officers: Company Commanders and Subalterns.

John Butler's first task on assembling his corps of Rangers in the autumn and winter of 1777 was to recruit officers. The corps was intended to be an elite unit of rangers, able to act on their own initiative. As a result they were paid considerably more than most Loyalist corps and even Regular troops.⁶⁷ There were not to be the same number of companies as a regular unit or Provincial unit, which was usually around ten. Butler's Rangers started with four companies before increasing to six and then eventually 8. The officers varied and fluctuated over time. A total of 50 officers served in the regiment over the six years of its existence.⁶⁸ Officers were transferred, killed, wounded or left for other reasons. The following table shows this fluctuation:

Table 18: Number of officers serving in Butler's Rangers 1778-1781.⁶⁹

Date	Lt Col/ Maj.	Capt.s	1 st Lt.s	2 nd Lt.s	Staff	total
1778	1	4	5	5	2	17
1779 May	1	4 ⁷⁰	5	5	2	17
1779 Nov	1	5	6	6	2	20
1780	1	6	8	6	2	23
1781	1	9	9	7	3	29

Source: Returns of a Corps commanded by John Butler, WO 28/4, ff.2,3,4,9,12,14,16.

So who were these officers? William Smy has done superb work on detailing as much information about them as possible.⁷¹ They were not all native born Americans, but most of them were American residents in 1775. One or two, such as Captains Caldwell and McDonnell, were recent immigrants but many of them were American born. They were mostly not town dwellers; they were farmers and frontiersmen. Many of them, like

⁶⁷ See Pay lists WO 28/4 ff.2-3, PRO.

⁶⁸ See Table in Appendix 6.

⁶⁹ This table demonstrates is that there were three companies added between 1780 and 1781. Therefore there the regiment was expanding greatly at the time. To put it into context the regiment had gained notable victories in the period which would make them attractive to recruits. Also, the Patriots were expanding their presence in the area which meant more men had to be found. It was also during 1780 and 1781 that the British sent large numbers of Regulars and Provincials to the Southern theatre so Butler's Rangers expanded their numbers.

⁷⁰ Captain Ten Broek is listed as a Prisoner.

⁷¹ Smy, *An Annotated Nominal Roll of Butler's Rangers*, pp. 33-207.

Butler, were traders and former residents of the Mohawk valley.⁷² A good example would be Ralph Clench, from Schenectady in upper New York, a 2nd Lt., whose father was a Freemason acquaintance of Butler's. Clench had served as a private in the 53rd and 42nd Foot, as a gentleman volunteer from 1777, before being commissioned in Butler's Rangers in 1780.⁷³ Butler's younger sons Andrew and Thomas also served in the regiment, as did three more relatives, Butler's nephews Peter and John Bradt and his niece's husband, Richard Hansen.⁷⁴

How do these men compare to the officer corps of the other two case studies of this thesis? At first glance, the names appear more American.⁷⁵ This is because there is such a cross section of names, similar in a way to the original officer corps of the Queens Rangers. Of the Captains, for example, there is only one "Mac." This is vastly different to the later Queens Rangers and the British Legion. Both these units had many American officers but their Captains and the senior officers, contained a high proportion of British born officers. Thus, superficially at least, Butler's Rangers appear to be more American. Six of the officers were related to the commander. Also, to what extent were the social backgrounds of the officers different to the other two regiments? Initially the appointment of officers was left up to Butler. The British would have been anxious not to repeat the Queens Rangers fiasco, but they also wanted a very specific type of regiment. Possibly it was more important that the officers be experts in forest fighting than that they be gentlemen. It may also reflect the measure of trust Carleton had in Butler. He was a very different man to Howe and his notions of what constituted an officer may have been

⁷² See Smy's Roll.

⁷³ See DCB http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2808&interval=25&&PHPSESSID=8ssbf8fstqokpcktr1ai3bclm1 accessed 20/8/2008; Smy, *An Annotated Nominal Roll of Butler's Rangers*, p. 68.

⁷⁴ Smy, *An Annotated Nominal Roll of Butler's Rangers*, pp.51-52, 58-59, 98

⁷⁵ See Appendix 6.

different.⁷⁶ Butler was a long term servant of the Crown and had already proved his skill and loyalty in the Revolutionary War.

When Haldimand replaced Carleton as Commander in Chief of Northern Command in 1779, he wanted a greater say in the appointment of officers. Therefore, every commission had to be approved by Haldimand.⁷⁷ Butler wrote to Haldimand's a.d.c. Capt. Robert Mathews, stating that, "I was convinced from my Beating Orders that I had the right to appoint my own officers."⁷⁸ The matter came to a head in January 1781 when Haldimand appointed Captain John McKinnon to command a company in Butler's Rangers. Butler objected that he had no knowledge of the man or his fitness for duty and that it was "a hardship on my officers to have others put in on them."⁷⁹ Haldimand replied to Butler that he "ought not to think extraordinary what is every day unavoidably practised in established Regiments" and that "he should not think it a hardship upon his corps the introducing into it an officer of long experience and service."⁸⁰ In other words, Butler was to trust Haldimand's judgement on the issue. He also told Butler to avoid "putting appointments in orders until they are really made." It is a rebuke but a gentle one. The fact that Haldimand was taking the time to explain these orders himself is indicative of the fact that he trusted Butler. This is not a cursory command of the like of those imposed on the Queens Rangers, there is no doubting Haldimand's meaning, but it is done in a polite way.⁸¹ This incident illustrates some of the tensions that arose when

⁷⁶ Paul David Nelson, *General Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, Soldier-Statesman of Early British Canada*, (Madison, NJ, 2000), pp. 12-13.

⁷⁷ Letters to and from Officers in Niagara, Haldimand Papers Add Mss 21756, 21764 and 21765, BL.

⁷⁸ John Butler to Robert Matthews Niagara, 15 August 1780 Add Mss 21765 BL partially cited in Arnt, *The Butler Ranger Uniform*, p. 8.

⁷⁹ Butler to Haldimand, Niagara 1781 cited in Smy, *An Annotated Roll of Butler's Rangers*, p. 6.

⁸⁰ Haldimand to Brig. Gen. Powell, Quebec, 11 April 1781 Add Mss 21764 ff. 195-197 cited in Smy, *An Annotated Roll of Butler's Rangers*, p. 6.

⁸¹ The principal objection to MacKinnon was not the imposition but that he had seniority over the existing Captains, due to a "commission he formerly had under Sir Henry Clinton," as Captains

appointing practices were open to question. The Beating Order itself is open to interpretation as nothing is really said about the appointment of officers.⁸² The controversy demonstrates however, that the regiment was ultimately under British control in regards to appointments. Northern Command was not willing to spend such a lot of money on a corps that they did not have faith in. One area where Butler and his officers did have complete control was in recruitment of rank and file. The next section will look at recruitment and numbers.

Recruitment and Numbers 1778-1782.

The Beating Order clearly states that Butler's Rangers were to recruit on the frontiers of the Province of Quebec.⁸³ Their recruits were to be "able bodied men" who had come from the frontier colonies. This command was to be rigidly enforced. When Walter Butler attempted to recruit men from the safety of Montreal, Haldimand immediately informed the local commander there, Brig. Gen. Allan MacLean that he had ordered Walter Butler to:

Discontinue enlisting men at Montreal for a Corps of Rangers commanded by Major Butler, whose beating order restricted him to the frontiers of this province for that service."⁸⁴

This echoes the controversy over the recruitment of Robert Rogers' King's Rangers, who were given a similar recruitment order. The principal reason was that

McDonnell, Hare and Frey put it, when they wrote to Butler to protest see John McDonnell, Peter Hare and Bernard Frey to John Butler, Ranger Barracks, 2 October 1781, WO 28/4 f.30, PRO; MacKinnon himself wrote to Butler, stating that he felt "ill used" that his fellow officers had "written against him." He stated that he had been commissioned in the Roman Catholic Volunteers on 25 February 1778, see John MacKinnon to John Butler Rangers Barracks, 8 October 1781, WO 28/4/ f.32, PRO.

⁸²The MacKinnon issue was ended when the unfortunate man had a stroke and was invalided out of the army, see Certificate by H.A Kennedy Physician General, Quebec, 29 August 1782, WO 28/4 f.39, PRO.

⁸³ Beating Order for Raising a Corps of Rangers 15 September 1777.

⁸⁴ Capt. Robert Mathews to Allan MacLean, Quebec 27 December 1779, Add Mss 21791, f. 29.

Canada was not to be drained of recruits who were needed for home defence. Also, the type of men a ranger regiment needed were far more likely to be found on the frontiers. However, it was not always an easy task. It was one thing to ask for recruits to come from behind enemy lines but it put the recruiters in constant danger. Walter Butler had already been captured in this way and several more recruiting parties would meet a similar fate. In December 1777, thirty potential recruits were captured in the Susquehanna valley.⁸⁵ Although recruiting was never easy, Butler's Rangers did manage to muster over 900 men in total.⁸⁶ The method of recruiting laid out in the Beating Order, made for slow recruiting. John Butler's initial areas of recruiting were the Susquehanna Valley in upper New York and Pennsylvania.⁸⁷ Butler had one complete company by December 1777 and two by February of 1778.⁸⁸

The way in which men were recruited, was that a party was sent out to villages under a sergeant or a lieutenant. They would stay in the field until sufficient recruits had been collected. It was a dangerous task and they were also frequently competing against other Loyalist units, all with the same objective. As a result there were accusations made that not all recruits were entirely willing. Daniel Claus wrote that "not one in twenty five Rangers in Butler's corps engaged voluntarily."⁸⁹ As Claus was no friend of John Butler's his testimony is suspect and probably exaggerated. It is possible to say that had the men been unwilling they probably would not have stayed long, there is only so long that men

⁸⁵ Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers*, pp.39-40.

⁸⁶ Smy, *An Annotated Roll of Butler's Rangers 1777-1784*, p. 30.

⁸⁷ Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers*, p.40.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p.40.

⁸⁹ Claus cited in Smy, *An Annotated Roll of Butler's Rangers 1777-1784*, p. 12.

can be guarded for and the regiment does not seem to have suffered from desertion any more than other units.⁹⁰

Numbers.

The number serving in Butler's Rangers, like any regiment, fluctuated over time. Because of the cost of paying them, they were not intended to be as big as the other Provincial regiments, however, by 1781 they were actually not a great deal smaller than most other units and by 1783 they were one of the biggest existing Provincial regiments.⁹¹ The following table gives figures for the regiment from 1778 to 1784.

Date	Officers	NCO's	Rank & File	Total
3/2/1778	7	6	112	125
24/12/1778	15	30	246	291
26/3/1779	16	27	294	337
5/11/1779	20	31	304	355
6/11/1780	23	40	381	444
29/11/1780	23	23	376	422
30/9/1781	28	39	484	551
8/6/1783	32	80	461	573
17/5/1784	32	80	422	534
Average	22.625	40.75	354.25	417.625

Source: Returns of a Corps of Rangers commanded by John Butler, WO 28/4 ff. 5,10,11,12,14; Returns of a Corps of Rangers commanded by John Butler, Add Mss 21765, ff.15, 415, BL; Reported Strength of the Rangers given in Smy, *An Annotated Nominal Roll of Butler's Rangers*, p. 31

⁹⁰ As there are no muster rolls for the unit, there is no accurate way of telling to what extent they were troubled by desertion but the relative stability in the numbers from year to year- see Table Six- would suggest that it was not a great problem.

⁹¹ Establishing accurate figures is quite a convoluted task as there are no extant muster rolls. The pay list of 24 October 1778, records every soldier who served for the first year of the regiment's existence. There are returns with numbers but not names of soldiers, contained in WO 28/4. Butler's Rangers were not listed in the returns for the main Provincial corps contained in CO 5, because they were part of Northern Command. Yet even on a return from Northern command they are noted but no figures are given because they are "in other parts." Due to their service being on the frontier and sometimes as far south as Ohio, it was difficult to keep accurate paperwork on them. See, Pay lists for Six Companies of Butler's Rangers from 24 December 1777 to 24 October 1778 Add Mss 21765 ff.44-65; State of the British Troops in the Different Cantonments 12 December 1781, Northern Command, Orderly Book of Northern Command, Detroit Public Library MI.

The table shows a steady increase in numbers over time. In comparison with the other two case studies: the average rank and file in the British Legion was 343 and the Queens Rangers was 384. Both had significantly lower figures in 1783 and both had been disbanded by 1784. This demonstrates that Butler's Rangers had no problems with recruiting, even after Yorktown. This is possibly because Butler's Rangers were based in Canada and troops were needed to defend the Canadian frontier, which was still a part of the British Empire. Also, many men from other provincial regiments may have chosen to join Butler's Rangers, in the hope of continuing the war after their own regiments had been disbanded. At their disbandment in 1784, Butler's Rangers had had their second highest year in terms of soldiers serving. The fact that they continued to wage war successfully, long after the main British Army had stopped doing so, is also a factor. There was also a financial incentive for increasing the size of the battalion. An order of September 1780 had stated that all Provincial Regiments that had ten companies of 56 men or more were eligible to go on the Provincial Establishment and thus their officers were eligible for half pay.⁹² Butler's Rangers were also a different unit in terms of their military service. They performed raiding duties on the far reaches of the frontier, rarely as a full regiment but rather in detachments, and when not raiding they were back at Niagara. They were not used in long campaigns which wore down numbers. Also, given their favourable situation, of being stationed in a place that would remain British at the end of the war, there would not have been the same inducement to desert as for regiments serving in territory surrounded by Patriots waiting to occupy it.

Social Background of the Rank and File

The general view of the social background of Butler's Rangers soldiers is that most of the recruits were farmers of some sort, from frontier towns in New York,

⁹² General Order by General Sir Frederick Haldimand, 4 September 1780, Quebec, Add Mss, 21743, f.140.

Connecticut and Pennsylvania.⁹³ Establishing the social background of Loyalist soldiers is no easy task as this information was not listed in the administrative documents compiled by the Muster Master General. However, in the case of Butler's Rangers, William Smy has done invaluable work in detailing the soldiers who served in his roll of the unit.⁹⁴ Not all of his entries list background but some do. This section will briefly examine a sample of five private soldiers from Smy's Roll.

The first is Private Phillip Bender, a native of Germany, born in 1743, who had come to America as a child. He bought a 320 acre farm on the Susquehanna River, New York in 1776 for £70. Thus Bender was a man of some means. He and his wife fled to Niagara in the winter of 1776-77.⁹⁵ He served with the Rangers until 1783, when he was discharged and he started farming at Niagara.

Private John Depew was born in Wyoming Pennsylvania, and was a farmer there. He served as a courier for Butler and subsequently became a Lieutenant in the Indian Department. He settled in Niagara in 1784 and once more became a farmer. His son Charles served as a private in Walter Butler's company.⁹⁶

Private Caspar Hoover was born in Holland and was a farmer on the Susquehanna River. He and his three sons, Henry, Jacob and John were all original recruits to the regiment in 1777. Henry and John were both captured by the Patriots. Henry was released but Smy has no information on the fate of John.⁹⁷

⁹³ Gary Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, pp. 251-256.

⁹⁴ Smy has used various sources including the Loyalist Land Grants of 1784, the Oaths of Loyalty taken in 1784-85 and the Loyalist Compensation claims, see Smy, *An Annotated Roll of Butler's Rangers*, pp.33-207.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁹⁶ His d.o.b. is not listed, *ibid.*, p.79

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.107.

Private Nicholas Miller was a Millwright from the Genesee River. He served in McDonnell's company from 1778. After the war he settled in York Township, in what is still Yonge Street in modern Toronto.⁹⁸

Private Thomas Tinbrook listed as "a black man who served in Butler's Rangers." No other information is given but it is evidence that Butler's Rangers enlisted African Americans.⁹⁹

The above soldiers are obviously only a tiny sample of the men who served but they provide an interesting cross section of the ordinary soldiers who served in Butler's Rangers.¹⁰⁰ Examining Smy's Roll in greater detail, over two hundred of the soldiers settled on farms around the Niagara area after the war, which would also indicate that many of them had prior knowledge of farming. Thus although not all of Butler's Rangers fit the model of small farmers - see chapter two - many of them were, or had aspirations to be so, meaning that there was core of loyal farmers in their ranks.

Finances and Equipment.

This section will assess the equipping and payment of the regiment. There is an unusually rich seam of evidence for this. Few other regiments have such detailed records on their pay and equipment. This is partly because the Butlers were rarely satisfied with the arrangements for equipping their regiment and therefore complained often to Northern Command, detailing their woes and giving figures and illustrations.¹⁰¹

Butler's Rangers were treated differently to most other Regular and Provincial regiments in how they were paid and supplied. The Beating Order was applied with

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.134.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p 184.

¹⁰⁰ The sample details: three farmers, a skilled artisan and a free black man. Two of the five were definitely not American born but all were long term American residents. With the exception of Tinbrook, whose place of origin is not given, they all lived in New York or Pennsylvania before the war. Two of the men had sons in the unit

¹⁰¹ See in particular WO 28/4, PRO.

payment as it was to recruitment and formation. Because of the special nature of their duties and their elite status, they were to be paid well. Ranger regiments had traditionally been an expensive commodity. Anderson calculates that in the French and Indian war, a ranger regiment cost twice what a regular regiment cost.¹⁰² Butler's Rangers received at least twice what the other provincial regiments did on a daily basis.¹⁰³

So why were they so expensive, and why did the British pay agree to pay them so much? The answer is that they were supposed to do the work of more than their numbers and cover wooded and broken terrain more rapidly than regular troops.¹⁰⁴ Williams defines their role as "to co-operate with the allied Indian warriors to help achieve the Crown's operational objectives in the absence of conventional British forces."¹⁰⁵ Thus their job was to hold down and frustrate the Americans on the frontiers so that the Patriots would be forced to send men there and away from where the main British troops were operating. If the Rangers were used properly, they would save the British money as they would not need regular troops on the frontiers and could use them elsewhere. The Rangers could also provide liaison with the Native Americans and act as providers of intelligence. Therefore, they were seen by Carleton and Haldimand as a worthwhile investment.

The original pay structure of the Rangers is set out in the following table:

Table 20: Pay for Butler's Rangers for 212 days with Daily Rates. ¹⁰⁶										
	Daily	Rate	Total	Daily	212	Days	Total NYC	Total	St	at

¹⁰² Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War*, (New York, 2000), p. 798.

¹⁰³ Haldimand to Butler 12 February 1780, Add Mss 21756, f. 172, cited in Calvin Arnt, *Butler's Ranger Uniform*, p.8.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.188.

¹⁰⁵ Glenn Williams, *Year of the Hangman*, (Yardley PA 2005) p.17.

¹⁰⁶ There is some confusion in the table because of the inconsistencies between Sterling and New York currency. However, by converting everything into pennies it is possible to work out the difference. Thus private soldiers received either 2s. 2d. per day, or 1s. 1d. per day, in sterling. Another document gives a daily cost for the regiment of £65 New York Currency, see Walter Butler, *Payment for 8 companies at the Present Footing, Niagara*, 3 March 1779, WO 28/4, f.3, PRO.

	¹⁰⁷	Pay NY C.	NY C		4s 8d per Dollar. ¹⁰⁸
1 Major	15s.	£1 5s. 9d.	£272 11s 5d		
4 Captains	10s.	£3 8s. 7d.	£726 17s 1d		
5 First Lt.s	4s8d.	£2	£424		
5 Second Lt.s	3s8d.	£1 11s. 5d.	£333 2s 10d		
1 QM	4s.8d.	8s.	£84 16s		
1 Surgeon	4s.	6s. 10d.	£104 11s 5d ¹⁰⁹		
15 Sergeants	5s. NYC ¹¹⁰	£3 15s.	£795		
15 Cpls	4s. 6d. NYC ¹¹¹	£3 7s. 6d.	£715 10s		
10 Dr.	4s. NYC	£2	£424		
100 Pvts ¹¹²	4s. NYC ¹¹³	£20	£4,240		
173 Pvts.	2s. NYC ¹¹⁴	£17 6s.	£3582 16s.		
330 men all ranks.				£11, 837 2s. 9d.	£6904 19s. 11d.

Source: Subsistence wanting for the Corps of Rangers Commanded by John Butler Esq. Major Comm. From the 25 October 1778 to 24 May, following both days included being 212 days, from WO 28/4 ff.6-7, PRO.

The document from which the table is constructed is entitled, “Subsistence Wanting” which means John Butler is claiming for pay that he has not yet been given. This would have made it difficult to buy equipment if there was no money to buy it. In a later letter Walter Butler says “I was under the necessity of making payment myself.”¹¹⁵ Therefore, could anyone but the wealthy Butler’s, have funded this type of regiment? They could not have funded their regiment had they not had their own capital to do so. In this they were lucky, in that unlike most Loyalists they were still making money after the

¹⁰⁷ This is Sterling unless otherwise mentioned.

¹⁰⁸ The exchange rate is given as 4 shillings eight pence to the dollar. It works out at 1.7d. NYC to 1d. of Sterling. For a detailed explanation of Colonial Currencies see Leslie V. Brock, *The Colonial Currency, Prices, and Exchange Rates*, in *Essays in History* Vol. 34 1992., pp. 1-30, for New York currency, pp. 15-17.

¹⁰⁹ The surgeon’s total is for 365 days.

¹¹⁰ Dividing NY currency by 1.7 gives a figure of 2s. 11d.

¹¹¹ This works out at 2s. 8d. in Sterling.

¹¹² These are the Indian speakers.

¹¹³ Dividing NY currency by 1.7 gives a figure 2s. 2d. in Sterling.

¹¹⁴ This works out at 1s. 1d. in Sterling.

¹¹⁵ Walter Butler to Major Lenoult, Adj. Genl. Quebec, 6 May 1781, WO 28/4, ff. 24-25, PRO.

war started. This is possibly a reason why Rogers' two regiments failed. He did not have any source of private income, and any money he got was rapidly spent on carousing. Even British officers, like Simcoe and Tarleton, could not have afforded to finance their regiments themselves. They sometimes had to settle regimental bills but this was done on credit and unlike Butler's Rangers, their equipment was provided.

Butler's Rangers were paid more, but because of this they were not provided with the normal extras that British or Provincial troops were normally given. This included supplies, equipment and clothing. As the Beating Order stated, "the whole to cloth and arm themselves at their own expense."¹¹⁶ This caused some confusion when Butler attempted to appoint a quartermaster and an adjutant, the officers responsible for supplies and administration in a regiment. Haldimand therefore decided to clear the matter up in a letter written in 1780:

I never thought it reasonable that Rangers should be entitled to every allowance made to other troops who serve for half and sometimes one fourth of the pay. They receive their clothing and arms, being by no means adequate to the disproportion in pay.¹¹⁷

This lays out the terms of service clearly. The Rangers were to be well paid but to receive no goods from the army, other than money. This was practical as well as economical as Butler's Rangers were often deployed far from any supply base. They had to buy what they could from local suppliers or order it themselves. However, this caused severe problems for the men on the lower salary. These men still had to buy the same equipment as those on the higher salary and they still had to replace lost equipment. Walter Butler wrote to headquarters in 1779, stating that "the disproportion of the pay of the Privates of the four and two shilling companies of the Corps of Rangers creates much

¹¹⁶ Beating Order.

¹¹⁷ Haldimand to Butler 12 February 1780, Add Mss 21756. f. 172 cited in Arnt, *Butler's Ranger Uniform*, pp. 8-9.

uneasiness between the men.” Acting with his father’s authority, he suggested a solution, a revision of the pay scale. He outlined why this was a fair solution because “after duly considering the hardships the men are subject to, the very great expence they must be out for extraordinary cloathing in a service of this kind, the high price of every article in the Quarter they serve and the losses they must make on service on service with the Indians.”¹¹⁸

Walter Butler makes a good point here. Other provincial units had their clothing and weapons provided for them out of army stores and were not subject to the vagaries of wartime prices and profiteering. Butler’s men, however, had to contend with spiralling inflation and traders and merchants determined to make everything they could out of them.¹¹⁹ The letter makes it plain that all the men in the unit shared the same “hardships” and therefore were entitled to be paid equally. Walter Butler suggested “reducing the corps to seven companies and lowering the Corporal’s pay to four shillings, the four shilling companies to three, and raising the two shilling companies to three.”¹²⁰ Haldimand did eventually agree to change the wage structure in 1780 but reduced the pay

¹¹⁸ Walter Butler, Report on Pay for a Corps of Rangers commanded by Major John Butler, 3 March 1779, WO 28/4 f.2, PRO.

¹¹⁹ For a summary of wartime inflation and price rises see Leslie V. Brock, *The Colonial Currency, Prices, and Exchange Rates*, p.17

¹²⁰ He did not propose discharging men, just re-arranging the present structure. There would be one less set of company officers and one less company to administer. He calculated that the cost in sterling of paying the regiment at full strength would be £64 1s. per day as opposed to £65 per day on the “present footing.” The reduction in companies did not take place. The changing nature of the war dictated more men and not less, and as mentioned earlier the introduction of the Provincial list in 1779 and 1780 made it desirable to have at least ten companies and therefore gain half pay status for the officers. See, Walter Butler, Report on Pay for a Corps of Rangers commanded by Major John Butler, 3 March 1779, WO 28/4 f.2, PRO; General Order 4 September 1780, Add Mss 21743 ff.140.

of the privates to two shillings and sixpence.¹²¹ As the officers were paid what was recommended, the Butlers made no objection.

This evidence gives an insight into both the everyday running of the regiment and the extent to which the Butlers had greater administrative responsibilities than most of their contemporary regimental commanders. Whilst all eighteenth century regimental commanders had some administrative duties, the supplying of their corps was usually taken out of their hands, leaving them free to command. The Butlers had to occupy themselves with all aspects of the regiment's upkeep, as well as fighting a war.

One of the biggest responsibilities John and Walter Butler had was to arm their men. Initially, the men themselves had been expected to do this, but it proved beyond the means of many of them, especially as a lot of them were refugees, as Walter Butler outlined in a letter to Carleton, "the Rangers when they joined the Corps are nearly destitute of clothing and necessaries and having no bounty allowed them, confirmed by the general their being obliged to pay for their arms brings them greatly into debt."¹²² The Beating Order had stated that they were not entitled to draw on British Army stores and the men had to provide their own equipment. Haldimand reinforced this in 1778, when he made it plain that they could not even buy equipment from Government stores, stating "with respect to arms, the great deficiency of that article at present renders it impossible to supply you with any until we are furnished from England".¹²³ Butler argued in a letter to Haldimand, that the nature of their duties; sleeping rough and patrolling in thick

¹²¹ This was still much higher than regulars at 1s per day and other Provincials at 8d per day see Revised Pay Structure of Butler's Rangers April 1780, in Smy, *Butler's Rangers, An Annotated Roll*, p.12.

¹²² Unlike other regiments, Butler's Rangers were not at this point in the war authorised with a Bounty other than anything the Butlers gave them for joining, see Walter Butler to General Carleton 4 June 1778, Add Mss 21756, f.33, cited in Arnt, *Butler's Ranger Uniform*, p.7.

¹²³ Many of the men would have brought their own hunting rifles but the reliability of these could be suspect, see, Beating Order; Haldimand to Butler, 9 October 1779 Add Mss 21756 f.159 cited in. Calvin Arnt, *Butler's Ranger Uniform* p.7

forests, meant that “they were more liable to losing or breaking their arms and accoutrements than any other corps or regiment.”¹²⁴ This is a fair point but it was unlikely that much could have been done by Haldimand, what with Butler’s Rangers being the lowest priority for arms. In 1779 Colonel Bolton, the garrison commander at Niagara, gave Butler 100 muskets from his stores as a loan, but Haldimand made it plain in that he did not approve of this.¹²⁵

The Butlers then, had to take matters completely into their own hands. In 1779, John Butler applied for permission for Walter to go to England and buy arms.¹²⁶ He did not do so, because he was needed with the regiment, but in 1781, John Butler did succeed in hiring his own ship to carry “a complete Stand of arms” and shipped them out from Britain on the ship the *Uretta*, drawing “£5000 on account” from the Paymaster General to pay for it.¹²⁷ The ship also contained clothing and other supplies, all adding to Butler’s outlay. This is quite a step for any commander to take. In some ways Butler’s Rangers almost seem like John Butler’s private army, in that he had to equip them himself.

For the reason that they were self equipped and largely kept away from the main British Army, Butler’s Rangers did not look or behave like a regular army unit. When subject to inspections by regular officers they were often found wanting in dress and deportment. An example of this came in 1782, when Haldimand replaced Walter Butler (who had been killed in October 1781) with a regular British officer, Major William Potts. Potts’ account of the unit is interesting:

I must own that I am sorry to have it to say that I have
found from the general condition and disposition of the Corps that

¹²⁴ John Butler to General Haldimand, 29 April 1780, Add Mss 21765, f. 208.

¹²⁵ Colonel Bolton to Haldimand, Niagara, 12 February 1779 Add Mss 21756 f.247; Haldimand to Bolton, Quebec, 8 April 1779, Add Mss 21764 f.5, BL.

¹²⁶ John Butler to Frederick Haldimand 11 November 1779, Add Mss 21765.

¹²⁷ Walter Butler to Major Lenoult, Adj. Genl. Quebec, 6 May 1781, WO 28/4/ff.24-25, PRO; Walter Butler to Captain Robert Mathews, Quebec, 25 July 1781, Add Mss 21765 f.275.

they have not only ever been (particularly since the death of Captain Butler) but still are not only void of, but in general have reluctant [sic] to the present and practice of regularly military discipline, the becoming due attentions to which the Officers in general have scarcely the most distant idea of. Their manner, their education, disposition, want of practical knowledge and the time of life most of them, are insurmountable obstacles in the way to effect the necessary requisites of an established Corps.¹²⁸

This is a scathing judgment of the unit. It is interesting what Potts says about the “time of life” of the unit. This would seem to suggest that they were older men. His use of the term “established corps” means that he feels they are deficient in what is required to join the Provincial establishment that had been formed in 1779, with the Queens Rangers being first on the list. However, his report is not all critical. It seems that his critique is their deficiencies in not being a smartly dressed, well drilled unit, not as fighting men. Potts went on to say:

During the course of the war, upon the service they have been employed, I believe they have ever (in general) behaved bravely and done their duty and are deserving of whatever His Majesty may be graciously pleased to favour or reward them with...I must not omit to observe to Your Excellency that two thirds of the private men are at present as fine fellows as ever I saw collected together, worthy of applause and by no means wanting in the customary requisites to effect in every respect good soldiers and might, should they be wanted, form a most complete small Corps of five or six Companies at fifty men per Company,

¹²⁸ Major William Potts to General Haldimand 13 August 1783, Add Mss 21765 f.359 cited in Smy, *Butler's Rangers an Annotated Roll*, pp. 18-19.

and might answer every purpose that could be wished for to effect the service of this Upper Country regarding the connection with the Indians.¹²⁹

Potts therefore reasons that the unit is fit for purpose they were formed for, but that they had deteriorated a little since Walter Butler's death. Pott's recommendation, that they be reduced in companies is similar to Walter Butler's recommendation of 3 years earlier. This would seem to suggest that Butler and Potts thought six companies was the ideal size for Butler's Rangers and that any more was not manageable. This might suggest that the expansion to ten companies was carried out for purely mercenary reasons rather than for the good of the unit. His praise of the unit sounds sincere and indeed he compares them favourably with the best men he has ever served with. Potts was an experienced man, used to a certain form of soldiering and was somewhat disconcerted when he found how lax the Rangers were in the soldierly skills he was most used to, namely parade ground discipline. However, what may have been good for a regular unit would have been a disadvantage in a ranger. Had they been dressed in smart red coats and stocks they might not been able to move freely and they certainly would not have been camouflaged. Their green coats might have been old and muddied, but they hid them in the forests.¹³⁰

Haldimand himself expressed this view when he said:

In regard to high discipline nothing of the kind is expected, the business of a Ranger being to march well, to endure fatigue and to be a good marksman. Any time they have to spare ought to be employed in these exercises. The little minutiae and

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ For detailed information on the Uniforms of Butler's Rangers see: Calvin Arnt, *Butler's Ranger Uniform*.

forms of parade are totally out of their province, nor can their situation admit of a possibility of their acquiring them.¹³¹

This in essence gives licence to everything Butler was trying to do with his Rangers and puts Potts' complaints in perspective. The Rangers could never be as disciplined as a line regiment but then they were not intended to be. John Simcoe echoed these sentiments when devising his own drill for the Queens Rangers.¹³² These types of regiments were trained for a specific purpose, which was to serve in rough terrain and therefore their priorities were to be camouflaged, adept at tracking and stalking and to be good shots. They were required to use their initiative far more than conventional soldiers. Butler's Rangers were lucky in having commanders like Carleton and Haldimand who understood the purpose of Rangers and were willing to tolerate a little laxity in dress and behaviour in exchange for proficiency in combat.

Despite the fact that Butler's Rangers were self equipped, ultimately they were a very costly regiment, the most expensive in the whole of Northern Command. At the end of the war Haldimand's staff drew up an account sheet of all the expenses of Northern command. The following shows total expenditure on Loyalist soldiers in the Northern department from 1778 to 1784.

Table 21: Expenditure on Armed Loyalists Northern Dept 1778-1784.	
Regiment	Cost
Butler's Rangers	£102, 217/9/5
Total for Regiments	£283,627/6/4
Total Expenditure	£2,887,013/8/4

Source: Amounts of Warrants Granted by His Excellency General Haldimand for the Extraordinary Services of the Army in Canada from July 1778 to November 1784 Add Mss 25754 f. 210.

The table shows that Butler's Rangers accounted for more than a third of the Northern Department's expenditure on armed Loyalists. The rest of the chapter will examine whether they were worthy of this expenditure, by looking at their combat record.

¹³¹ Haldimand (n.d.) cited in Smy, *An Annotated Roll of Butler's Rangers*, p19.

¹³² See *Queens Rangers Part 2*.

This section has shown that Butler's Rangers were financially a very different regiment to the Queens Rangers and the British Legion, and indeed most other Provincial regiments. They were well paid, but they were also relatively self sufficient in terms of arms and equipment. Wright's work on the Continental Army and Mayer's work highlights the similarities that Butler's Rangers had administratively with many Patriot units. While the Continental Army was equipped by a central organisation, they often had to fend for themselves, and militia units were largely self sufficient.¹³³

This section has highlighted the differences that Butler's Rangers had with other Provincial regiments administratively. It is very important to point out that in many ways Butler's Rangers were a unique unit in the British Army. Rogers attempted twice to form a similar unit, but did not succeed on either occasion. The question is, why was this unit allowed to exist after the changes made to the Queens Rangers? Admittedly they were never raised by rank, but in most other respects Butler's Rangers were similar in form to the early Queens Rangers. The answers are: that Butler did actually succeed in raising and keeping his unit himself, until he could be paid later; they were far away from the regular British Army and therefore not expected to behave like regulars. They also had understanding commanding generals, who trusted Butler. Ultimately though, the reason why Butler's Rangers were able to keep their original form was because they were a good combat regiment and that they won more actions than they lost. The next section will examine Butler's Rangers record in combat.

Part 2: The Rangers in Combat

This part of the chapter will look at the battlefield effectiveness and battlefield discipline of Butler's Rangers from 1778 to 1784. The main issues it will examine are: were the Rangers effective in fulfilling their designated strategic role of keeping the

¹³³ Robert K Wright, *The Continental Army*, (Washington, 1983), p.115.

Patriots occupied on the frontiers? Did they co-operate effectively with the Iroquois? Did they breach the accepted rules of Warfare? Were they guilty of either atrocities towards civilians or of failing to exercise control on the Native Americans they were serving alongside? The answers to these questions will attempt to show whether Butler's Rangers deserve their bloodthirsty reputation or whether they were just so effective an enemy that it was in the Patriots interest to blacken their names. Rather than providing an exhaustive account of Butler's Rangers in action from 1778 to 1784 the section will focus on two key periods. It will first look at their early expeditions in 1778 in the Mohawk Valley. This is where their reputation was acquired at two large engagements often referred to as massacres: at Wyoming and Cherry Valley. It will then assess operations in New York, Ohio and Kentucky in 1781 and 1782, where the Rangers were once again active with the Native Americans and where they also took part in expeditions which gave fuel to accusations of brutality. The reason for looking at these events is that although the Rangers saw action from late 1779 to 1781 they were not quite so important in the overall picture of the war and they were often unoccupied at Niagara during these periods. In 1778 and 1779 the Patriots mounted a major campaign against the Iroquois and Butler's Rangers were a vital part of the British reaction to it. After Yorktown the main British Army largely stopped major campaigns, so the frontier once more became the focus of Patriot attentions as it was the last major area of British/Loyalist resistance. Lastly there will be a brief section on the influence of the Native Americans of Butler's Rangers.

1778: First actions and Wyoming.

When the turning points of the Revolutionary War are being discussed, Saratoga, in October 1777, seems to have one of the best claims for being the major turning point of the war. It eliminated a British force at one stroke and ushered in a major change in British strategy for prosecuting the war. At a local level the surrender of Burgoyne and the retreat of St Leger eliminated British regular forces in upper New

York. It also created a situation where Loyal Americans in upper New York had no-one to turn to for protection against irregular forces that were more than happy to use them as scapegoats and plunder their property.¹³⁴ After Saratoga, securing settlements with large areas of potential Loyalists became vital to British strategy. The New York frontier was one area of proven Loyalty. As an added incentive there was also the presence of large numbers of Native Americans allied to the British. In early spring of 1778, General Carleton, the Governor of Quebec, began to consider the possibility of an offensive campaign in the Tryon-Susquehanna region, using Indians rather than regular troops. In March 1778, he sent John Butler to prepare the Iroquois for a major offensive.¹³⁵ The commander at Fort Niagara, Colonel Mason Bolton, acting on information received from Butler, wrote to Carleton that “the savages are determined to assist us” and stressed the necessity of “acting sooner” than the Patriots.¹³⁶ Butler himself echoed these sentiments in a letter written two days after Bolton’s in which he claimed his Rangers were ready to act and that the Patriots were “ripe” to be attacked.¹³⁷ He also reported that he expected to receive recruits whilst on campaign as he had recruiting parties in the area.¹³⁸

John Butler and his Rangers spent the spring preparing for an attack in conjunction with the Senecas and the Mohawks. He left Fort Niagara, with two companies of Rangers, accompanied by Captain William Caldwell, his then second in command, as Walter Butler was then in the process of making his way to meet his father,

¹³⁴ Many of them fled to Fort Niagara and were recruited into Butler’s Rangers, but many of them remained where they were, waiting for the British to come to their assistance. Glenn F. Williams, *Year of the Hangman* (2005), p.81; Howard Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p. 112.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, pp.82-85; Howard Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, pp 115-117.

¹³⁶ Colonel Bolton to General Carleton, Niagara, 8 April 1778, Add Mss 21756, f.195 cited in Williams, *The Year of the Hangman*, p.82

¹³⁷ Major Butler to General Carleton, 10 April 1778, Niagara, Add Mss 21756, f.124, BL.

¹³⁸ Williams, *The Year of the Hangman*, p.82

after his escape.¹³⁹ Butler's Rangers did not stay as one body for long. Butler sent 80 Rangers under Lt Frey and Joseph Brant to bring the Mohawks in from the Mohawk Valley.¹⁴⁰

On the 15 May Butler sent a report to General Carleton, stating that he was now almost ready to commence his campaign and was just waiting on Frey and Brant to join him.¹⁴¹ According to the report the plan was to strike through the Mohawk valley, to proceed down the Delaware to Pennsylvania and if possible to even link up with Howe somewhere in Pennsylvania.¹⁴² It was an ambitious plan and one that speaks of a man confident in his command. Although the Rangers had only been raised a few months previously Butler was confident enough in their abilities as guerrilla fighters to trust them for a major campaign beside the Native Americans.

In purely strategic and tactical terms, the campaign of June and July 1778 was a success. Butler's Rangers and their Indian allies swept down from the frontier consistently surprising and defeating Patriot resistance.¹⁴³ The Patriots had failed to respond to a warning from General Schulyer suggesting they were under prepared in the area and were thus overwhelmed by the Native Americans and Butler's Rangers.¹⁴⁴ After Saratoga, Gates had reassigned most of the Continental Army regiments to other areas. All the Patriots had to defend themselves were militia regiments of the type that Butler and Johnson had defeated the previous year at Oriskany. As a response to Butler's attacks

¹³⁹ As well as the Senecas and Mohawks they were also joined by Captain John Johnson and a company of Rangers from the Royal Regiment of New York. *Ibid*, p.83.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 83: Butler to General Carleton, Seneca Country, 15 May 1778, Add Mss 21765 f.39, BL.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁴² *Ibid*: Glenn F. Williams, *Year of the Hangman*, pp.84-85

¹⁴³ See Butler's report on the campaign, Butler to Haldimand 17 September 1778, Niagara Add Mss 21765 f.45; Williams *Year of the Hangman*, Chapter Four: Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, Chapter VI: Nester, *The Frontier War for American Independence*, Ch 6.

¹⁴⁴ General Schuyler to Governor George Clinton, Albany, 16 March 1778 Clinton Papers, Vol 3 pp.44-45 cited in Williams, *Year of the Hangman*, p.75.

and frantic letters from Governor Clinton, Congress finally ordered General Gates to prepare a campaign against the Native Americans in the Mohawk Valley.¹⁴⁵ Before that could happen, Butler Rangers had fought their first major action of the war and routed a force of Connecticut Militia at Wyoming on 3 July 1778.

Butler commenced his operations in the Wyoming Valley in Connecticut on June 10 1778.¹⁴⁶ He was accompanied by a force of around 200 Rangers and 300 Native Americans, largely of the Seneca Tribe under their Chief, Sayenqueragtha.¹⁴⁷ They raided several settlements and took prisoners. Yet it is here that the controversy started. In Butler's report of the campaign to his superior Colonel Bolton he states that on 30 June he "arrived with about 500 Rangers and Indians at Wioming, [sic] and encamped on an eminence which overlooks the greatest part of the settlement, from whence I sent out parties to discover the situation, and strength of the Enemy, who brought in eight Prisoners, and scalps."¹⁴⁸ This almost casual reporting of scalp taking demonstrates that Butler did not regard it as something he should have been ashamed of. One of Butler's Rangers, Richard McGinnis described how the "Savages captured two white men and a negro who they afterwards murdered in their camp."¹⁴⁹ The fact that the source is a Ranger proves that this was no piece of engineered propaganda. Butler was not fully succeeding in controlling those under his command.

Butler's report for the 30 June, mentions that he estimated the enemy to be about 800 strong in three forts, Wintermorts, Jenkins and Forty.¹⁵⁰ The following day he split his forces and forced Forts Wintermort and Jenkins to surrender, Fort Forty refused the

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. p.98.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 114-116

¹⁴⁷ Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement at Niagara*, p.46.

¹⁴⁸ John Butler to Colonel Bolton, Lacuwanac, 8 July 1778, in Add Mss 21760, ff. 31-34.

¹⁴⁹ Richard McGinnis, Journal, in Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy Six: The Story of the American Revolution as told by Participants*, (1967) p. 1006, also partially cited in Williams, *Year of the Hangman* p. 118

¹⁵⁰ Butler to Colonel Bolton, Lacuwanac, 8 July 1778, in Add Mss 21760, ff. 31-34.

terms. Butler's terms of surrender were: that if all within the fort surrendered no-one would be harmed and the prisoners would be paroled, which they were on 5 July.¹⁵¹ These terms show that Butler did not intend to slaughter prisoners and when everything was running smoothly such as a formal surrender, rather than in the heat of battle, he acted fairly. The action also shows considerable military skill, as Butler was able to neutralise a large part of the opposing force.

The assault on the forts caused great consternation in the Wyoming Valley and pushed the Patriots into summoning all their militia under Col. Zebulon Butler, who decided to attack on 3 July with somewhere between "four and five hundred men."¹⁵² Col. Zebulon Butler, with the militia and sixty Continentals marched to meet the Rangers and Indians but was instead ambushed at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 3rd.¹⁵³ This chapter will not give a blow by blow account of the battle, but will highlight certain points about the efficiency of Butler's Rangers and the controversy of their actions at the battle, of which there is much. Fought in the thick woods, the battle was a confusing affair but Butler's report demonstrates that the Rangers showed considerable skill and tactical awareness:

I ordered the Forts to be sett on fire, which deceived the Enemy into an opinion that we had retreated: We then posted ourselves in a fine open wood, and for our greater safety lay flat upon the ground, waiting their approach. When they were within

¹⁵¹Colonel John Butler to Lt. Elisha Scovell, 5 July 1778 Clinton Papers Vol. 3 ff. 520- 521 cited in Williams, *Year of the Hangman*, p. 120.

¹⁵² This is Butler's figure from John Butler to Colonel Bolton, Lacuwanac, 8 July 1778, in Add Mss 21760, ff. 31-34, BL; Williams gives a figure of 375, in Williams, *Year of the Hangman*, p.124.

¹⁵³Glenn F. Williams has recently written a very impressive account of Wyoming, and while he takes a less than sympathetic view of Butler than his defenders, Swiggett and Cruikshank, he does not deny that it was a comprehensive victory for Butler Rangers and their Seneca allies, see Williams, *Year of the Hangman*; Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*; Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers*; Mann, *George Washington's War on the Native America*, p.16

200 yards of us, they began firing; we still continued upon the ground without returning their Fire till they had fired three Vollies: by this time they had advanced within 100 yards of us, and being quite near enough Suingerachton ordered his Indians who were upon the right to begin the attack upon our part; which was immediately well seconded by the Rangers on the left. Our fire was so close, and well directed, that the affair was soon over, not lasting above half an hour, from the time they gave us the first fire till their flight.¹⁵⁴

This account shows how efficiently Butler's Rangers had fulfilled the role assigned to them. They were experienced frontiersmen, used to this kind of warfare. Butler mentions that the Rangers' fire was "close and well directed" which shows that they were more than a match for the Patriot force in this kind of combat. The aforementioned Richard McGinnis, left his own account of the battle, which also gives evidence of the political motivation of many of Butler's Rangers. He says:

When the enemy came in sight of us they fell to blackguarding us, calling out aloud, "Come out ye villainous Tories! Come out if ye dare, and show your heads, if ye durst, to the brave continental Sons of Liberty!" (Remark, I call them Sons of Sedition, Schism and Rebellion.) But we came out to their confusion indeed – for the Indians on the right under the command of Col. Butler and their King Quirxhta entirely surrounded the enemy and the white men under the command of Quiskkal on the left drove and defeated the enemy on every quarter. They fled to

¹⁵⁴ Butler to Colonel Bolton, Lacuwanac, 8 July 1778, in Add Mss 21760, ff. 31-34, BL.

the river and many of them even there were pursued by the savages and shared the same fate as those on the land.¹⁵⁵

This rare account from an enlisted man describes the hatred between the two sides effectively. McGinnis expresses strong political motivation for his actions. His account of the battle itself is brief but it still demonstrates the completeness of the victory. He also gives further demonstration of the motivation of Butler's Rangers when later in the account he describes how the seizure of livestock and property was a direct response to a similar seizure by the Patriots:

The Rebles [sic] begged of us to restore something back, but we replied. "Remember how you served the peaceable subjects of his Majesty at Tankennick."¹⁵⁶ Remember how you took their property and converted it to Reble purposes, and their persons fell in your hands, you immediately sent them off to prison clean into Connecticut and left their numerous families in the utmost distress. And be contented Rebles, that your lives are still spared and that you have not shared the same fate with your seditious brethren.¹⁵⁷

The linking of their actions to a previous event demonstrates that many in Butler's Rangers were motivated by revenge. In McGinnis's last sentence he describes how he felt that the survivors were lucky to be alive, linking this clearly with the fact that there were few survivors of the Patriot force. He also describes the destruction of civilian

¹⁵⁵ Richard McGinnis, Journal, in Commager and Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy Six: The Story of the American Revolution as told by Participants*, p. 1007

¹⁵⁶ Tunkhannock. Wyoming County Pennsylvania, there had been a skirmish there on 12 June, Williams, *Year of the Hangman*, p. 116.

¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁷ Richard McGinnis, Journal, in Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy Six: The Story of the American Revolution as told by Participants*, (New York, 1967) p. 1007.

property that followed the battle. These reasons ensure that the Battle of Wyoming was one of the most controversial of the war.

In the aftermath of the battle no quarter was given and the scalps of all the dead were taken. Butler says in his report that “in this action were taken 227 Scalps and only five prisoners. The Indians were so exasperated with their loss last year near Fort Stanwix that it was with the greatest difficulty I could save the lives of those few.”¹⁵⁸ Scalping was a vicious practice but it was the norm on the frontier. Many British and Loyalists suffered the same fate as the Patriots at Wyoming, including Walter Butler himself, in 1781.¹⁵⁹

So what was the role of Butler’s Rangers in the events? Stories went round that many of Butler’s Rangers had murdered their own relatives.¹⁶⁰ According to Mann, there was only one incident of this nature, in which a Ranger, Giles Slocum, killed his father in the battle.¹⁶¹ The very fact that this happened at all, though, allowed the propagandists to exaggerate numerous incidents of a similar kind. In the years after the Revolution the atrocity stories of Wyoming turned it into a massacre. John Frost’s 1851 account of the battle is not as exaggerated as some, but he claims 370 men were killed, which is contrary

¹⁵⁸ Butler to Colonel Bolton, Lacuwanac, 8 July 1778, in Add Mss 21760, ff. 31-34, BL.

¹⁵⁹ One of the most frequently quoted accounts is by the celebrated “American Farmer” Jean Louis de Crevecoeur. He describes how many Patriots were killed while attempting to escape in the river “pierced with the lances of the Indians” He subsequently provides a vivid account of the civilians locked in Fort Forty watching their friends and relatives being scalped outside the fort. He then describes the fate of the civilians as they fled the area after the Battle with all their possessions gone. It is an affecting account, and it is corroborated to an extent by McGinnis, but as far as can be ascertained, Crevecoeur was not at Wyoming, and relied on second hand accounts. However, Crevecoeur does remark on how no civilians were hurt at the battle. “Happily these fierce people, satisfied with the death of those who opposed them in arms, treated the defenceless ones, the women and children, with a degree of humanity almost hitherto unparalleled.” Jean Louis Crevecoeur, Crevecoeur’s Sketches of eighteenth century America pp.197-206, in Commager and Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy Six: The Story of the American Revolution as told by Participants*, (New York, 1967) pp. 1008-1011.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.18:

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

to Butler's claim of 227.¹⁶² One of the most vivid accounts, written in 1820, claims that Butler "with a band of 1600 Indians and Royalists invaded the settlement at Wyoming.... they put to death all the inhabitants of both sexes and every age, some thousands in number, enclosing some in buildings which they set on fire roasting others alive."¹⁶³ This has echoes of the film "the Patriot." As far as can be ascertained no non combatants were killed. This was admitted by senior Patriot sources at the time.¹⁶⁴ Barbara Alice Mann ascribes the massacre stories to sense of shame at the defeat.¹⁶⁵ She argues that historians have depended upon one sided sources.¹⁶⁶ She also argues that the stories of savagery also negated the fact that the local Patriots had recently destroyed three Iroquois villages the year before Wyoming, where civilians had also been killed.¹⁶⁷ Mann's points are relevant and demonstrate the strong pro-Patriot bias of much of the early historiography of the American Revolution, particularly of that concerning the deeds of Loyalists or Loyal Native Americans. Most of the primary sources detailing the "massacre" seem to have been based on hearsay rather than being from witnesses.¹⁶⁸ Although many of the stories cast the Iroquois, and particularly Joseph Brant, who was not even at Wyoming -it was

¹⁶² John Frost, *Thrilling Incidents in the Wars of the United States*, (Ann Arbor, 1851), pp.374-375.

¹⁶³ James Gordon, *Historical and Geographical Memoir of the North American Continent It's Nations and Tribes*, (Dublin, 1820), p. 215 cited in Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p. 131.

¹⁶⁴ A report by the Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society from 1895 which assessed the testimony of the local commanders, while being hostile to Butler and the Senecas, cleared them of murdering civilians, *The Massacre of Wyoming*, Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society, (Wilkes Barre, PA, 1895) p.14.

¹⁶⁵ Mann, *George Washington's War on Native America*, p.16.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.15.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.15-16.

Lt Col. Adam Hubley, who visited the battlefield a year later, claimed "the British tyrant let loose upon them his emissaries, the savages of the wood, who not only destroyed and laid waste those cottages, but in cool blood massacred and cut off the inhabitants, not even sparing gray locks or helpless infancy." See, Adam Hubley, 1779, quoted in Barbara Alice Mann, *George Washington's War on Native America*, p.17.

purely a Seneca affair- as the villains, Butler's Rangers were undoubtedly implicated and were permanently tainted with accusations of massacre.¹⁶⁹

Another myth about Wyoming is that Butler was censured by the British high command.¹⁷⁰ The opposite is in fact true. Haldimand was pleased with the victory and passed on the message to Henry Clinton, who forwarded Butler's report to Lord Germain. Germain's reply was a vindication of the military skill of Butler's Rangers and the trust that the High Command now had in them:

The success of Lt. Col Butler is distinguished for the few lives that have been lost among the Rangers and Indians he commanded and for his humanity in making those only his object who were in arms; and it is much to the credit of the officers and Rangers of his Detachment that they seem to partake of the spirit and perseverance which is common to all the British officers and soldiers.¹⁷¹

The fact that Germain was so impressed with the conduct of the regiment spoke well of their skill and also ensured that they would be used frequently in future campaigns. Militarily, Butler's Rangers' first large scale engagement was a complete success. They had proved adept at forest fighting and had struck a major blow to the Patriots in Pennsylvania. However, they had laid themselves open to accusations of brutality-whatever their guilt- and these stories would continue after their next major engagement, at Cherry Valley.

Cherry Valley

¹⁶⁹ For an account placing Brant at Wyoming, see John Fanning Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, 1857), p.125.

¹⁷⁰ Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p.131.

¹⁷¹ Germain to Clinton, Whitehall, 4 November 1778, Clinton Papers, Clements Library Dispatch No. 16, cited in Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p.134.

In the autumn of 1778 Butler's Rangers returned to Niagara and planned operations closer to their home base. A raid on the Mohawk Valley was decided upon. This was where many of the men were from, so it was to be a chance to gain back their property or at least enact some measure of revenge on those who had seized it. Swiggett describes the Mohawk Valley campaign as "a little war planned and waged by desperate and lonely men for the recovery of their homes."¹⁷² This puts a far more favourable gloss than is normally put on events, but it does emphasise the localised nature of this particular part of the war. The combatants on both sides were men who had grown up in a small area in New York. Butler's Rangers often fought in an area close to where many of them were from, which possibly heightened their emotions towards those who now occupied these areas.¹⁷³

Operations started in September when companies under Captain Walter Butler and Captain Caldwell, raided German Flats in upper New York. The raids were designed to keep the enemy guessing, and for the fast moving to Rangers to be heading back to their base at Niagara before the Continental Army had time to organise resistance in an area. The raid on German Flats succeeded in this regard.¹⁷⁴ Despite warnings from General John Stark at Albany that "Butler and Brandt are determined to pay us a visit" Walter Butler succeeded in surprising German Flats, destroying the settlement.¹⁷⁵ The

¹⁷² Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p.141.

¹⁷³ In the autumn of 1778, Butler's Rangers split into detachments. This was to be the way Butler intended to run his regiment. After Wyoming there are few instances of Butler's Rangers going into combat as a regiment. Butler's strategy would be to fight in groups of one or two companies accompanied by Iroquois warriors. They would raid patriot settlements and harass the enemy, and disrupt their supply lines. The plan was for Walter Butler to concentrate his efforts in the Mohawk Valley, particularly around Cherry Valley see, John Butler to General Haldimand, Niagara, 17 September 1778, Add Mss 21756, f.137; Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, pp.141-143.

¹⁷⁴ Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p.143; Williams, *The Year of the Hangman*, p. 118.

¹⁷⁵ John Stark to George Washington Albany, 14 September 1778, cited in Howard Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p. 142.

Patriot commander at German Flatts, Colonel Peter Bellinger, wrote to New York Governor George Clinton that:

The enemy burned sixty three dwelling houses, fifty seven barns, with grain and fodder, three grist mills, one saw mill, took away two hundred and thirty five horses, two hundred and twenty nine horned cattle, 269 sheep, killed and destroyed hogs and burned a great many outhouses.¹⁷⁶

This was a great embarrassment to the Patriots. Butler's Rangers were proving to be a very effective opposition, even in the absence of the main British Army.¹⁷⁷ This also is a further example of the military skill and usefulness of Butler's Rangers as well as their Iroquois allies. They were hurting the Patriots' supply lines as well as providing weapons, ammunition and food to their own side. While these tactics earned them condemnation from the Patriots, the raids were undoubtedly damaging the Patriot cause on the Frontier. An example of the reaction they caused at the highest levels in the Patriot command is provided by Washington's letter to Governor George Clinton:

Mr. Herkimer... gives a melancholy account of the distresses of the Inhabitants at the German Flatts. To defend an extensive frontier against the incursions of Indians and the Banditti under Butler and Brant is next to impossible; but still if you think the addition of another Regiment, ill as I can spare it, or

¹⁷⁶ Peter Bellinger to George Clinton, German Flatts, 19 September 1778, George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4, General Correspondence. 1697-1799, online at http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage052.db&recNum=197&tempFile=./temp/~ammem_tQw6&filecode=mgw&next_filecode=mgw&itemnum=1&ndocs=100 accessed 12/9/2008.

¹⁷⁷The correspondence about them in this period, in the papers of the senior officers of the Continental army, is full of mentions of their activities and plans to counter them. See, various letters in the Washington Papers September to November 1778 online at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>

a change of position in the troops that are already upon the Frontier, will answer any good purpose, I will cheerfully comply.¹⁷⁸

Washington here pays Butler's Rangers one of the greatest backhanded compliments they could possibly have received. He calls them "banditti" but he acknowledges their ability to strike almost anywhere on the frontier. Yet, given the stretched resources of the Patriots, it is all the more extraordinary that Walter Butler caused Washington to send a full regiment to deal with two companies of Rangers.

The Patriot response to the German Flats Raid was an uncompromising one. Colonel William Butler was appointed to counter Walter Butler in the Mohawk Valley and in October he raided and destroyed Iroquois settlements at Undilla.¹⁷⁹ These events created bitterness amongst Butler's Rangers and their Iroquois allies. Swiggett claims that the events of Cherry Valley were attributable in part to a desire for revenge for Undilla.¹⁸⁰ This does not excuse Butler's Rangers however, although it does demonstrate that the war in the Mohawk Valley in autumn 1778 was not a "Gentleman's War" but a desperate fight for supremacy by men who all felt they had a claim to dominate local affairs.

Walter Butler then moved to counter a Patriot force at Tioga, before returning to Cherry Valley to attack the fort there, on 11 November 1778. This is the most notorious day in the history of Butler's Rangers. A letter from Colonel Bolton to Haldimand describes Walter Butler's movements before the battle:

¹⁷⁸ George Washington to George Clinton, 25 September 1778 George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 3c Varick Transcripts Letterbooks 2 f.358, online at http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:2:/temp/~ammem_aFdX

¹⁷⁹ He reported that he had "sufficiently secured these Frontiers from any further disturbances from the savages at least this winter; and it will be hereafter difficult for them to distress these parts." Colonel William Butler to Gov. George Clinton Schoharie, 28 October 1778, Papers of George Clinton, Vol. IV p. 47, cited in Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p. 143.

¹⁸⁰ Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p.144.

Captain Butler's little army of Rangers and Indians amount to eight hundred, and from his last letter he intends to attack Cherry Valley where the enemy have a large number of cattle and a large quantity of corn.¹⁸¹

The basic facts of the action at Cherry Valley are: Walter Butler, with two companies of Rangers under Caldwell and McDonnell; Mohawks under Brant and Senecas under Chief Garganwahgah, attacked the Patriot fort and settlement at Cherry Valley, under Col. Ichabod Alden, and succeeded in defeating the enemy comprehensively and killing Alden. After the battle, Butler failed to control the men under his command and thirty two civilians, including women and children, were killed. At Wyoming, civilians were only killed in the histories written in the early nineteenth century, at Cherry Valley it actually happened. From the various accounts of the action it appears that it was a catalogue of mistakes and over confidence on the part of the Patriots that allowed Butler's victory. Colonel Alden ignored or downplayed numerous warnings in the days before the battle telling him that Butler and Brant were approaching.¹⁸²

It is difficult for the modern historian to make sense out of the events of Cherry Valley, there are so many conflicting reports. Mann argues that it is "almost impossible" to tell exactly what happened.¹⁸³ Walter Butler blamed the Native Americans –although not Brant, who he insisted was humane- and Brant blamed Butler for inciting those under his command. Mann further argues that the Rangers committed many of the murders

¹⁸¹ Williams' recent account of the battle puts Walter Butler's force at six hundred and twenty. Colonel Mason Bolton to General Haldimand, Niagara, 11 November 1778, Add Mss 21760 f.69, cited in Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p. 145; Williams, *Year of the Hangman*, p.175.

¹⁸² Ibid. p 174-176; Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, pp145-148; Mann, *Washington's War on Native America*, pp22-24

¹⁸³ Mann, *Washington's War on Native America*, p.24.

themselves and were culpable in others.¹⁸⁴ Brant would later accuse Butler of being “more savage than the savages” and would claim that “the atrocities were mostly chargeable to Walter Butler.”¹⁸⁵ Brant’s biographer, Stone, argues that while there was no evidence that Walter Butler participated in any atrocities personally, he was culpable, as it was his expedition. This is a similar charge to the one laid on Tarleton for Waxhaws, and in Butler’s case it has even more validity as unlike Tarleton, he was not hors de combat at any time. Mann’s recent work attempts to put the record straight from the perspective of the Iroquois and she defends Brant, arguing that it was not Iroquois policy to make war on women and children. She concedes that many of the murders *were* done by Iroquois, as well as some by Rangers, but that Butler was guilty of inciting them.

It was very easy for pro-Loyalist historians like Cruikshank and Swiggett, who were revising the established facts, to refute everything in traditional Whig historiography, and write it all off as propaganda. Much of it is, but at Cherry Valley there is at least a considerable basis in fact. Thirty two civilians *were* killed, and there is evidence that some of them were killed by the Rangers. Swiggett questioned Brant’s honesty. He wrote “What more easy than a savage, who was to murder his own son than to charge the dead Butler with his crimes?”¹⁸⁶ Swiggett’s racism is difficult to deal with and on the charge of Butler being dead; he lived three more years and actually did defend himself against the charges of inhumanity. In his report to written on 17 November, he refutes all blame:

I have much to lament that notwithstanding my utmost
precautions and endeavours to save the Women and Children, I

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. p.24; Ernest Cruikshank, Memoir of John McDonnell, in *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1927, Vol.22, pp. 20-59, pp.26-27

¹⁸⁵ Stone, gives evidence of Brant’s role in attempting to stop the killing of civilians, asserting that he personally saved several families from harm, see William L. Stone, *The Life of Joseph Brant* (1838, 1969 ed. New York), pp. 380-383.

¹⁸⁶ Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, p. 155.

could not prevent some of them falling unhappy victims to the Fury of the Savages... The death of the women and Children upon this occasion may be truly ascribed to the Rebels having falsely accused the Indians of Cruelty at Wyomen, this has much exasperated them, and they were still more incensed at finding the Colonel and those men who had laid down their Arms, soon after marching into their country intending to destroy their villages and they declared they would be no more falsely accused, or fight the enemy twice, meaning they would in future give no quarters.¹⁸⁷

Thus he lays the entire blame on the Native Americans. He also claims that the Patriots had surrendered, then they had taken up arms again and had attempted to destroy Iroquois villages. Walter Butler would repeat this claim in a letter to the Patriot General, James Clinton. Clinton wrote to Walter Butler on the subject of prisoner exchanges, and also charged him with inhumanity. Clinton, in his understated way, accused Butler and the Rangers of great crimes:

I should hope for the sake of human nature and the sake and honour of civilized nations, that the British officers had restrained themselves in restraining the barbarity of the savages. But it is difficult for even the most disinterested mind to believe it as numerous instances of barbarity have been perpetrated where the Savages were not present-or if they were British force was not sufficient to restrain them, had there been a real desire to do so.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Walter Butler to Lt. Col. Bolton, Onondella, 17 November 1778, Add Mss 21760, f.82, BL, the whole letter is quoted but no formal citation is given in Cruikshank, *Memoir of John McDonnell*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁸⁸ Brigadier General James Clinton to Captain Walter Butler, Albany, 1 January 1779 whole letter is quoted in Stone, *The Life of Joseph Brant*, p.384.

This is a very eloquent accusation of Butler, Butler's Rangers and the British in general. Clinton goes on to mention that Mrs Butler (John Butler's wife and Walter's mother, then held at Albany) was lucky not to have fallen victim to retribution and the fact that she hadn't, was due to the "humane principles" of her Patriot captors. Walter Butler was understandably incensed by this, and replied to defend himself. This type of exchange between two Americans on opposing sides is very rare- normally prisoner exchange letters were brief and functional- and therefore repays close study. In Walter Butler's reply he once again refutes all charges against himself and the Rangers:

Though you should call it inhumanity the killing men in the field we in that case plead guilty. The inhabitants killed at Cherry Valley does not lay at my door- my conscience acquits. If any are guilty (as accessories) it's yourselves at least the conduct of your officers... I must however, beg leave to observe that I experienced no humanity or even common justice, during my experience among you.¹⁸⁹

To ask what motivates men to commit these kinds of crimes is a very difficult question. Dave Grossman has analysed what motivates soldiers to commit atrocities and concludes that there is no one factor.¹⁹⁰ Butler's Rangers were certainly motivated by revenge, but if that was the case, why did they not behave like that at Wyoming or indeed on every other occasion they went into battle?¹⁹¹ In the same way that Waxhaws is a turning point for the British Legion in demonising their reputation so is Cherry Valley for

¹⁸⁹ Walter Butler to General Clinton Niagara 18 February 1779, whole letter is quoted in William L. Stone, *The Life of Joseph Brant*, pp.385-6.

¹⁹⁰ Dave Grossman, *On Killing*, (New York, 1995), pp.203-213

¹⁹¹ Various historians have looked at brutality in battle, none specifically on the American Revolution, although Dirk Hoerder's work on crowd behaviour assesses the Revolutionary period in respect to civil violence see Dirk Hoerder, *Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts, 1765-1780* (New York, 1977).

Butler's Rangers. One of the principal causes of Waxhaws was the temporary loss of the Legion's commander, Butler's Rangers have no such excuse. Walter Butler was present throughout the battle. He would later refute all allegations of brutality and release all surviving civilians but the damage was done. Mann and others have made the case that Walter Butler whipped his men, both Ranger and Iroquois into such a state of rage and indignation that outrage was almost inevitable. Separating the fact from the myth is a very difficult task but there is a case for suggesting that Walter Butler was at least partially to blame. There is no evidence that he personally committed any crimes and while he claimed that he tried to stop events there is also evidence that he did not.

The moral reputation of Butler's Rangers would never properly recover. There was little if any censure for Walter Butler. The British were pleased at the victory, and Walter Butler received no official condemnation. Haldimand wrote to John Butler, in December, expressing disapproval at the "cruelties of the Indians" but there was no censure of the Rangers themselves.¹⁹² However, Walter Butler would never again receive an independent command and he remained a Captain for the rest of his life.¹⁹³

1779-1782: Tragedy and Triumph

¹⁹² Haldimand to John Butler, Quebec, 25 December 1778, Add Mss 21756, f.84.

¹⁹³ In 1781, his father petitioned on his behalf for him to be promoted to Major. The request was turned down by Haldimand. Haldimand's aide, Capt. Mathews, informed John Butler, in a letter ironically written two days after Walter Butler's death, that while Haldimand was "desirous to reward Captain Butler's merits," he could not "promote him to the rank of Major over the heads of so many elder and more experienced officers." This is interesting, as Butler had served continuously for six years and was twenty nine years old. Banastre Tarleton had been promoted to Major after two years service, at the age of 24, and there were similar early promotions in the Provincial Service, for Simcoe and Rawdon. As it is difficult to accuse Haldimand of anti American prejudice-he had no problem with promoting John Butler to Lt. Col., in 1780 – it is therefore possible that the events of Cherry Valley were still - unofficially- being held against Walter Butler three years later. See, John Butler to Capt. Mathews, 21 September 1781, Niagara, Add Mss 21765, ff.284-285; Capt. Mathews to John Butler, 1 November 1781, Quebec, Add Mss 21765 ff. 157-158.

The next three years saw Butler's Rangers fight many actions on the frontiers. They won many of them but as the Patriots began to gain the upper hand in the war the Rangers were frequently outnumbered and under resourced and they also lost several engagements. At no point however, were they ever routed in combat and the regiment held together as a coherent unit until 1784.

After the defeats of 1778, the Patriots began to turn things around on the New York frontier, winning several victories in 1779. In the summer of 1779 General John Sullivan launched a major campaign against the Iroquois, British and Loyalist forces on the New York frontier. He had far superior numbers and was successful in defeating them and at the battle of Newtown on 16 August.¹⁹⁴ Interestingly, Sullivan's expedition utterly destroyed several Six Nations villages and left the inhabitants without winter provisions, effectively dooming them to starvation.¹⁹⁵ What it emphasises is that the frontier war was a brutal and vengeful affair where the civilian population did not escape unscathed on either side. After Sullivan's successful campaign, the frontier became less crucial to the Patriots as the focal point of the war switched to the South in late 1779. So Butler's Rangers had not succeeded entirely in their mission to divert troops from elsewhere but they still managed to keep a substantial number of Patriots occupied in the years to come.

¹⁹⁴ Butler's Rangers and the Iroquois under Brant tried to fight a defensive action but were defeated and forced to retreat to Niagara. Butler, commanding virtually the sole British defence in the Mohawk Valley area, had urgently requested reinforcements from Haldimand, but they arrived too late to save the settlements of the Iroquois which had been burned and plundered. Butler sent a report to Haldimand on 20 September stating that Sullivan was retreating in the face of the fresh reinforcements but that it was "too late to save the country of the five nations from being destroyed" and that he had "been obliged to retreat to Niagara for want of provisions." See, John Butler to Haldimand, Niagara 20 September 1779, Add Mss 21765, ff. 140-141; Gavin K. Watt and James Morrison, *The Burning of the Valleys*, (Toronto, 1997) p.62; Mann, *George Washington's War on Native America*, pp. 65-72; Williams, *Year of the Hangman*, pp249-250.

¹⁹⁵ Mann is particularly scathing of this behaviour on the part of the Patriots, especially in light of their condemnation of similar incidents enacted towards them the previous year. See, Mann, *Washington's War on Native America*, pp. 65-66.

Butler's Rangers, in conjunction with Brant's Iroquois warriors and Sir John Johnson's battalions, continued to wage war on the frontiers with sporadic success throughout 1780 and 1781. Then in late 1781 the Patriots claimed one of their biggest scalps, literally. On the 26 October 1781 the Patriots under Colonel Marinus Willett-for once outnumbered themselves-were victorious over a raiding expedition commanded by Major John Ross, of the Kings Royal Regiment of New York, at the Battle of Johnstown.¹⁹⁶ Ross' command comprised of two companies of his own regiment, Walter Butler and one hundred and fifty Rangers, one hundred and thirty Six Nations warriors and small detachments of the 84th (formerly the Royal Highland Emigrants), 34th and 8th regiments.¹⁹⁷ They were defeated by Willet and forced into retreat. Ross' casualties were: eleven killed, eleven wounded and thirty two captured.¹⁹⁸ As if the loss to a numerically inferior enemy was not humiliating enough for the Rangers, there was an unfortunate aftermath to the battle. Four days later, the retreating Walter Butler, with forty Rangers, was surprised while camping for the night, near the West Canada Creek, by Willett and

¹⁹⁶ This battle is sometimes known as the Hall Battle as it was fought in the grounds of Johnson Hall, the former residence of Sir William Johnson, see Watt and Morrison, *The Burning of the Valleys*, p.208.

¹⁹⁷ The source of those detailed numbers is Walter Butler, whose pocket book was taken from his body after his death. See Col. Marinus Willett to General Stirling, Fort Rensselaer, 2 November 1781, published in *The Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, Saturday, December 1, 1781, online at <http://www.fulton.nygenweb.net/military/HQletters.html> accessed 5/5/2009.

¹⁹⁸ It is not certain how many of these were Rangers, although Willett recorded that three of Butler's Rangers had been taken prisoner. See, ¹⁹⁸ Marinus Willett, 9 November 1781, Return on British Prisoners George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799 online at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:8:/temp/~ammem_Lu9E: accessed 5/5/2009; James Morrison, *The Hall Battle, or Johnstown*, (1999) published online by NYGENWEB project at <http://www.fulton.nygenweb.net/military/fultonctyrev.html> accessed 5/5/2009.

his Oneida Indian allies. Butler and four Rangers were killed.¹⁹⁹ Butler and the other dead were scalped by the Oneida Indians.

The recollections of several soldiers who served at Johnstown and its aftermath convey the level of satisfaction amongst the Patriots at Walter Butler's death.²⁰⁰ Private Hugh Connolly of the Tryon County Militia recorded how after surprising Butler he and his comrades "then pursued them as far as Canada Creek there Capt. Butler was killed that commanded the Tories. We then returned back the Indians that were with us had the scalps that they carried on a pole."²⁰¹ Private Frederick Ullman took satisfaction in recording that "Butler then the Commander of Indians and tories was shot Dead, and Recollects that he felt happy that it took place."²⁰² This rejoicing was perhaps summed up best by Colonel Willett himself, who in his memoirs wrote,

During the four years that had elapsed from his conviction as a spy, to the time of his death, he had exhibited more instances of enterprise, had done more injury, and committed more murders, than any other man on the frontiers. Such was the terror of the local inhabitants of the frontiers, so cruel a scourge had he been to

¹⁹⁹ James Morrison, *The Hall Battle, or Johnstown*, (1999) published online by NYGENWEB project at <http://www.fulton.nygenweb.net/military/fultonctyrev.html> accessed 5/5/2009.

²⁰⁰ These were documents submitted in the nineteenth century by veterans who gave detailed records of their Revolutionary War service in order to show their qualification for a government pension, see Records of Revolutionary War Pensioners who fought at the Battle of Johnstown, online at <http://www.fulton.nygenweb.net/military/revpensions.html> accessed 5/5/2009.

²⁰¹ Hugh Connelly, pension no. S28690 (N.Y.), Jefferson, Schoharie Co., N.Y., age 73 years, 5 February 1833. Private in Captain William Snook's Company in Colonel Frederick Visscher's Regt. of Tryon County Militia (Third Battalion), Online at *ibid*.

²⁰² Frederick Ulman, Pension No. S14743 (N.Y. & Penn.), 5 February 1833, Town of Carlisle, Schoharie County. Served as a private in Captain Garret Putnam's Company in Colonel Marinus Willett's Regiment of Levies, online at *ibid*.

them, that though Cornwallis' surrender took place about this time, yet the inhabitants expressed more joy at the death of Butler, than the capture of Cornwallis.²⁰³

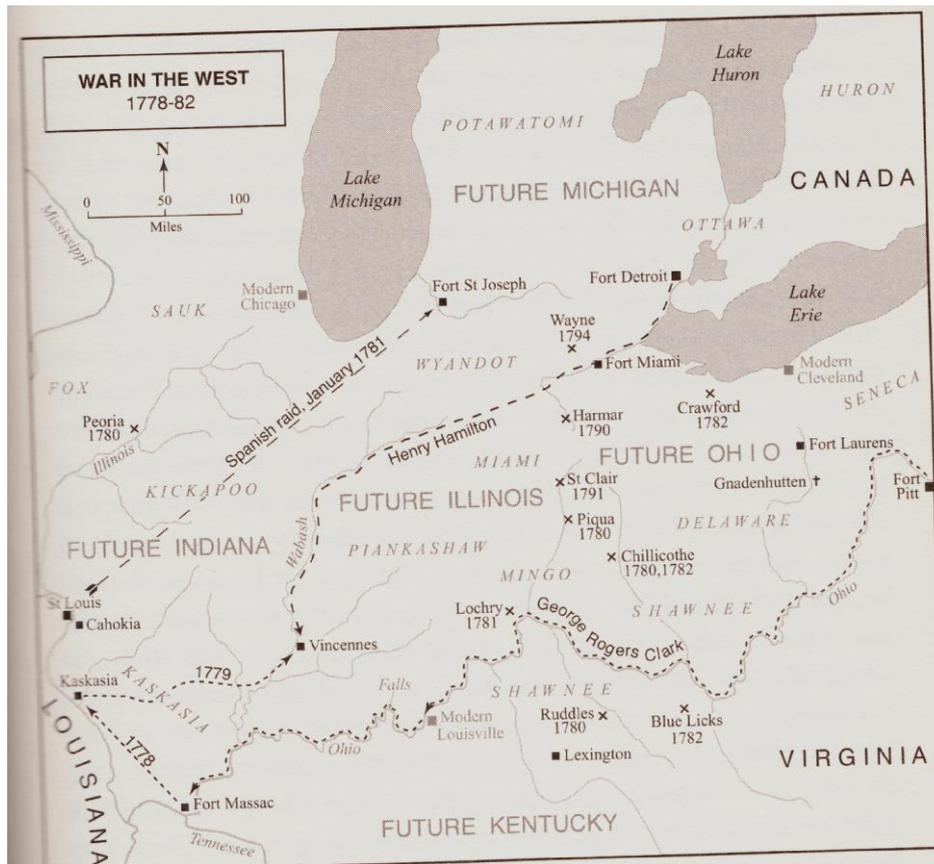
This eloquent testament encapsulates the feelings of the Patriots at the death of one of their most hated enemies. For Butler's Rangers, the death of Walter Butler was also a severe blow to both their pride and morale. They had not taken substantial losses at Johnstown and Canada Creek, but the death of their second in command affected both their organisation and morale. With the exception of the Detroit detachment of Butler's Rangers under William Caldwell-see below- they saw little action after 1781. As recorded earlier in the chapter, Major Potts stated that they were still suffering from the effects of Walter Butler's loss in 1783. On hearing the news, Haldimand expressed his condolence to John Butler, stating in a letter to Brigadier Powell- Bolton's replacement as commander of Niagara- that Powell was to "acquaint Colonel Butler that I most sincerely lament and condole with him the loss of Captain Butler- his good understanding, of the honourable cause in which he fell, will assist in consoling him in his heavy misfortune."²⁰⁴ Whether or not John Butler was genuinely condoled by belief in the British cause is unrecorded, but Butler's Rangers did fight on.

In every other theatre of the war, the year 1782 was a quiet one. The Patriots had triumphed at Yorktown in October 1781 and it was generally held that the war was essentially over. The main British armies waited at Charleston and New York, doing little to provoke the Patriots. However, the war on the frontiers raged on. This is because the British may have been reconciled to the fact of eventually losing the territory that was shortly to become the United States but they were still determined to hold onto Canada and as much of the frontier as they could. So while most Loyalist Regiments did garrison

²⁰³ William Marinus Willett (ed.) *Marinus Willet, A narrative of the military actions of Colonel Marinus Willett, taken chiefly from his own Manuscript*, (New York Public Library, 1831), pp.86-87.

²⁰⁴ Haldimand to Powell, Quebec, 16 November 1781, Add Mss 21765, ff.289-290.

Map 8: The War on the Western Frontiers



Source: Hugh Bicheno, *Rebels and Redcoats*, (London, 2003) p. 133

duty and other non combat tasks, Butler's Rangers were still in the thick of the fighting. In many respects, 1782 was one of the regiment's most successful years. They were very much needed to defend the frontiers and to make sure that the Patriots did not seize Canada. As a result their numbers actually increased between 1781 and 1783 which is in contrast to the Loyalist regiments based in New York or Charleston.²⁰⁵

In 1780, William Caldwell's company had been detached to Detroit to serve under Major Arent De Peyster.²⁰⁶ It was Caldwell's detachment and not the rest of Butler's Rangers, who were still based at Niagara, which would play a major role in the events of the summer of 1782, in Ohio and Kentucky. Once more Butler's Rangers would be implicated in events that breached the accepted rules of war, although on this occasion their role in them was minimal. The events were precipitated by another dreadful act of violence, this time on the part of the Patriots.

On 8 March 1782 over one hundred Moravian Christian Indians had been massacred by Pennsylvania Militia at Gnadenhutzen mission.²⁰⁷ In response to this the Delaware Indians had enacted numerous reprisals on the Ohio frontier which had plunged the whole territory into chaos. A Patriot expedition under Colonel William Crawford set out in early summer to stabilise the territory, and reached the Sandusky Valley of Ohio by early June.²⁰⁸ Caldwell, and his company of Rangers from Detroit, were hastily despatched to Sandusky, where they linked up with Delaware Indians under the command of the local Indian Agent, Matthew Elliot.²⁰⁹ In a two day battle, on 5 and 6 June the

²⁰⁵ See Table 19.

²⁰⁶ Maj. Arent de Peyster 1736-1822, commander at Detroit 1779-1783, see DCB, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2831 accessed 6/5/09.

²⁰⁷ Maj. De Peyster to Gen. Haldimand, 13 May 1782, Detroit, Add Mss, 21783 f.283, BL: Earl P. Olmstead *David Zeisberger: a Life among the Indians*, (Kent, OH, 1997) pp.225-229; Nester, *The Frontier War*, p.323

²⁰⁸ William Crawford 1732-1782 see ANB Vol.5, pp.710-11; Nester, *The Frontier War*, pp.324-326.

²⁰⁹ Matthew Elliot, 1739-114, was an Irishman, who had lived in Ohio since 1763 See, DCB http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2395 accessed 6/5/2009.

Rangers and the Delawares utterly defeated Crawford. It is another example of the skill of Butler's Rangers in this type of warfare. They were heavily outnumbered but in this case, completely successful. The affair however, had an unfortunate aftermath, when Crawford and some of his men, whilst fleeing from the battle, were captured and tortured to death by the Delawares, in the presence of Elliot, who did nothing to stop it. Caldwell and the Rangers were not present but it once more exemplifies the harsh realities of the frontier war. Haldimand, while recognising the bravery and skill of the Rangers, condemned the reprisal and attributed it to an act of vengeance for Gnadenhutzen.²¹⁰

Caldwell did not rest on his laurels after Sandusky. On 19 August 1782, with fifty Rangers and 300 Native Americans he won an even greater victory at the battle of Blue Licks in Kentucky. In July, Caldwell and Elliot with a force of Rangers had raised a force of Native Americans of various nations, to combat a projected expedition into Ohio by the Patriot General, George Rogers-Clark. Rogers-Clark did not go through with his expedition, so Caldwell took the offensive, marching into Kentucky and besieging the fort at Bryan's Station. The Patriots raised a force to combat them, led by the famous frontiersman, Lt. Colonel Daniel Boone, of the Kentucky militia. Using all the skill acquired from five years of frontier fighting, Caldwell and his force ambushed the Kentucky militia and routed them.²¹¹ The victory was short lived, Caldwell and his force-ordered to act defensively- retreated to Detroit and Rogers-Clark regained control of the area in November 1782.

Caldwell and his Rangers had proved that Butler's Rangers were a superb fighting unit even after the defeat of the main British Army. They had demonstrated their adeptness at co-operating with the Native Americans and that they could take on

²¹⁰ Haldimand to De Peyster, 11 July 1782, Quebec, Add Mss 21783, f. 257.

²¹¹ Boone's son was killed at the battle and Boone himself narrowly escaped with his life. See, Nester, *The Frontier War*, pp.328-329; Michael A. Lofara, *Daniel Boone, An American Life*, pp.71-76; Ernest K. Mahon, Anglo-American Methods of Indian Warfare 1676-1794, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 45. No.2, pp.254-275, p.273.

experienced Patriot forces and emerge victorious. Although the general tide of the war had turned against them, Butler's Rangers arguably retired undefeated.

The Rangers remained at Detroit and Niagara until late 1784 when they were disbanded.²¹² John Butler took a prominent role in the post war government of Canada, as Deputy Superintendent of the Six Nations and was a close friend and advisor to the Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, in the 1790's.²¹³ He died aged 67 in 1796. Caldwell, established the township of Malden, near Detroit, and attempted to settle it with retired Rangers.²¹⁴ Many of the Rangers took active parts in the building of the Canadian state and some of their descendants would similarly follow careers in the upper reaches of Canadian society.

Butler's Rangers and the Native Americans.

As can be seen throughout this section on Butler's Rangers in combat, in almost every engagement that the regiment fought they were accompanied by Native Americans. This brief section will assess the nature of the co-operation. In the work of earlier historians such as Swiggett and Cruikshank the relationship between the Rangers and the Native Americans is very much with the Rangers in the lead, unless the Native Americans transgress the rules of war in which case, particularly with Swiggett, the Rangers were not to blame for these actions. However, recent historians, such as Mann, Taylor and Kelsay

²¹² Many of them settled with John Butler in the town of Newark, near Niagara, which John Butler helped found. They are chronicled by Cruikshank and Matthews. See, Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers*; Hazel Matthews, *The Mark of Honor*, (Toronto 1965).

²¹³ See DCB http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=1785&&PHPSESSID=5lj5beii7pijkh00enohpmdu60 accessed 7/5/2009.

²¹⁴ In the War of 1812 he formed Caldwell's Rangers and took an active part in many of the battles of that war, despite being in his sixties. He died a very rich man, in 1822. See DCB http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2783&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=5lj5beii7pijkh00enohpmdu60 accessed 7/5/2009.

have demonstrated that the relationship was much more complex.²¹⁵ Were the Rangers actually merely an adjunct to their Native American allies and were their successes only achievable because of the large scale presence of Native Americans? Have pro Butler historians been guilty of minimising the role of Native Americans in their accounts of the regiment? The answers are, in many cases, yes, particularly in the case of the two historians mentioned above. John Butler began his career in the Revolutionary as a translator to Joseph Brant and it was Brant's idea to first use Rangers alongside Native Americans.²¹⁶ Butler's Rangers operations were dependant on Native American support and it was undoubtedly the fear of the vengeance of Native Americans that kept the Patriots on edge on the frontier and ensured that they rarely achieved superiority. As Mann and Williams have pointed out many of the operations of Butler's Ranger arose out of vengeance for actions carried out on the Native Americans and were often dictated by their strategic requirements. This does not mean that the Rangers were in a subordinate position to the Native Americans. Many of them spoke Native American languages and used Native American tactics to their own advantage in combat. John Butler was well aware of the value of the close relationship. He had devoted his life to living in close proximity to Native Americans and would go on doing so after the Revolution. The British too were well aware of the extraordinary value of having Native American allies and although their co-operation was far from perfect they attempted to make use of them to further their own cause, as Allen argues throughout his work.²¹⁷ As has been argued

²¹⁵ Barbara Alice Mann, *George Washington's War on Native America*; Glenn F. Williams, *The Year of the Hangman*; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country*; Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*; Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground*; Robert S Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies British Defence Policy and the Defence of Canada 1774-1815*; Isabel Thompson Kelsay, *Joseph Brant, 1743-1807*.

²¹⁶ Isabel Thompson Kelsay, *Joseph Brant, 1743-180*, p.159.

²¹⁷ Robert S Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies British Defence Policy and the Defence of Canada 1774-1815*.

earlier, John Butler was, as well as being an effective commander of rangers, a valuable agent in ensuring a smooth co-operation with the Native Americans. So to conclude, were the Native Americans the true victors of many of the regiment's actions? The answer is not a clear cut one; it is possible to suggest that both groups needed the other and that their success depended on both sides performing their combat duties effectively.

Conclusion

As a regiment, Butler's Rangers were both highly successful and highly controversial. They were feted in Canada and despised in the United States. While this could be true of most Loyalist regiments, with Butler's Rangers the contrast is even more apparent. By examining not just their combat record, but their administrative record this chapter has dealt with Butler's Rangers as a military community and not just a legendary or infamous group. Close examination of them provides a picture of the Revolutionary War that is very different from the experience of those who served in the main campaigns. They were an American-commanded regiment who had a considerable amount of autonomy. This autonomy extended to administration as well as combat duties. Whilst in combat duties, the autonomy they were given, largely worked in their favour, administratively, it was often a hindrance as the commanders were faced with responsibilities that most of their contemporaries escaped. This led to anxieties over lack of supplies and over the amount of money that had to be spent on the regiment.

The British however, did not skimp on Butler's Rangers. They spent a disproportionate amount of money on them and were largely rewarded for this expenditure by having a dependable and reliable force on the frontier. In many respects however, the reputation of Butler's Rangers was not one that did the British any service. While they were not guilty of all the crimes held against them, they were guilty of some and those crimes helped to inspire Patriot resistance on the frontiers. The rejoicing at Walter Butler's death was not created out of nothing, there was some substance behind

the hatred he engendered. Also, while the names of John and Walter Butler were reviled in the USA, it is important to state that at least some of the Rangers were equally guilty of the crimes. As has been illustrated in the latter half of this chapter, the frontier war was a nasty, brutal affair and both sides were guilty of atrocities toward the civilian populace. To use the old cliché, history is written by the winners, and many of the harsh deeds of the Patriots against the Native Americans, were downplayed, whereas the violence committed by Butler's Rangers and their Native American allies was brought to the fore. This chapter has not attempted to clear Butler's Ranger's of all crimes, that is impossible, but to place them within the context of a bloody period in American history.

Dissertation Conclusion

After the surrender at Yorktown, those Provincial units attached to Cornwallis's army were eventually returned to New York. The southern militias however, kept up a guerrilla war until into 1783. There were also some skirmishes in New York. The Negro Horse, for example won a skirmish on the New York frontier in 1782 and Butler's Rangers continued to wage war successfully on the frontiers in 1782. Most of the Loyalist regiments were demobilised in Canada and many of the soldiers settled there. They are superbly chronicled by their Canadian descendants.¹ Those Loyalists who stayed in what became the USA are less well chronicled. There were many who presumably, must have kept their war service very quiet and returned to their home state. The Royal Highland Emigrants became a British regiment as the 84th Highlanders and the Queens Rangers currently exist in the Canadian Army as the Queens York Rangers. The other regiments were disbanded. Most of the prominent officers settled in Canada or Great Britain. Robert Rogers died in poverty in London.² John Simcoe became Governor General of Canada and was appointed Commander in Chief in India but died on active service in the Napoleonic Wars before he could take up the appointment. Tarleton became a full general but never saw combat again. His rise to the top was assisted by a succession of well-placed mistresses. John Butler became a wealthy and respected citizen in Canada. Lord Rawdon became a successful general, cabinet minister and Viceroy of India. Although many Loyalists received pensions or compensation from the British government this was in the main restricted to property owners or officers. Most of the Rank-and-file received little financial compensation but many were given land in Canada.

¹ E.A. Cruickshank., *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara*, (Tribune Press, Ontario 1893); E. A Cruickshank, *The Settlement of the United Empire Loyalists on the Upper St Lawrence and Bay of Quinte in 1784: A Documentary Record*, (Toronto, 1934); Hazel Mathews, *The Mark of Honor*, (Toronto 1967).

² The date of his death is subject to conjecture but the fact that he drank himself to death is not.

This dissertation has demonstrated that the Loyalists deserve a greater place in the history of the Revolutionary war and in British and American military history. Their influence on future American soldiers was largely indirect, the experience that the British had with the Loyalists would greatly influence their use of colonial troops in the decades to come. By examining wider aspects than battles, the dissertation has shown that the Loyalist regiments were complex groups. The first two chapters, by examining, the changing conditions over time, combat, discipline, recruiting, supply issues, motivation, and composition have demonstrated that studying the Loyalists fully is more than just who fought where and when. The case studies confirm this complexity. The database on the Queens Rangers demonstrates fully the harsh conditions faced by the soldiers. For example, the table on absences details the amount of men falling prey to sickness, which highlights the hardships of being a soldier in the eighteenth century as much as any detailed account of a battle. The dissertation has argued that no one regiment was the same, their composition and motivations varied enormously but every regiment examined in the case studies contained a large number of committed men. The database shows that there were men who remained committed for the course of the war and the chapters on the British Legion and Butler's Rangers have shown that they had men of equal commitment who risked all for their regiments. This would suggest that those in charge of the regiments did something right. These men were prepared to risk everything for the British cause and the fact remained until the bitter end demonstrates that the British did not let the Loyalists down completely.

The Loyalists regiments were ultimately dependent on the British. Because the British lost the war the Loyalists lost their homes and their property. However, did it have to be this way? By assimilating the Loyalists into their army, did the British

actually do both themselves and the Loyalists a disservice? Could the British have got more out of the Loyalists than they did? In most of the traditional European style pitched battles fought in the Revolution, the British generally emerged as the victors.³ The kind of tactics that hurt the British were the guerrilla and light infantry style tactics practised by Stark and Morgan and others- tactics that used the terrain against the British, because in an open field the British Army with its superior training held all the advantages. Light infantry sharpshooters would play major roles in the American victories at Saratoga and Kings Mountain and in both cases the Patriots used the terrain to their advantage. In the Loyalists the British had the facility to hit the Americans back with same weapons. The Loyalists could have provided a similar service to the British earlier on in the war, had circumstances been different. The man who practically invented these tactics, Robert Rogers, was a Loyalist officer but for various reasons -including his own failings- his potential was never realised. Simcoe, his eventual successor to the command of the Queens Rangers, similarly mastered guerrilla tactics and is considered to one of the best tacticians of the Revolutionary War, as his intelligent and well written journal shows, but Simcoe rarely commanded more than a regiment.

The Loyalists were more adept at handling the conditions of their native country than the British. If the likes of Rogers or Simcoe had been allowed full rein to operate guerrilla tactics on a larger scale in the Northern campaigns then it is possible that the effect of the Loyalists would have been considerable. As it was, the British only really began to use the Loyalists effectively after 1778, and although they did have successes by then it was really too late and the war was lost because of other larger circumstances like the French intervention. Although it is difficult to criticise

³ John W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vol.3 (London 1911); Piers Mackesy, *The War For America*, (London, 1964).

the British for funding the later Loyalists regiments, if they had moved more efficiently earlier on, as Smith argues, then the Loyalists could quite conceivably have had a greater impact.

It is interesting to briefly compare the Loyalists with the Continental Army. The two forces are rarely discussed together yet, they were both American forces raised in America at the same time from men, who were maybe not similar in motivation but who had similarities in almost everything else. Family members represented different sides and some men even represented both sides. The previously quoted comment from the Loyalist, Major Dulany, that “I never forgot I was an American” seems relevant here.⁴ For all the debate about the national origins of many Loyalists, ultimately the regiments consisted of men whose home was America and who had been moulded by that environment. The Continental Army too contained foreign born men who were expected to think of themselves as Americans. How easy was it for exiled Loyalists after the war to stop thinking of themselves as Americans but instead as Canadians or Britons? Equally, as mentioned above, the two forces used similar tactics. Both used Light Infantry and Ranger tactics and both attempted to adapt— with varying degrees of success to European style tactics. Loyalists and Patriots then are not as far removed as was often posited by post Revolutionary writers.

The presence of the Loyalists on the Revolutionary War battlefields created something resembling a civil war. Particularly in the South they participated in counter-insurgency against the Patriots. The dissertation has demonstrated that the American Revolutionary war was not just the Patriots against the British but in many cases, the Loyalists against the Patriots. Could the Revolution then, conceivably

⁴ Major Walter Dulany, Maryland Loyalists to General Carleton, New York 13 April 1783, PRO 30/55/10078

have been a fully-fledged civil war? Smith and Brown calculate there was enough Loyalist support for something along the lines of a civil war. However, the Loyalists did not join in large enough numbers for this to happen. Smith and Calhoun both blame the British for this. Yet it is possible to argue that this is not entirely the case. The British did make mistakes that discouraged Loyalists but they also did much to encourage them. The fact that recruits did not join in large numbers is surely as much to do with the way the war was going and the popularity of the Patriot cause as it had to do with poor recruiting tactics. The Loyalists, as Calhoun argues, produced no great military leaders like a Lee or a Jackson and the one potential great they had, Rogers, came to nothing because of his own self destructive nature.⁵ In terms of organisation they were inferior to the Confederacy as in terms of turning public support into recruits. The Confederacy managed to produce several hundred thousand recruits in an area confined to the South, compared to 19,000 Loyalists who could recruit in the North as well. Of course the population in the eighteenth century was considerably smaller. There are several reasons for this lack of real support, the attitudes of the British Army and government being an important factor. However, by blaming the British solely for the failure of the Loyalist cause it is possible to miss the point. The British had a lot to worry about during the Revolutionary War. They were also fighting an international war, with the French, Dutch and the Spanish. After Saratoga the war had become very difficult to win. They attempted to encourage Loyalism to bolster their cause. Was there enough natural support to do this? In New York, which was supposedly the one colony where the Loyalists were expected to rise en masse, the British struggled to fill the regiments with volunteers. The irony is that some of the strongest Loyalist support came not in areas where the British were present but in areas that were on the front line or were occupied by the Patriots. Many Massachusetts men risked their lives making their way to the

⁵ Robert M. Calhoun, *Loyalists in Revolutionary America 1760-1781* (New York: Harcourt Inc., 1973), pp.561

British lines to join a regiment. It was of course a similar story in the south where militias waged war on the Patriots well behind the lines. These men were often unpaid and their service often went unrecognised by the British as many of them stayed behind after 1783, and thus claimed no pension or compensation, yet they were arguably some of the most committed Loyalists. The reasons for indifference among people who might naturally be Loyalists are also complicated. Not everyone, of course, is willing to put their life on the line for a political cause. Also, once it looked as though the British might lose it was eminently sensible for prospective Loyalists to reserve judgement. After all, by the late 1770s, the risks of becoming Loyalists were plain for all to see. Property and land were confiscated by order of the Continental Congress and the new state governments. Also many Loyalists were put to death, although this was never officially sanctioned. There is also the argument that people who sympathised with the British cause did not want to fight against their fellow citizens. Civil wars are confused affairs and it is normal that friends and families end up on opposing sides. The Delancey family, for example, supplied prominent Loyalists and Patriots. Robert Rogers was extremely reluctant to take arms against Americans and John Cuneo argues that while he gave the Queens Rangers full commitment he never really recovered from having to fight his friends.⁶

Yet despite these factors people volunteered for the Loyalist cause up until 1783, two years after Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, which had effectively ended the war. This proves that there was always support for the Loyalist cause. It was not always concentrated support, which was a problem, but there is still reason for believing that the Loyalists could have been used more effectively. The story of the armed Loyalists then is one of failed potential, and because of their fate in losing their homes, it is ultimately a tragic one.

⁶John Cuneo, *Rogers of the Rangers*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1958), p.279.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Brig. Gen. Timothy Ruggles Proposal for the Formation of the Boston Association November 1774.

1. That we will upon all occasions, with our lives, and fortunes, stand by and assist each other, in the defence of his Life, Liberty and Property, whenever the same shall be attacked, or endangered by any Bodies of Men, riotously assembled, upon any pretences of authority, nor warranted by the Laws of the Land
2. That we will upon all occasions, mutually support each other in the free exercise of eating drinking, buying, selling, communing, and acting, what with whom, and as we please consistent with the Laws of God and the King.
3. That we will not acknowledge, or submit to the pretended authority of any Congresses, Committees of Correspondence, or any other unconstitutional Assemblies of Men; but will at the risqué of our Lives, if need be oppose the forceable exercise of all such authority.
4. That we will to the utmost of our Power, promote, encourage, and when called to it enforce obedience of our most gracious Sovereign King George the third and of his Laws.
5. That when the Person of Property of any one of us shall be invaded or threatned by any Committees, mobs or unlawful Assemblies, the others of us will upon notice received

forthwith repair, properly armed, to the Person on whom, or place where such invasion or threatning shall be, and will to the utmost of our Power, defend such Person and his Property, and if need be, will oppose and repel force with force.

6. That if any one person of us shall unjustly and unlawfully be injured in his Person or Property, by any such Assemblies as before mentioned, the others of us will united demand, and in our Power compel the Offenders, if known, to make all remuneration and satisfaction for such Injury; and if all other means of security fail, we will have recourse to the natural Law of Retaliation.

Source: Boston Evening Post 26 December 1774, Harbottle Dorr Collection.

Appendix 2: Table of Provincial Regiments Raised 1776- 1783.

Provincial Regiments 1776-1783. ¹				
Regiment	Where Formed	Date of Formation	Date Disbanded	Commander ²
1. Black Pioneers ³	North Carolina	May 1776	1783	George Martin
2. Delancey's Regiment ⁴	Long Island, New York	September 1776	1783	Oliver Delancey
3. Guides and Pioneers ⁵	New York City, New York	December 1776	1783	Samuel Holland/Andreas Emmerich/Simon Fraser/Beverly Robinson/John Aldington
4. King's American Regiment ⁶	New York City, New York	December 1776	1783	Edmund Fanning
5. King's Orange Rangers ⁷	Orange County, New York	Autumn 1776	1783	John Bayard
6. King's Royal Regiment of New York ⁸	Frontiers of New York	June 1776	1784	John Johnson

¹ This table lists substantive units formed and administered by the Provincial Service of the British Army. There were numerous other Loyalist units which were listed either as militia associators, or local units. Most of the units mentioned were intended to be full regiments except where mentioned in the notes below. There were some Independent Companies formed under the banner of the Provincial Service but with one exception, these are not listed as they were usually subsumed into bigger regiments very quickly. Those units marked with an asterisk were short lived formations. Compiled from Paul H. Smith *American Loyalists Notes on their Numerical Strength in William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 25 No. 2 Apr 1968, pp 259-277; Philip Katcher, *Encyclopaedia of British, and Provincial and German Army Units, 1775-1783* (Harrisburg, PA, 1973) ; List of Loyalist Armed Units online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/rhist.htm> accessed 8/11/08/ ; see notes below.

² In units with multiple battalions the overall commander is given.

³ Formation Orders, Henry Clinton to Captain George Martin, 10 May 1776, Clinton Papers Vol. 263, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/blkpion/blkform.htm> accessed 8/11/2008.

⁴ Brig. Gen. Oliver Delancey to Col. Fanning, 5 September 1776, Delancey Papers Mss 6059, New York State Library, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/delancey/dellet2.htm> accessed 8/11/2008.

⁵ A brief history of the regiment is online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/g&p/gphist.htm> accessed 8/11/2008.

⁶ Warrant for Raising the King's American Rangers, 18 December 1776, Orderly Book of the King's American Rangers, Clements Library, Online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/kar/kar1hist.htm> accessed 8/11/2008.

⁷ Lt Col. John Bayard to Brig. Gen. Francis MacLean, Memorial (1780) Clinton Papers Vol 221 f.14, Clements Library, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/kor/kormem1.htm> accessed 8/11/2008.

7. New Jersey Volunteers (Skinner's Greens) 6 Battalions ⁹	New Jersey	June-December 1776	1783	Cordlandt Skinner
8. New York Volunteers ¹⁰	Halifax, Nova Scotia	January 1776	1783	George Turnbull
9. Nova Scotia Volunteers	Halifax, Nova Scotia	October 1775	1783	Francis Legge
10. Prince of Wales Volunteers ¹¹	Long Island, New York	November 1776	1783	Montfort Browne
11. Queens Rangers ¹²	Long Island, New York	August 1776	1783	Robert Rogers/ Christopher French/ James Wemyss/ John Graves Simcoe/John Saunders
12. Royal Fencible Volunteers	Halifax, Nova Scotia	June 1775	1783	Joseph Gorham
13. Royal Highland Emigrants (2 Battalions)	Halifax N.S.	June 1775	1783	Allan MacLean
14. American Legion ¹³	New York City	October 1780	1783	Benedict Arnold
15. American Volunteers ¹⁴	New York City	December 1779	1780	Patrick Fergusson
16. British	Long Island,	August	1783	Lord Cathcart/Banastre

⁸ Guy Carleton to Lord Barrington, 8 June 1776, WO1/2 ff. 315, online at

<http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/krrny/krrraise.htm> accessed 8/11/2008.

⁹William S. Stryker, *The New Jersey Volunteers in the Revolutionary War* (Trenton, NJ, 1867) pp.4-5; Paul H. Smith, "New Jersey Loyalists and the British Provincial Corps in the War for Independence" in *New Jersey History*, 87 (1969) pp.69-78.

¹⁰ See section in this chapter.

¹¹ Lt. Col Montfort Browne to Lord Dartmouth, 2 November 1776, Dartmouth Papers, D (w) 1778/II/1714, Staffordshire Record Office, Online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/pwar/pwarlet1.htm> accessed 8/11/2008.

¹² See Chapters 3 and 4.

¹³ Benedict Arnold's regiment, see Recruiting Notice Royal Gazette, 25 October 1780 online at

<http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/amlegn/amlgproc.htm> accessed 9/11/2008.

¹⁴ This was not a full regiment but was instead a company sized detachment drawn from other Provincial regiments and intended to be an elite unit of Provincial marksmen commanded by Major Patrick Ferguson. They were the only Provincial unit at Kings Mountain-the rest of the combatants were Loyalist Militia- where they were wiped out, see Ferguson to Rawdon, December 11, New York, Clinton Papers, Vol. 80 f.8 Clements Library online at

<http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/amvol/amvlet1.htm> accessed 9/11/08; Extract of a Letter from an Officer at Charlestown 30 January 1781, in

Legion ¹⁵	New York	1778		Tarleton
17. Bucks County Light Dragoons ^{16*}	Bucks County Pennsylvania	April 1778	1780	Abraham Sandford
18. Butler's Rangers ¹⁷	Niagara, New York	August 1777	1784	John Butler
19. Caledonian Volunteers ^{18*}	New York City, New York	June 1778	1778	Lord Cathcart
20. Emmerich's Chasseurs ¹⁹	Kingsbridge, New York	August 1777	1779	Andreas Emmerick
21. Georgia Light Dragoons ²⁰	Savannah, Georgia	August 1779	1781	Archibald Campbell
22. Georgia Loyalists ²¹	Savannah, Georgia	August 1779	1782	James Wright
23. King's American Dragoons ²²	New York City	June 1780	1783	Timothy Ruggles
24. King's Rangers ^{23*}	Quebec	June 1779	1783	Robert Rogers/ James Rogers
25. King's Carolina Rangers ²⁴	Savannah Georgia	January 1779	1783	Thomas Brown

¹⁵ See Chapter 5.

¹⁶ This unit was attached to the Queens Rangers in 1779 and eventually merged into the British Legion Sees Rangers Part 2 and British Legion Chapter; Recruiting Notice, Royal Pennsylvania Gazette, 21 April 1778.

¹⁷ See Butler's Rangers Chapter.

¹⁸ This regiment only existed under this name for a few weeks before being combined with several cavalry companies to become the British Legion, see British Legion Chapter.

¹⁹ Orders from Lt. Gen. Henry Clinton to Maj. Gen. Tryon, 21 August 1777, Orderly Book of the Kings American Regiment, Clements Library, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/emmerick/emmords.htm> accessed 9/11/2008

²⁰ Recruiting Notice, Royal Georgia Gazette, 4 August 1779, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/gald2/gld2rcrt.htm> accessed 9/11/2008.

²¹ Recruiting Notice, Royal Georgia Gazette, 12 August 1779, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/galoy/galrcrt.htm> accessed 9/11/2008.

²² This was a unit formed by the veteran Massachusetts soldier and politician Timothy Ruggles. Germain to Clinton, 7 June 1780, Whitehall, PRO 30/55/2812 PRO also online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/kad/kadplan2.htm> accessed 9/11/2008.

²³ This was Robert Rogers' second Regiment, see Add Mss 21820 BL.

²⁴ This regiment was formed out of the East Florida Rangers and renamed by Brig. Gen Prevost in 1779, see Memorial of Lt Col. Thomas Brown 11 January 1783, St Augustine, PRO 30/55/6757, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/kcarrng/kcrgmem1.htm> accessed 9/11/2008.

26. Loyal American Regiment ²⁵	New York City	Spring 1777	1783	Beverly Robinson
27. Loyal New Englanders 26	Newport Rhode Island	April 1777	1781	George Wightman
28. Jessup's Loyal Rangers 27	Quebec	1781	1781	Edward Jessup
29. Maryland Loyalists 28	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	August 1777	1783	James Chalmers
30. Newfoundland Loyalists 29	St Johns Newfoundland	September 1780	1782	Robert Pringle
31. North Carolina Highlanders 30*	Charlestown South Carolina.	July 1780	1781	Allan Stewart
32. Pennsylvania Loyalists 31	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	October 1777	1783	William Allen
33. Philadelphia Light Dragoons 32	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	December 1777	1778	Jacob James
34. Roman Catholic Volunteers 33	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	October 1777	1778	Alfred Clifton

²⁵ W.O. Raymond, *Loyalists in Arms* p.202

[26](#) Recruiting Notice, Newport Gazette 1 April 1777 online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/loyneng/lncrct2.htm> accessed 9/11/2008.

[27](#) See Collection relating to Jessop's Loyal Rangers WO 28/4 PRO.

[28](#) Lt. Gen. William Howe to James Chalmers 14 October 1777, Philadelphia, Reel 4, A1, No. 23, Military Affairs 1777-1875. ff.971, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/mdloy/mdllet2.htm> accessed 9/11/2008; Paul Smith *Loyalists and Redcoats*, p.49

[29](#) Warrant for raising a regiment, Gov. Richard Edwards to Lt. Col. Robert Pringle 14 September 1780, St Johns, CO 194/35 ff69-70 PRO, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/nfregt/nfrwarrant.htm> accessed 12/11/2008.

[30](#) This unit, consisted of two companies, very little information is available on them other than that were commanded by Capt. Allan Stewart, formerly of the 71st Regiment see Nan Cole and Todd Braistead, *Introduction to North Carolina Loyalist Units* online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/ncindcoy/ncintro.htm> accessed 12/11/2008; David K. Wilson, *The Southern Strategy, Britain's Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia 1775-1780*, (Charlestown, SC, 2005) p. 124.

[31](#) Warrant for raising a Corps of Loyalists, Gen. William Howe to William Allen (n.d.) Philadelphia, PRO 30/55/827, PRO online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/paloyal/palform.htm> accessed 12/11/2008; Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats*, p.49.

[32](#) This unit later became part of the British Legion, see Chapter 4; Gen. William Howe to Jacob James, (n.d.) Philadelphia, PRO 30/55/827 online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/philld/pldform.htm> accessed 12/11/2008; this unit later became part of the British Legion, see Chapter 5.

35. Royal North Carolina Regiment ³⁴	Savannah, Georgia	February 1779	1783	John Hamilton
36. South Carolina Light Dragoons ^{35*}	South Carolina	January/February 1781	1781	Edward Fenwick
37. South Carolina Royalists ³⁶	New York, Charleston	December 1779	1783	Alexander Innes
38. Volunteers of Ireland ³⁷	New York City	May 1778	1783	Lord Rawdon

Source: Compiled from Paul H. Smith, *American Loyalists Notes on their Numerical Strength*, pp. 259-277; Philip Katcher, *Encyclopaedia of British, and Provincial and German Army Units, 1775-1783* (Harrisburg, PA, 1973) ; List of Loyalist Armed Units online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rlist/rlist.htm>, accessed 8/11/08/ , see notes .

³³ This unit was merged with the Volunteers of Ireland in 1778; Robert McKenzie to Alfred Clifton, 14 October 1778, Germantown, PRO 30/55/698, PRO, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/rcvol/rcvlet1.htm> accessed 12/11/2008.

³⁴ David K. Wilson, *The Southern Strategy, Britain's Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia 1775-1780*, (Columbia, SC, 2005) pp. 90, 186.

³⁵ These were two troops of cavalry commanded by Capt. Edward Fenwick, who according to Lambert was a Patriot spy, see Robert Stansbury Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution*, (Columbia, SC) 1987, p. 217.

³⁶ Colonel Alexander Innes' regiment formed with Southern refugees New York in anticipation of the Southern campaign and augmented in South Carolina in the spring of 1780, see State of the South Carolina Loyalists commanded by Col. A. Innes, 24 April 1780 Clinton Papers Vol. 94 f43 Clements Library online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/scroyal/scrstate.htm> accessed 10/12/2008.

³⁷ Lord Rawdon's regiment, alongside the Queens Rangers and the British Legion the most renowned Provincial regiments of the war, see chapter 2; Recruiting Notice in the Royal Gazette, 9 May 1778, online at <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/voi/voircrt.htm> accessed 11/11/2008; Oliver Snoddy, *The Volunteers of Ireland*, in *Irish Sword* Vol. 7 1965 pp 147-159, pp.147-148.

Appendix 3

Instructions for Queens Rangers Database

The Database compiled from the Muster Rolls of the Queens Rangers is contained on a DVD supplied with this thesis.

Contents

MS Access Database: Go to forms and then switchboard. The forms there contain a complete record of every soldier that served in the Queens Rangers.

The Queens Rangers

MS Excel Files:

Analysis of the Queens Rangers Part 1

Analysis of the Queens Rangers Part 2.

Appendix 4
Company Commanders of the Queens Rangers 1776-1777

Company Commanders	Company Commanders	Company Commanders
Rogers' Command August 1776- March 1777	March 1777 (French's Reorganization). ¹	August to November 1777. ²
Robert Rogers	Arthur French	James Kerr
Isaac Gerow	John MacKay	John MacKay
John Eagles	Francis Stephenson	John McGill
Ephraim Sandford	Robert Muirdern	John Murray
Robert McGinnock	John Saunders	John Saunders
John Griffiths	James Buchanan	John McGill
John Brandon	James Dunlop	James Dunlop
Peter Fairchild,	Robert McCrea	Robert McCrea
Richard Armstrong	Richard Armstrong	Richard Armstrong
Job Williams	Job Williams	Job Williams/Francis Stephenson
		John Smythe

¹Queen's Rangers, New Appointments March 1777 PRO: TS 11/221.

² Muster Rolls from 22 August 1777 to 24 November 1777, C Series Vol. 1861, National Archives of Canada.

Source: List of Officers of the Queen's Rangers under the Command of Lt. Col. Robert Rogers, n.d. [early 1777?]; Queen's Rangers, New Appointments March 1777, both TS 11/221 PRO.

Appendix 5

British Legion Minutes of Muster 1780-1782.

British Legion Companies 1780-1782: NCOs' and Privates. ¹										
Company Name	Arm	Date	Sgts	Cpls	Drum /Trum	Pvts	Cavalry Privates per Muster	Infantry Privates per Muster	Recruits Total per muster	Total Per muster
Captain Hovendon	C	25 October 1780	3	3	2	55				
Captain James	C	25 October 1780	3	3	2	51				
Captain Sandford	C	25 October 1780	3	2	2	45				
Captain Ogilvy	C	25 October 1780	3	3	2	56				
Captain Vernon	C	25 October 1780	4	2	2	54				
Captain Stewart	I	25 October 1780	3	3	2	55				
Captain Rousselet	I	25 October 1780	3	3	2	59				
Captain Miller	I	25 October 1780	3	3	2	45				
Captain McDonald	I	25 October 1780	3	3	0	32				
Total Per Muster		25 October 1780	28	25	16	450	261	191	81	519
Captain Hovenden	C	25 December 1780	3	3	2	54				

¹ This table is compiled from a combination of minutes of Muster 1780-82 included in the Muster rolls and the rolls themselves.

There are no minutes of muster for the period 1778-1779. The minutes of muster were forms submitted by the adjutant after musters giving a short summary of the muster rolls. There are no minutes of muster for the Infantry companies after August 1781 so the rolls themselves have been used. Muster Rolls of the British Legion C series Vols. 1883-1885; Murtie June Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign*, Vol. 2 (Ontario 1985). Pp 246-251.

Captain James	C	25 December 1780	3	3	2	48				
Captain Sandford	C	25 December 1780	3	3	1	45				
Captain Ogilvy	C	25 December 1780	3	3	2	48				
Captain Gildart	C	25 December 1780	3	4	2	26				
Captain Vernon	C	25 December 1780	3	2	1	52				
Captain Stewart	I	25 December 1780	2	1	2	42				
Captain Rousselet	I	25 December 1780	1	2	2	36				
Captain Miller	I	25 December 1780	3	3	0	45				
Captain McDonald	I	25 December 1780	2	3	0	31				
Total For Muster		25 December 1780	26	27	14	427	273	154	18	494
Captain Hovenden	C	24 February 1781	3	1	2	43				
Captain James	C	24 February 1781	3	2	2	40				
Captain Sandford	C	24 February 1781	1	3	0	31				
Captain Ogilvy	C	24 February 1781	3	2	2	38				
Captain Gildart	C	24 February 1781	3	4	2	26				
Captain Vernon	C	24 February 1781	3	2	1	40				
Captain	I	24	0	0	2	24				

Stewart		February 1781								
Captain Rousselet	I	24 February 1781	1	1	1	12				
Captain Miller	I	24 February 1781	4	1	0	23				
Captain McDonald	I	24 February 1781	2	3	0	19				
Total for Muster		24 February 1781	23	19	12	296	218	78	1	350
Captain Hovenden	C	25 April 1781	3	2	2	39				
Captain James	C	25 April 1781	3	2	2	36				
Captain Sandford	C	25 April 1781	2	1	0	32				
Captain Ogilvy	C	25 April 1781	3	2	2	37				
Captain Gildart	C	25 April 1781	3	4	2	26				
Captain Vernon	C	25 April 1781	3	2	0	39				
Captain Stewart	I	25 April 1781	0	0	2	24				
Captain Rousselet	I	25 April 1781	1	1	1	12				
Captain Miller	I	25 April 1781	4	1	0	23				
Captain McDonald	I	25 April 1781	2	1	0	19				
Total for Muster		25 April 1781	24	16	11	287	209	78	3	337
Captain Hovenden	C	24 August 1781	3	3	2	37				
Captain James	C	24 August 1781	2	2	2	39				
Captain Sandford	C	24 August 1781	2	1	0	32				
Captain Ogilvy	C	24 August 1781	3	2	2	43				
Captain	C	24	3	4	2	25				

Gildart		August 1781								
Captain Vernon	C	24 August 1781	3	2	0	26				
Captain Stewart	I	24 August 1781	0	0	2	24				
Captain Rousselet	I	24 August 1781	1	1	1	8				
Captain Miller	I	24 August 1781	4	1	0	22				
Captain McDonald	I	24 August 1781	2	1	0	17				
Total for Muster		24 August 1781	23	17	11	273	202	71	6	324
Captain Hovenden	C	23 February 1782	2	1	2	31				
Captain James	C	23 February 1782	0	0	2	22				
Captain Sandford	C	23 February 1782	1	3	0	20				
Captain Ogilvy	C	23 February 1782	0	1	0	24				
Captain Gildart	C	23 February 1782	2	2	0	20				
Captain Vernon	C	23 February 1782	2	0	0	29				
Captain Edwards	I	23 February 1782	1	1	1	38				
Captain McDonald	I	23 February 1782								
Total for Muster		23 February 1782	8	8	5	184	146	38	7	205
Captain Hovenden	C	24 April 1782	2	0	2	24				

Captain James	C	24 April 1782	1	0	1	14				
Captain Sandford	C	24 April 1782	0	3	0	17				
Captain Ogilvy	C	24 April 1782	1	1	0	13				
Captain Gildart	C	24 April 1782	2	3	0	18				
Captain Vernon	C	24 April 1782	2	1	0	26				
Captain Edwards	I	24 April 1782	1	1	1	36				
Total for Muster		24 April 1782	9	9	4	148	112	36	1	170
Totals 1780-1782			141	121	73	2067	1421	646	116	2399

Source: Muster Rolls of the British Legion C series Vols. 1883-1885 Micro film Reel 4321; Murtie June Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign*, Vol. 2 (Ontario 1985) pp, 246-251

Appendix 6:
Butler's Rangers Officers.

Table 1: Officers Serving in Butler's Rangers in 1781 with date of current Commission			
Name	Rank	Date of Commission (current ranks)	Totals by Rank
John Butler	Lt. Col.	February 14 1780	1
Walter Butler	Capt.	December 20 1777	
William Caldwell ¹	Capt.	December 24 1777	
John McDonnell ²	Capt.	August 1 1778	
Peter Hare	Capt.	February 8 1779	
George Dame	Capt.	November 11 1779	
Andrew Thompson	Capt.	December 25 1779	
Bernard Frey	Capt.	October 2 1780	
John McKinnon	Capt.	January 1 1781	
Captains			8
Andrew Bradt	1st Lt.	August 1 1778	
Benjamin Pawling ³	1st Lt.	October 25 1778	
John Ferris	1st Lt.	February 8 1779	

¹ William Caldwell, 1750-1822, an Irishman who arrived in America in 1773. Caldwell would lead a detachment of Butler's Rangers on the Western Frontier in 1782 and notably won the Battle of Blue Licks, one of the last battles of the War, see DCB at http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2783 accessed 12/8/2008.

² John McDonnell of Aberchalder, 1758-1809, a Highland Scot who arrived in the Mohawk Valley in 1773 and served in the Royal Highland Emigrants before transferring to Butler's Rangers in 1778, see. DCB http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2517&&PHPSESSID=6h3878q57cr7vbg05lrg9lgue3 accessed 12/8/2008.

³ DCB http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2600&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=6h3878q57cr7vbg05lrg9lgue3 accessed 12/9/2009.

Jacob Ball	1st Lt.	August 4 1779	
John Hare	1st Lt.	December 25 1779	
George Harkiman	1st Lt.	December 26 1779	
Peter Ball	1st Lt.	August 15 1780	
1 st Lt.s			7
Joseph Ferris	2 nd Lt.	February 8 1779	
Alex. McDonald	2 nd Lt.	December 25 1779	
Donald McDonald	2 nd Lt.	December 25 1779	
Andrew Wempe	2 nd Lt.	June 24 1780	
Ralph Clinche ⁴	2 nd Lt.	June 25 1780	
Richard Hanson	2 nd Lt.	June 26 1780	
Fred. Dockstedter	2 nd Lt.	February 19 1781	
David Brass	2 nd Lt.	February 20 1780	
2 nd Lt.s			8
William Smith	Adj.	18 March 1781	
Jesse Pawling ⁵	Qtr. Mstr.	25 December 1779	
Robert Guthrie	Surgeon	24 July 1779	
Staff			3
Total Officers			29

Source: Dates of Officers Commissions in the Corps of Rangers under the Command of Lt. Col. Butler, (n.d., 1781) WO 28/4/f.15.

⁴ DCB http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-.e.php?id_nbr=2808&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=6h3878q57cr7vbg05lrg9lgue3 accessed 12/9/2009.

⁵ DCB http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-.e.php?id_nbr=2600&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=6h3878q57cr7vbg05lrg9lgue3 accessed 12/9/2009.

Table 2: Officers not included in Table 1 and Promotions			
Name	Rank	Date of commission ⁶	Totals by Rank
William Potts	Major	14 February 1782 ⁷	1
James Campbell	Capt.		
Lewis Geneway	Capt.	21 September 1781	
Benjamin Pawling ⁸	Capt. Lt	25 October 1778	
Andrew Bradt ⁹	Capt.		
- Wilson ¹⁰	Capt.		
Capt.			4
Capt. combined with table 1.			12
John Bradt	Lt		
Andrew Butler	Lt		
Thomas Butler	Lt		
Caleb Reynolds	Lt		
James Secord	Lt		
Solomon Secord	Lt		
John Turney	Lt		
Laurence Van Aller	Lt		
John Young	Lt		
Lt			9
Lt combined with table 1			16
Charles Tonnacour	2 nd Lt	19 October 1781	
Samuel Tuffie	2 nd Lt	28 July 1782	
David Sutherland	2 nd Lt	25 August 1783	
Chichester McDonell	2 nd Lt	19 October 1781	
Baron De Shaffalesky	2 nd Lt	27 July 1782	
Philip Luke	2 nd Lt	28 July 1782	6
2 nd Lt			
2 nd Lt combined with table 1			14
Samuel Coffe	Ensign		1
Total			21
Total with Table 1			49

Source: Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers*, pp217-223; Smy, *An Annotated Nominal Roll of Butler's Rangers*, pp.33-207; Online list at the Butler's Rangers website <http://www.iaw.on.ca/~awoolley/brang/broffr.html> accessed 20/8/2008.

⁶ If date is not shown then none is known.

⁷ Potts was seconded from the British army to replace Walter Butler.

⁸ Pawling is in the first table but is shown as a Captain Lieutenant in a later list.

⁹ Promoted

¹⁰ Cruikshank states he was killed at Orsica Field Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers*, p. 123.

Appendix 7:
 Minutes of Muster for the Cavalry of the British Legion 25 August 1781- 23 February 1782.

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Muster for Muster 25th Aug 1781 to 23rd Feb 1782

Captains	Sergeants	Corporals	Privates	
Lovendens	2	1	2	31
Jarness's	.	.	2	22
Sandfords	1	3	.	20
Ogilvy's	.	1	.	24
Sildarts	2	2	.	20
Vernon's	2	.	.	29
Totals	7	7	4	146

Booked Periods	Days	Names of Recruits
1 Sergeant joined 25 Oct to 24 Dec	61	1 Bunt
1 Corporal do 25 Oct to 22 Dec	59	2 Kamen
1 Private do 25 Aug to 24 Dec	122	3 Welden
3 do Recruits do 30 July to 24 Dec	444	4 Derindinger
3 do do 14 Aug to 24 Dec	399	5 Haringsook
	1065	6 Smith
		7 Huffman

Vacant Posts	Days	
1 Private died 27 Oct to 24 Dec	58	
1 ditto do 23 Nov to do	31	
1 ditto do 18 Dec to do	6	
1 ditto do 20 Dec to do	4	
1 ditto do 22 Dec to do	2	
1 ditto do 22 Dec to do	2	
	103	

Source: C Series Muster Rolls, Vol. 1882, f.31. Reel 4221, Library and Archives Canada.

Appendix 8
 Expenditure for Northern Command showing total expenditure on Butler's Rangers
 1778-1784.

<u>Warrant Forwarded.</u>		210		£ 2,111,806 14 5	
<u>Subsistence &c</u>					
of Logistics including Regiments	£ 50,658	1	10 1/2		
1st Battalion of the 60th Regiment	44,193	12	5 1/2		
2nd Battalion of 50	17,539	4	8 1/2		
of Subalterns, Sergeants & Soldiers	29,612	3	2 1/2		
of Sergeants, Corporals, & Soldiers	15,036	4	7 1/2		
of the Company of Canadians	4,352	16	0		
of the 45th	0,450				
of Butler's Rangers	102,217	9	5		
of Artillery & Gunners	1,485				
of the 8th Regiment, including Regiments	8,082	13	7 1/2	283,627	10 3 1/2
<u>Contingencies</u>					
of Regiments of Artillery & Gunners	3,985	12	1 1/2		
of Adjutant General	0,740	4	10 1/2		
of the 2nd Regiment of the 1st Division	0,627	7	0 1/2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 2nd Division	0,233	2	6 1/2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 3rd Division	0,252	4	3		
of the 1st Regiment of the 4th Division	0,782	9	4		
of the 1st Regiment of the 5th Division	0,182	15	8 1/2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 6th Division	0,493	1	1 1/2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 7th Division	0,135	0	5 1/2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 8th Division	0,211	17	7 1/2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 9th Division	1,172	6	6 1/2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 10th Division	0,899	19	7 1/2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 11th Division	3,527	8	2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 12th Division	8,577	7	4 1/2	21,260	16 6 1/2
<u>Court Service</u>					
of the 1st Regiment of the 13th Division	3,092	0	3 1/2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 14th Division	8,066	13	8 1/2		
of the 1st Regiment of the 15th Division	20,000				
				37,358	14 7
£ 2,447,853 - 15 - 4 Extraordinary Services					
439,160 - 2 - 9 ordinary services					
£ 2,887,013 - 17 - 7				£ 2,447,853 15 4	

Source: Source: Amounts of Warrants Granted by His Excellency General Haldimand for the Extraordinary Services of the Army in Canada from July 1778 to November 1784 Add Mss 25754 f. 210, M. F. Reel 40 Library and Archives Canada.

Appendix 9:
Subsistence Wanting for Butler's Rangers 25 October 1778 -24 May 1779

Subsistence Wanting for the Corps of Rangers Commanded by John Butler, Capt. Major Commenced from the 25. Oct. 1778 to the 24. May following both days Included being 212 days

Rank	Rate of Pay per day	Am ^t in 1778 Qu ^{rs} Per day			the Am ^t in 1779 for 212 days			The Am ^t in Halfpay		
		1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
1 Major	15/ sterl ^d	1	4	8	202	13	4	176	13	4
4 Captains	10/ d ^o lack	3	11	1 1/2	753	15	5	271	2	1 1/2
10 Lieutenants	8/ 10/4/6 ^d	1			848			530		
1 Quarter-Master	8/ d ^o		8		84	16		53		
1 Surgeon from 25 Oct. to 14/ sterl ^d	14/ sterl ^d		7	2 1/2	108	8	11	67	15	7
15 Sergeants	5/	3	15		795			496	17	1/6
15 Corporals	4/6	3	7	6	715	10		447	3	9
20 Taps & Drums	4/	2	8		508	16		318		
100 Privates	4/	20			4240			2650		
100 ditto include	2/		10	12	3943	4		2464	10	
<i>casualties not included in the Above Number</i>										
100 Men from the 25 Oct. to the 27 Nov. 1778 9 Days			2/			10			11	3
Adam Brown d ^o to the 9 th Nov. is 16 d ^o			2		1	12		1		
Thos. Stacks from d ^o to the 25 Nov. is 32 d ^o			2		3	4		2		
Saml. Jackson d ^o to the 31 st Dec. is 38 d ^o			2		8	16		5	10	
Andrew Toms d ^o to the 2 nd Feb. is 101 d ^o			2		10	2		6	6	3
Michl. Haines d ^o to the 8 th d ^o is 107 d ^o			2		10	14		6	13	9
Wm. Spradler d ^o to the 8 th d ^o is 107 d ^o			2		10	14		6	13	9
Henry Winter d ^o to the 8 th d ^o is 107 d ^o			2		10	14		6	13	9
Abner Swain from 1 st Nov. to 2 nd Feb. is 100 d ^o			2		20			6	5	4
W. M. P. Jones as Acting Adjutant from the 1 st April to the 8 th d ^o being then in actual service (included) - being 231 days (2 1/4) sterl ^d			7	2	82	15	6	51	14	8
		Total			12129	13	2	7706	10	8 1/2

Walter Butler Capt. Major Paymaster
by Order of
John Butler
Major Commanding

Quebec April 8th 1779

Source: WO 28/4 f.7 PRO.

Appendix 10: Muster Roll of Captain John MacKay's Company of the Queens Rangers, 24 October 1778 to 23 February 1779.

Muster Roll of Cap^t John MacKay's Company, Queens Rangers John Greaves Sergeant Lieut. Col^o Commandant From the 24th of October '78 to the 23rd of Febr^y 79 (inclusive)

No	Rank	Names	status of service by whom or how of enlistment	Particular reason ad ^d	Promoted	discharged	Dead	deserted	Prison
1	Capt ^t	John M ^c Kay		Recruiting					
1	Lieut ^t	Creas Shaw		"					
1	Ensign	Hugh M ^c Kay	at large						
1	Serjeant	John M ^c Pherson							
2	Dr ^o	Donald M ^c Donald		"					
3	Dr ^o	John M ^c Hardy		transferred to Capt ^t Rivers 25 th Decem ^r 78					
4	Dr ^o	John M ^c Donald		25 th Decem ^r 78					
1	Capt ^t	John M ^c King							
2		Rich ^d M ^c Donald							
3		Will ^m M ^c Pherson							
1	Serjeant	John M ^c Pherson							
1	Serjeant	James Collock							
2		John M ^c Pherson							
3		John M ^c Pherson							
4		John M ^c Pherson							
5		James Gunn							
6		John M ^c Pherson							
7		John M ^c Pherson							
8		George Walker							
9		John M ^c Pherson							
10		John M ^c Pherson							
11		John M ^c Pherson		transferred to Capt ^t Wickham 16 th Nov ^r 78					
12		John M ^c Pherson		at large					
13		John M ^c Pherson		Recruiting					
14		John M ^c Pherson							
15		John M ^c Pherson							
16		John M ^c Pherson							
17		John M ^c Pherson							
18		John M ^c Pherson		transferred to Capt ^t Wickham 16 th Nov ^r 78					
19		John M ^c Pherson		Recruiting					
20		John M ^c Pherson							
21		John M ^c Pherson		Recruiting					
22		John M ^c Pherson							
23		John M ^c Pherson							
24		John M ^c Pherson							
25		John M ^c Pherson		transferred to Capt ^t M ^c Gill 15 th Febr ^y 79					
26		John M ^c Pherson							
27		John M ^c Pherson		Recruiting					
28		John M ^c Pherson							
29		John M ^c Pherson							
30		John M ^c Pherson							
31		John M ^c Pherson							

Source: C Series Muster Rolls, Vol 1862, f.5. Reel 4217 Library and Archives of Canada.

Appendix 11:

Newspaper Report of Queens Rangers at Brandywine Creek, 11 September 1777.

Our whole army is surprisngly healthy. No regiment in the army has gained more honour this campaign than Major Wemys's (or the Queen's) Rangers; they have been engaged in every principal service, and behaved nobly; indeed most of the officers have been wounded since we took the field in Pennsylvania. General Knyphausen, after the action of the 11th of September, at Brandywine, dispatched an aid de camp to General Howe with an account of it; What he said concerning it was short, but to the purpose. Tell the General (says he) I must be silent as to the behaviour of the Rangers, for I even want words to express my own astonishment to give him any idea of it. The 13th the following appeared in orders: "The Commander in Chief desires to convey to the officers and
 " men of the Queen's Rangers his approbation and
 " acknowledgement for their spirited and gallant
 " behaviour in the engagement of the 11th instant,
 " and to assure them how well he is satisfied with
 " their distinguished conduct on that day. His
 " Excellency only regrets their having suffered so
 " much in the gallant execution of their duty."

Source: The Pennsylvania Ledger 3 December 1777, from America's Historical Newspapers at <http://www.newsbank.com/readex/?content=96> accessed 6/6/2008.

Appendix 12: Newspaper Report of British Legion's Victory at Waxhaws 29 May

CHARLES TOWN, (S. Carolina) June 8.

ON Thursday last Intelligence was received, that a signal victory had been obtained by Col. TARLETON over the REBELS. His Excellency General Sir HENRY CLINTON, K. B. was pleased to announce it to the Royal Army, Navy and Loyal inhabitants.

Head Quarters, Charlestown Neck, June 1, 1780.

O R D E R S.

THE Commander in Chief congratulates the army on the success that has attended the corps in the back country, under Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton with the corps of cavalry, and with the infantry of the legion (mounted) being detached by his lordship, reached the rebels, after a march of near 100 miles in two days—They rejected the terms on which he required them to surrender, and were in consequence attacked.

One hundred and seventy were cut to pieces, and the whole cannon, baggage, colours, &c. of the corps were taken.

The General, however small the loss of British has been compared to the advantage obtained, cannot mention it without concern; two officers are killed, and 20 officers, non commission officers or privates wounded.

By an officer of the 7th Cavalry, who came to town on Sunday from Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis's army, we are favoured with the following particulars of the above glorious event, viz. "After a forced march of about two days, Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with the detachment under his command arrived at Lynch's Creek, on the 29th ult. where a body of rebels were strongly posted. The Col. summoned them to surrender, but they rejected his terms, on which the party charged, and victory soon declared in favour of the brave and fatigued troops.

List of the rebel forces killed, wounded & taken on the 29th ult.

7	Lieutenant Colonel,		
8	Captains,		
14	Subalterns,		Killed,
1	Adjutant,		
1	Quarter-Master,		
293	Rank and File,		killed and wounded.
50	Taken Prisoners.		

Appendix 13: Notice of the several Loyalist Regiments Embarkation to Nova Scotia 17 August 1783.

Extract from General Orders.

HEAD QUARTERS, New York, August 17, 1783.

"It is ordered that the 17th, infantry, 33d, 37th, 42d, 54th, 57th regiments are to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Nova Scotia, where they are to remain till further orders.

"That 17th dragoons, the 7th foot, 22d, 23d, 38th, 40th, 43d, 70th, 75th, 80th, and 82d regiments to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Europe.

"The 17th regiment of light dragoons, the 70th, 74th, 76th, 80th, and 82d regiments are to be disbanded as soon as they arrive in Great Britain, in the mean time the establishment of those corps (the dragoon regiments excepted) are to be reduced to 400 privates, which reductions are considered as having taken place on the 25th of June, 1783.

"During the voyage home the officers and men are to be put under the usual stoppages of three pence per day each for provisions.

"All such men as have entered into marching regiments of infantry since the 15th of December, 1775, and such as have entered into any other corps since the 19th of February, 1779, are now intitled to their discharges; provided they have been three years in the service from the date of their attestation; otherwise, they will be entitled thereto upon completing that period of service. All men under these circumstances will be discharged, and passages provided for them home (except such as may desire to remain in America.)

"The 3d and 4th battalions of the 60th—the king's American regiment—queens rangers—British legion cavalry—detachment of the garrison battalion—New York volunteers—British legion infantry—loyal American regiment—1st, 2d and 3d New Jersey volunteers—1st and 2d, De Lancy's—Prince of Wales American regiment—Pennsylvania and Maryland loyalists—American legion—and guides and pioneers—and the men who wish to be discharged in America, are to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Nova Scotia, where, on their arrival, those corps, will be disbanded; unless any of them should choose to be dismissed at this place.

"The non-commissioned officers and private men of the land forces, who may be reduced in Nova Scotia, and wish to become settlers in that province, will be allowed grants of lands, at the rate of two hundred acres to every non-commissioned officer, and one hundred to every private man, exclusive of what he shall be entitled to in right of his family, discharged of all fees of office and quit rents for the first ten years. And as a further inducement to them to become settlers, each man shall be furnished, out of the public stores, with the usual rations of provisions allowed to him for one year, and shall be permitted to retain his arms and accoutrements.

"His majesty has been pleased to grant to the king's American dragoons, commanded by lieutenant colonel Thompson, permanent rank in America, and half-pay upon the reduction of the regiment."

Sir Guy Carleton has issued orders that no person shall demolish any stone, brick, or frame building, or carry off any part of the materials of such building, without leave of the board of commissioners. This order was occasioned by the refugees destroying the buildings, and carrying off the materials to erect habitations in Nova Scotia.

The assembly of this state has passed an act, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for every one of the robbers, who now infest the county of Bucks.

The commercial treaty, it is said, is now signed, it is further added that by this treaty certain American articles of commerce that enter any of the ports of Great Britain, are not to receive any premium extraordinary, unless sent in British bottoms.

Monday arrived here the ship Two Friends, capt. Street, in 8 weeks from London; and the ship Kent, capt. Liege in 9 weeks from the same port.

Capt. Liege spoke with the Ceres, John Dixon, master, from Newbury Port, in N. lat. 36:30, long 62:40. The Ceres had run ashore on Newbury bar, where she lay one night, but got off safe, and is perfectly tight. She is the property of John Tracey, esq. Newbury Port.

The ship Hope, capt. Robinson, was spoken with on the 4th of July, in the British channel, all well.

The ship Commerce, capt. Truxton, and the cutter Brothers, Major, both from Philadelphia, have arrived in England.

** The Freeholders and others intitled to vote, for members of assembly, &c. for the county of Philadelphia, are requested to meet on Saturday the 4th day of October next, by eleven o'clock in the forenoon at the house of capt. George Eckhart, at Whitmarsh, in order to form a Ticket for the ensuing election.

Philadelphia county, Sept. 4, 1783.

Source: The Freeman's Journal 10 September 1783 from America's Historical

Newspapers at <http://www.newsbank.com/readex/?content=96> accessed 6/6/2008.

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