

WOLFE'S ARMY



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48

WOLFE'S ARMY

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Introduction



In the days of Empire, only remembered with any clarity today by those over forty, the Seven Years War was a landmark in schools' history lessons. The 'year of miracles', 1759, when Horace Walpole could write only half mockingly 'one can never afford to miss a single copy of a newspaper for fear of missing a British victory somewhere', was still a matter not only of pride, but also of great interest.

Only in America, despite the matchless splendour of Francis Parkman's writing on the period, was the French and Indian War, as the Seven Years War has always been called there, rather neglected. It was a 'colonial days' campaign in the minds of later Americans for whom life began in the 1770s, and only in states where the battles had been fought was it – and is it – much recalled.

Today, the neglect spans the Atlantic with only one exception: the story of Wolfe at Quebec, still a matter of passionate interest far outside Canada, as the flood of books published for the bicentenary in 1959 proved. Canadians feel its effects to this day and Americans have cause to remember it, for in winning the battle, the British, as we shall see, lost America.

The fascination with Wolfe and his army is understandable, and a considerable part of this book is devoted to the campaign; but it was only part of an extraordinary story, for, even by British standards, the French and Indian War was a classic example of early bungling which bravery

could not counterbalance, followed by inspired leadership of that much abused but magnificent figure, the British redcoat. Many provincials, too, contributed to the victory despite inter-colony bickering and jealousies, and natural resentment at the arrogance of too many British officers and officials. They learnt lessons which were soon to rebound on the mother country.

The cast list of this ferocious, often terrifying war, much of it fought in forests which must have seemed to the redcoats to be a wilderness of tigers, is an impressive one: the young Washington; Sir William Johnson, the land-hungry Empire-builder who genuinely liked and was trusted by Indians; Lord Howe, the incomparable young officer whose death at Ticonderoga was nothing less than a national tragedy; the unfortunate Braddock; Rogers and his Rangers; the malicious Townshend; the appalling Abercromby; and, above all, the heroic twin heroes of the great drama, Montcalm and Wolfe.

And always there was the redcoat, the central figure of this book. The body of the text is a history of the war from a military point of view, the colour pictures and their captions are mainly devoted to the uniforms of the redcoats, their leaders, and their allies.

No one who has studied the redcoat fails to respond to his cheerfulness, his own response to good leadership, his bravery when things (as so often) went wrong, his occasional disgraceful behaviour in battle, his sheer guts. The concept of Empire can rightly be criticized, even attacked, and apologists for it in the 1970s must recognize its faults as well as its many virtues. But those who attack the redcoats, those who cannot respond to their valour and, indeed, the valour of their enemies, are to be pitied.

The Unending Conflict



'A volley from the hunting-pieces of a few backwoodsmen, commanded by a Virginian youth, George Washington', is how Francis Parkman describes the obscure action in 1754 which precipitated the French and Indian War and in Horace Walpole's phrase 'set the world on fire'. The Father of his Country began making history when he was a twenty-two-year-old acting lieutenant-colonel of militia.

So began the struggle that Winston Churchill called the First World War. Yet in North America there had been little peace during the century. The war was part of the seemingly unending conflict between France and England to decide the fate of a continent.

The century had already seen two official Anglo-French wars, the second of which ended in 1748. The treaty-makers returned to each country the conquests of the other, the commercially hopeful town of Madras to Britain, Louisbourg to France, much to the legitimate fury of the New Englanders who had captured the great fortress on Cape Breton Island with naval aid in 1745.

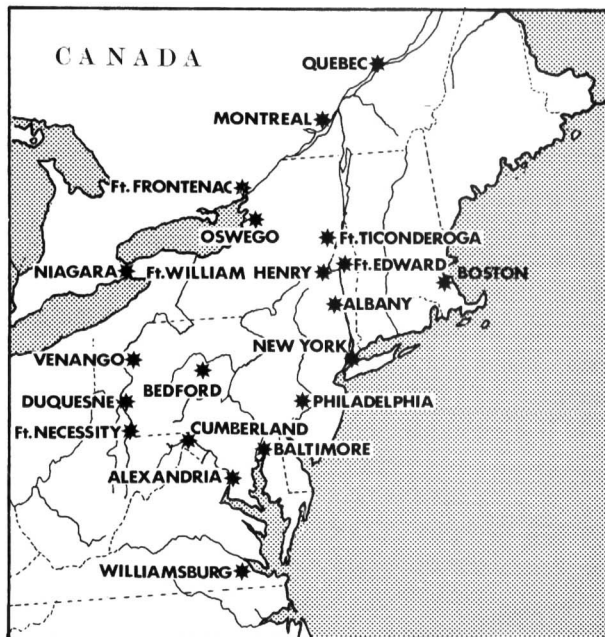
The 'peace' that followed in America was no peace at all. The vastly outnumbered French – there were about 55,000 of them in contrast to about a million and a half English colonists – were the leading power in North America, even though their position was built on sand. Most Indians preferred the French Canadians, who had little of the racial prejudice of the Anglo-Americans; they were traders, explorers, adventurers and, except along the St Lawrence, not settlers.

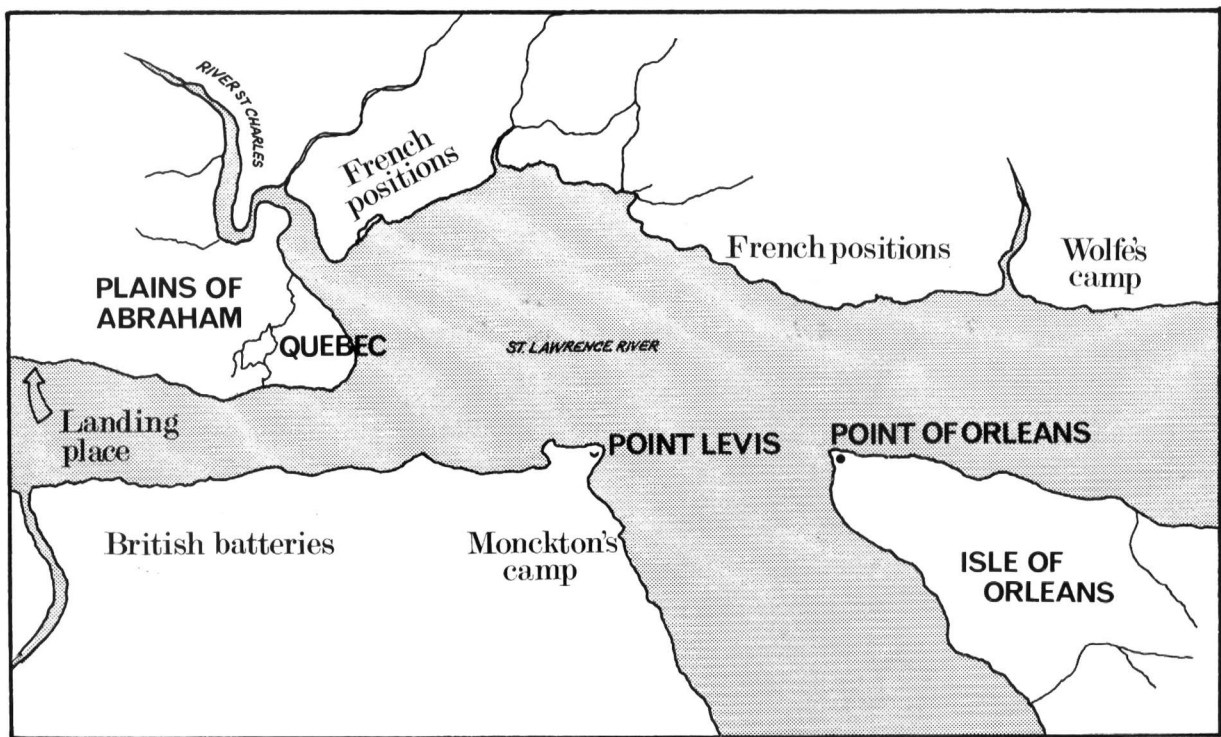
Only the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy – Six Nations since 1715 when the Tuscaroras were allowed to join the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas –

tended to side with the British or remain neutral. No longer the power they once were, these proud, fierce advanced tribes lived in what is now central New York State, but lorded it over a much wider area. Fortunately a trader and agent, William Johnson, later to be Sir William and the greatest landowner in North America, had enormous influence over them, and especially over the Mohawks. He liked the men and loved the women: his last wife in all but name was the lovely Molly Brant, sister of the great Joseph Brant, the Mohawk war chief for whom an extraordinary career in war and peace lay in the future.

By 1748 the fur trade had led to too many Indians becoming dependent on white goods, everything from trinkets to armaments, and these the English could supply more easily than the French. Loyalty to New France was strained, but two factors played into French hands. Though Quebec, their capital, was priest-ridden and though the fur trade was rotten with corruption, the French Canadians were better soldiers than their rivals, having learnt the art of woodland fighting with their Indian allies; and, more significantly, for all their lack of unity, the English colonists, as we have seen, wanted land.

No Indians ever really understood this lust for land. To Indians, the earth was sacred, a mother, not something to be bartered or owned. It could





be hunted over, fought over or even farmed – by the women – but owned in the white sense, never!

Indian warfare against the whites was total. Terror was an instrument of policy. The whites brought warfare on themselves by repeated betrayals or misunderstandings and vengeance bred vengeance until savagery was rampant on both sides. The redcoats were to find themselves in a nightmare world where the disciplines of Europe had no counterpart (until the Quebec campaign, which was not so very different from the European style of warfare).

In 1747, the Ohio Land Company was formed to open up the fertile lands of the Ohio Valley, and in 1749 the Company got its first land grant of 200,000 acres on both sides of the Ohio and sent its first scouts across the mountains the next year. Soon, English colonists who were killed were likely to have dirt stuffed into their mouths, for the Indians knew what the Ohio Company and the independent prospectors were after.

Meanwhile, in 1749, a French and Indian party swept down into the Ohio Valley to claim it for France, optimistically putting notices on trees and burying engraved plates to enforce their claim. The Ohio Company established a base at

Wills Creek, now Cumberland, Maryland. Trails were blazed westwards to the Monongahela River to find suitable land for settlement. With French influence among the Indians spreading fast, the stage was set for an encounter to decide who would rule the Forks of the Ohio, the Monongahela and the Allegheny – and the whole valley.

In 1753, the new Governor of Canada, Marquis Duquesne, sent 4,000 men south to build forts. Fort Presqu'île was erected on Lake Erie and Fort le Bœuf below it, and the English post at Venango was taken, garrisons being left at each of them.

The alarmed Governor of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, sent a warning to Legardeur de St Pierre, who was in command at Fort le Bœuf since the previous commander died of dysentery, informing him that he was trespassing on Virginian soil. Not surprisingly, St Pierre disagreed, so Dinwiddie sent Major George Washington, twenty-one years old, over six feet tall and eager for land and a regular commission, to see him. His small escort of frontiersmen was joined on the way by a friendly Seneca, Half King, and some of his band. St Pierre politely received Washington, refused to budge, and, without success, tried to

seduce the Senecas, known, confusingly, in that area as Mingoës. Washington returned and reported to the Governor, urging that a fort should be built at the Forks of the Ohio.

After a struggle, Dinwiddie got a little money out of his assembly, and, in April 1754, work on the fort was begun. Suddenly, 500 Frenchmen materialized out of the forest and the British surrendered and were sent home. The victors proceeded to erect Fort Duquesne, a famous spot, later to be Fort Pitt and, finally, Pittsburg.

This was war, or so the Virginians thought, even though neighbouring colonies showed typical lack of interest. Washington, now an acting lieutenant-colonel and twenty-two, was put in charge of a 300-strong party and was met at Great Meadows by Half King, who told him that some French and Indians were near by. On 28 May the Americans took the French by surprise, wounded a few men, killed their leader de Jumonville and took twenty-one prisoners. The war, undeclared for another two years, had started.

Washington learnt that 500 Frenchmen were on their way to meet de Jumonville and retreated to Great Meadows, where he was joined by men from two Independent Companies, commanded by Captain McKay, a regular, who outranked Colonel Washington, a mere volunteer. This situation was all too common throughout the ensuing war and one which naturally upset the young Virginian.

Washington still hoped to push on to Duquesne, but, hearing that the French were now near, he and his exhausted, starving men retreated again to Great Meadows and built Fort Necessity, dangerously far from water and exposed to fire from wooded slopes.

The fire came on the night of 2 July, directed by de Jumonville's brother, Coulon de Villiers. In heavy rain, the British fought bravely for nine hours, refused a surrender call, but finally, when a quarter of the ragged, sick garrison of some 400 had been killed or wounded, they gave in. It was a cruel blow to the ambitious young Washington. However, the British left with the honours of war, leaving swivel guns and military baggage behind.

Two significant things occurred. An interpreter botched his job and made Washington unwittingly

sign that he was the assassin of de Jumonville, an excellent propaganda weapon for the French; and a Scotsman named Robert Stobo was chosen as one of the hostages to be left. He was, as we shall see, to render great services, first at Fort Duquesne, then at Quebec. But the immediate effect of the defeat was sheer disaster. The Indians rightly believed the French to be the masters of the situation, while de Villiers returned to Fort Duquesne having seen to it, as Parkman put it, that 'Not an English flag now waved beyond the Alleghenies'.

Disaster



When the news of Washington's humiliation reached Europe, British and French officials in Paris were still arguing about the previous war. France's numerical weakness in North America in 1754 was more than offset by the total unpreparedness of the British to fight a major war on any front. Not that anything as foolhardy as a declaration of war was made. Instead, and despite the inadequacies of the incompetent Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, an attempt was made to improve the armed services.

It was high time. The Navy had 200 over-extended ships, many of them in poor condition, and the army was down to less than 20,000 men. But in July 1754, before the news of Fort Necessity had reached Europe, money and arms were sent across the Atlantic, and late September, when the worst was known, the 44th and the 48th Foot were ordered to sail from Cork to North America.

Each battalion was about 350 strong with additional drafts of variable quality added to them, bringing them up to 500 each, and it was hoped that Americans would later be recruited.

In command was a forty-five-year-old Coldstreamer, Major-General Edward Braddock, a



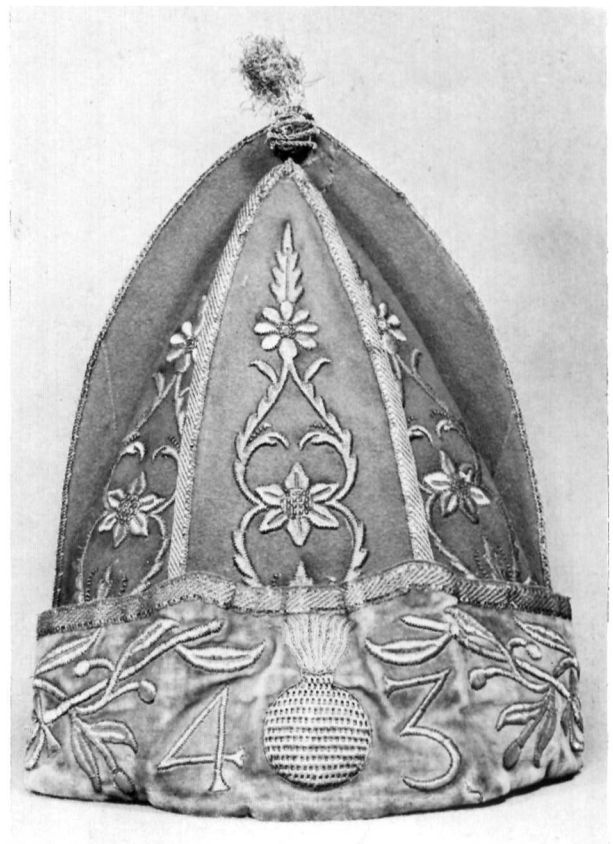
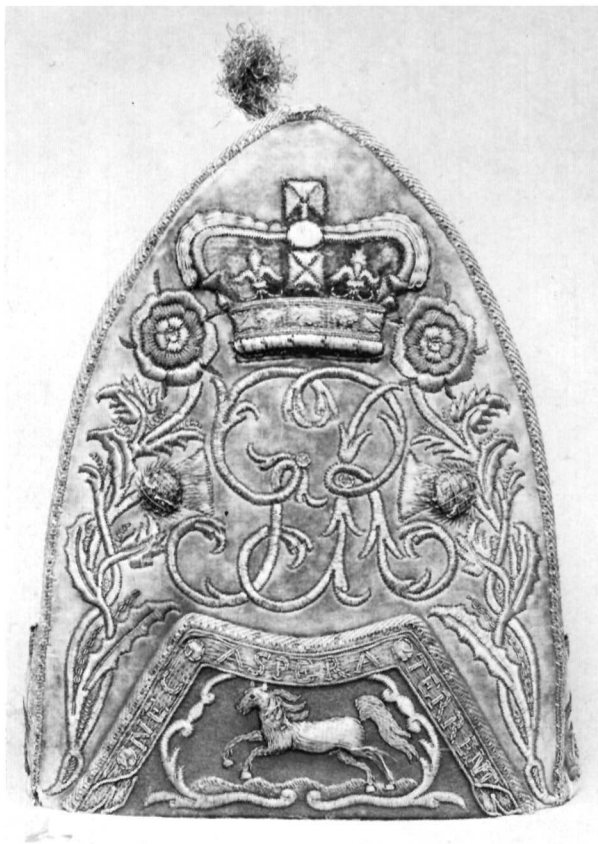
Although no Foot Guards served in America at this time, this picture merits inclusion as the best of Morier's grenadier paintings, illustrating clearly the cut of the uniforms and several small details of interest. The uniforms of all infantry were basically the same, distinguished for grenadiers by mitre caps and shoulder-wings – see description of colour plates A1, A2 and A3 for general information. Lapels could be buttoned across in foul weather, or half-buttoned for marching. Belts were light-coloured buff leather; a heavy one over the right shoulder supported the polished black cartridge-box. Grenadier status was indicated by a perforated, stoppered brass tube above the brass buckle, originally the match-case. A tightly coiled match may have been worn on the belt

behind the shoulder. The waistbelt supported the sword – 'hanger' – and bayonet in a double frog; usually only grenadiers carried the hanger in the field. A picker and brush for clearing the touch-hole of the musket hang by fine chains from the end of the shoulder-belt. Note the visible front breeches buttons – unfashionable, but still usual among common soldiers. White gaiters with thirty-six black buttons are worn for formal duty, replaced by black, brown or grey ones for 'marching and common duties'. Muskets had steel or wooden ramrods – sometimes both within the same unit. The small figure in the left background, and the right-hand grenadier, wear corporals' shoulder-knots on the right shoulder. (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. the Queen)

stern but by no means inhumane soldier who knew nothing of American conditions, but realized (as he told his actress friend, Anne Bellamy) that he would have to cut his way 'through unknown woods'. He said that he and his men were being sent like sacrifices to the altar.

Braddock reached Hampton Roads, Virginia, in February 1755. Meanwhile, 3,000 French

regulars under Baron von Dieskau, who had served brilliantly under Marshal Saxe, were under orders for Canada. The provincials welcomed Braddock effusively. Now the redcoats could do their fighting for them! Braddock tactfully invited the touchy young Washington to serve as his aide-de-camp, which eased the Virginian's frustration at being outranked by the



Front and back views of a fine example of a grenadier officer's mitre cap of the 43rd Foot, with elaborate embroidery in coloured silks, silver and gold. (National Army Museum)

British Regulars, but orders had come from London which confirmed that this offensive rule still applied. As, with few exceptions, British officers despised the provincials, a dangerously mutual antipathy sprang up from the beginning.

It must be stressed, though, that the British had some reason to resent Americans in general. Pennsylvania refused to supply fighting troops for religious reasons, though the most distant settlers of the Quaker colony badly needed protecting. Braddock only got really adequate help from Virginia, and trying to get his expedition properly provisioned and travelworthy proved a nightmare. Local recruiting, however, got the 44th and 48th barely up to strength.

On 14 April, British officers and colonial governors agreed on a series of plans. First the French must be cleared from the Forks of the

Ohio and Fort Duquesne by Braddock. Meanwhile, the admirable Governor Shirley of Massachusetts was to head for Oswego, then attack Niagara, and William Johnson, now His Majesty's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was to proceed up the Hudson and take Crown Point with New England volunteers and some of his fierce Iroquois friends. Finally, Brigadier Robert Monckton, was to deal with the French in Acadia with naval help.

This bold plan, covering huge tracts of wilderness with split forces, was not so bad as subsequent events made it seem. Against the British, however, were some 3,000 French regulars, 15,000 militia, 2,000 colonial regulars of the Marine and an unknown number of Indians.

Braddock had one stroke of luck. The hostage taken at Fort Necessity, Robert Stobo, smuggled a plan of Fort Duquesne out to him. When his act



Front and back views of a typical other ranks' mitre cap, in this case of the 49th Foot, though all followed more or less the same pattern. The regimental facing colour appeared on the front and on the band at the base of the back. The back and the small front flap with the white horse of Hanover were of red cloth. The GR cipher, usually flanked by decorative scrollwork, was in various colours, the crown in full colour. The cap was bound

with white tape, and surmounted by a tuft in regimental colours, missing here. The horse usually rode over a strip of 'ground' in green and yellow. The band at the back was embroidered in a variety of ways, often with a grenade, the regimental number, and scrolls. Certain units with Royal or Ancient badges carried them in full colours in place of the cipher. (National Army Museum)

was discovered, only the fact that the two nations were not yet officially at war saved him from execution, and instead he was sent to Quebec, where he was to be even more useful.

In May, Braddock reached the trading post of Wills Creek, making his headquarters at near-by Fort Cumberland. Let down by contractors and weakened by disease, the troops were badly delayed. They were in two brigades. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Peter Halkett led his 44th Foot, now some 700 strong; there were some 230 Rangers from Virginia, New York and Maryland, and 50 carpenters. Meanwhile Colonel Thomas Dunbar commanded the 48th, now 650 strong, 230 Rangers from Virginia and the Carolinas, and 35 carpenters. There were four 12-pounders, six 6-pounders, four 8-inch howitzers and fifteen mortars. Both brigades also had one Independent

Company from New York, while to help with the ferrying and block-and-tackle work, Lieutenant Charles Spendlowe from H.M.S. *Norwich* was attached with a landing-party to the gunners.

Things at Wills Creek went from bad to worse. Braddock wanted 150 four-team wagons, plus wagoneers, and if it had not been for Benjamin Franklin, Postmaster of Pennsylvania, 'almost the only instance of ability and honesty I have known in the provinces', he would have got hardly any. As it was, 1,500 pack-horses were rounded up, many being promptly stolen by the locals, and wagons were found thanks to Franklin.

Braddock resorted to fierce discipline to keep a grip on a deteriorating situation, but his many detractors rarely include Pennsylvanians, who regard what he achieved before the débâcle as remarkable.



Morier painting of grenadiers in marching order. These three regiments all served in America: the 46th Foot from 1758 to 1767, the 47th and 48th from 1758 to 1763. Colonel Thomas Murray's 46th served at Ticonderoga in 1758. Facings are yellow, lace white with red and yellow stripes and a double dark blue zigzag. Note the pigtail tucked up under the cap and the white stock buckled at the rear. Colonel Peregrine Lascelles' 47th had white facings, and the white lace bore two black zigzags with a row of black dots in between. Colonel Daniel Webb's 48th wore distinctions as in colour plate C1; the scrollwork on the cap is white, the cipher green. For marching order drab-coloured gaiters would actually have been worn. Cowhide

knapsacks and tin canteens are slung on the left, and a haversack of greyish canvas on the right, over the cartridge-box. It is possible that painted canvas covers protected the caps. Sections of the six-man tents, tent poles and camp kettles would be divided among the men on the march. Waistbelts were often worn over the right shoulder, the bayonet and - for grenadiers - the sword hanging under the left arm. An extra cartridge-box was often worn on a buff or black strap buckled over the waistbelt. Note the centre man's open collar and lack of stock. (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. the Queen)

This is partly because of the road which he and his men built on an Indian trail, which was surfaced and widened enough to take both guns and wagons. Often the most that could be marched was under four miles a day, and morale was not improved by short rations. At this time an ambush was unlikely, for scouts were out on the flanks and in front, while the axe-men hacked the road which was to be more than twelve feet wide. It was an amazing feat.

The expedition reached Little Meadows, the

advance guard arriving on 25 June. Though stragglers had been picked off by French and Indian scouts, there was as yet no sign of a major French force. However, Braddock heard that 500 Frenchmen were marching to reinforce Fort Duquesne. At a council of war, Washington was asked for advice. Acting on it, Braddock decided to advance with 1,200 men, leaving Dunbar with the heavy baggage, the wagons and the women-folk. An advance guard was to be led by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Gage, and it was this

force that crossed the Monongahela on 9 July, eight miles from Fort Duquesne.

At the fort were about 1,000 French and Indians under Contrecoeur. The new Governor-General of Canada, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, could spare no more because of pressures elsewhere. Only on the 8th, had the French heard that Braddock was approaching, and Contrecoeur decided to ambush him at the Monongahela, choosing a party of 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians under Captain Lienard de Beaujeu for the fight.

The British had been forced to ford the river twice to avoid a narrow defile and were engaged in a short skirmish at the second crossing with some thirty Indians who fled. Now they were in more open country, woods rather than thick forest. A band played and redcoats and provincials stepped out, with Braddock and his men following closely behind the advance guard in two columns. Grenadiers were on the flanks, Virginians in the rear, and cattle and pack-horses were between the columns. The sun shone on this army of the damned, its men jauntily confident that the French had already fled.

Waiting for them was Beaujeu, who had great difficulty in persuading his Indians to stay. Like them, he and his men were stripped for action and painted.

Braddock's men marched on. Suddenly, Beaujeu appeared, turned and waved his hat to the men behind him. He was killed almost at once as the ambush site echoed to a terrifying war-cry, a blood-chilling moment for any Europeans hearing it for the first time. The redcoats swung from their columns into line as bullets tore into them from the trees. The French Canadians took to their heels, and only the prompt action of Captain Dumas and Charles Langlade, leading the Indians, prevented them from following the French. Yet despite this disarray in the enemy ranks, the British were doomed. They could not see their enemy, their whole training was foreign to the situation and, as the provincials sensibly took cover, the redcoats became so unnerved that they shot at them by mistake.

The officers on their horses were soon picked off by Indian marksmen, and their men went out of control. Braddock arrived with Washington; the former, who was nothing if not brave, did his



Rare contemporary illustrations of Indians: the war chieftain with scalp in hand, and the Ottawa warrior with his family, were sketched by George Townshend. (Courtauld Institute of Art)

best with curses and the flat of his sword to restore order, aided by the young Virginian. Five horses were shot under the General as the chaos became total. His men were broken up into heaving groups, totally without purpose, except for the Virginians. The few British who tried to take cover, Indian fashion, incurred their leader's wrath.

With sixty-three out of eighty-six of his officers killed or wounded, Braddock himself fell shot through his arm and lung. He had just ordered a retreat, even though a panic-stricken flight was already beginning.

The Indians, as usual, were too busy with plunder to follow: the booty that they took

included Braddock's chest with all the British plans in it for the operations in the north and west.

Washington remained unwounded. It was he who brought the news of the disaster back to Dunbar and he who later read the memorial service over Braddock's body when his chief died four days after the battle. He never ceased to admire the tough, brave Coldstreamer.

The British had suffered a catastrophe. Apart from the heavy loss of officers, over 914 N.C.O.s and privates were killed or wounded out of a total of 1,300. The French lost only three officers killed and four wounded and less than ten regulars and Canadians killed and wounded. Twenty-seven Indians were killed or wounded.

The fleeing redcoats met the supply wagons at Gist's Plantation, where they had been sent by Dunbar, but the panic went on. At Duubar's camp, Dunbar himself ordered the destruction of everything: cannons, ammunition, powder wagons and shells, a disgraceful miscalculation even though another attack – wrongly – seemed imminent.

Braddock at least had learnt his lesson before he died. 'We shall know better how to deal with them another time,' he said, and he praised his Virginians, while whispering that he could not bear the sight of a redcoat. And, indeed, while the panic of the regulars was understandable, their reputation, and that of British soldiers in general, had taken a terrible beating.

On 13 July, the retreat to Fort Cumberland began (Braddock's death occurred on the march).



The 'French Castle' at Old Fort Niagara, a massive stone fortified building erected by the French in 1726. (Old Fort Niagara Assoc. Inc.)

The triumph of the French and Indians was complete, though the victory had been almost entirely an Indian one.

Back in England, a young officer named James Wolfe commented: 'Our military education is by far the worst in Europe', and significantly complained: 'All our concerns are treated with contempt or totally neglected.'

* * *

The year 1755 was not a total disaster for British arms, however. Monckton, in command of the minor expedition against Acadia, led New Englanders and a few redcoats against Fort Beauséjour successfully. The fort was situated on the mainland side of the isthmus leading to Acadia and was taken after a short siege, and the smaller Fort Gaspereau fell without a struggle. There followed the harsh expulsion of the Acadians, simple people who had become political pawns and were now sent south into exile and misery.

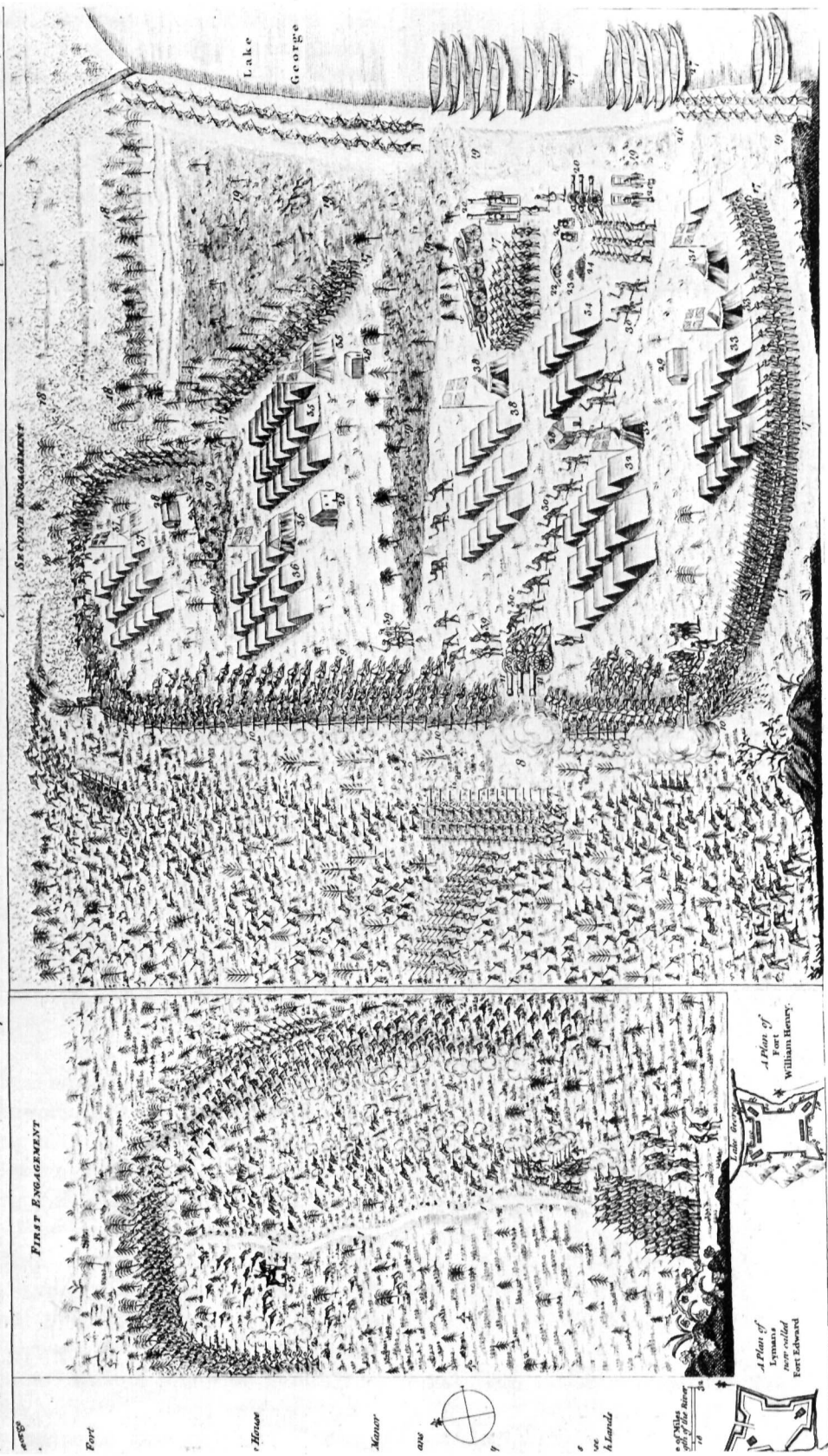
Governor Shirley, held up by transport and supply problems, could not get beyond his base camp at Oswego. The enemy, thanks to Braddock's papers, knew all about his plans to attack Niagara. He realized that unless he first took Frontenac, the French could cut off his retreat by capturing Oswego behind him, so he busied his men, including remnants of Braddock's forces, in strengthening Oswego.

The only real success, boosted beyond its merits to raise morale, was Johnson's campaign against Crown Point. His army was a disunited nation of 3,000 colonists and 300 Iroquois consisting of his beloved Mohawks and some Oneidas. Now appointed major-general, but without combat experience, the charming Johnson did a war-dance with his Indians and even disarmed the suspicions of his Bible-intoxicated New Englanders, the most God-fearing group since Cromwell's day, whose attitudes startled the New Yorkers and Rhode Island men present.

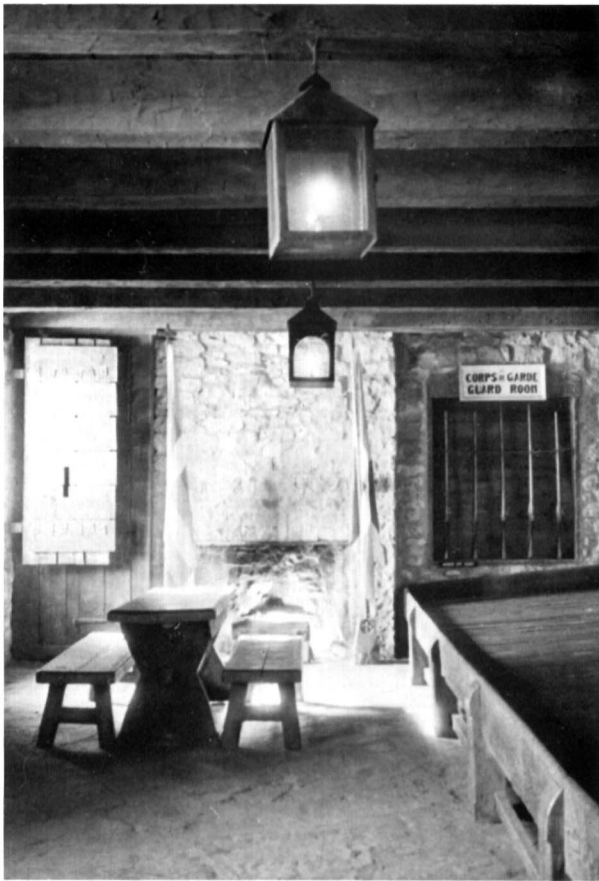
After the usual transport difficulties, he reached Lac du St Sacrement, which he was to name Lake George, later naming his two camps for the King's grandsons, Fort Edward and Fort William Henry.

Meanwhile, the French under Dieskau were reinforcing Crown Point – once again the

A Prospectiv View of the BATTLE fought near Lake George, on the 8th of Sep^r 1755, between 2000 English, with 250 Mohawks, of GEN^l. JOHNSON'S 3500 French Indians under the command of GEN^l. DIESSAU in which the English were victorious capturing the Fort & putting the rest to flight



Spirited view of the Battle of Lake George, reproduced by courtesy of the late Harvey Chalmers



Interior of the guardroom at Old Fort Niagara, on the first floor. An interesting feature is the long undivided 'shelf' bunk, which held at least thirty men. (Old Fort Niagara Assoc. Inc.)

Braddock papers came in useful – then, with a disputed number of regulars, militia and Indians, perhaps 2,500 in all, he travelled down Lake Champlain and built Fort Ticonderoga.

Misled by a prisoner that Johnson had returned to his base at Albany, Dieskau pressed on with his army. He then learnt that the British were still in the area, and Johnson tried to ambush him with 500 men and his Indians, despite a warning from the Mohawk chief Hendrick who said: 'If they are to fight they are too few, if they are to die, they are too many.'

The wise old Indian was right, for 200 were killed, including Hendrick, and the survivors fled back in disorder to Johnson's camp at Lake George.

A fort was rapidly improvised from logs, boats and carts, and the advancing French met with a hail of bullets, the forerunner of similar blasts of

fire against the British at Bunker Hill, New Orleans and elsewhere. The French and Indians broke and ran, and Dieskau was captured and just saved by Johnson from being boiled and eaten in revenge for Hendrick's death.

Johnson did not pursue the shattered French, which has always been held against him by critics, even though pursuit might have ended in yet another British disaster. Instead, he nursed his wounded thigh, built Fort William Henry, and then, with his tired, sick and hungry men, he retired to the Hudson. He was made a baronet and granted £5,000 by Parliament.

But the true significance of Lake George lay in the future. Mere provincials had licked French regulars. Dieskau said of them: 'In the morning they fought like good boys, about noon like men, and in the afternoon like devils.' Three of the devils, were to become major-generals against the British. Lake George was a warning of things to come.

Mismanagement and Massacre



For the British 1755 had been a catastrophic year, and the following two years showed no improvement. Braddock's defeat led to an autumn of sheer terror on the frontier as French and Indian war-parties ravaged settlements and attacked lonely farmhouses, while colonial assemblies argued with their governors. Meanwhile Colonel Dunbar, having hardly distinguished himself under Braddock, opted out by settling in Philadelphia for the winter.

Washington found himself commanding 1,500 Virginia Militia, virtually the only force to serve a 350-mile frontier in a situation quite out of

control. The vast superiority in numbers of the British meant little in the face of the combination of wrangling colonists and French and Indian war-parties. The French ability to understand Indians was now paying off in terms of blood. Not until December 1755 did Pennsylvania shake off its worthy Quaker shackles and prepare for war.

In the winter there was a lull as the enemy rested. Back in Britain, with a declared war clearly not far away, there was little sign of action. There were only 24,000 redcoats on the British Establishment, with 13,000 more allocated to the colonies. A ray of hope was the granting of commissions to foreign Protestants in America, which led to the formation of the Royal American Regiment of Foot, the 60th, later the King's Royal Rifle Corps.

The spring of 1756 saw the judicial murder of Admiral Byng, who was made a scapegoat 'pour encourager les autres', as Voltaire observed. Meanwhile, with Britain seeking allies in Europe – Hanover and Prussia – the Government sent £115,000 to Governor Shirley to help raise forces in New England for its defence. War was officially declared on 18 May, by which time a remarkable soldier, the Marquis de Montcalm, had reached Canada to replace the defeated Dieskau. There he encountered from the beginning the hostility of his superior, Vaudreuil, the Governor-General, a colonial who saw no reason for the importation of a French regular. Their enmity was to benefit the British considerably. Montcalm brought with him able subordinates and 1,200 men.

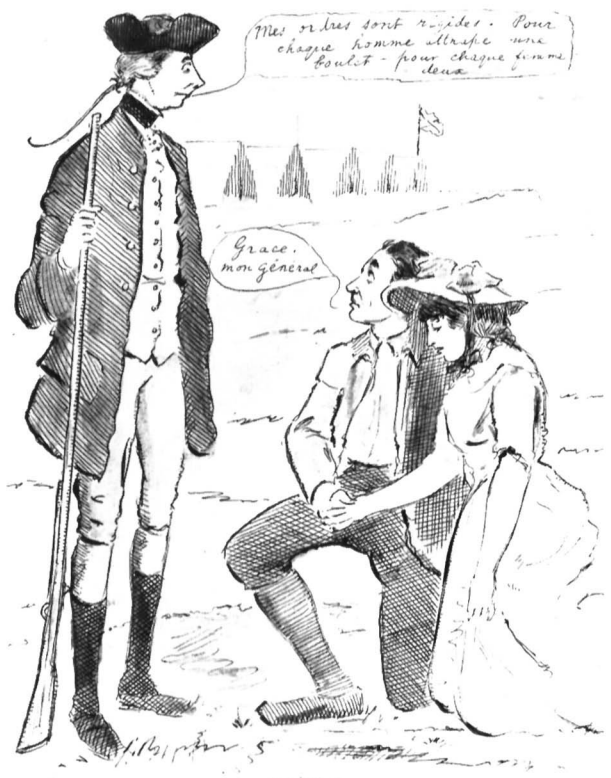
While the great Frenchman was discovering the disgracefully corrupt state of New France, the affairs of British America were being handed over to incompetents. The unfortunate Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, a man who served Britain and her colonies well, was due to be replaced by the Earl of Loudoun, but first he sent some inferior troops to Oswego, all that could be raised. More usefully, he appointed a veteran of Louisbourg, Major John Bradstreet, a brilliant American soldier with a regular commission, to raise 2,000 armed boatmen. Their first achievement was to get supplies to Oswego despite French and Indian attacks.

In mid-July Loudoun arrived, soon after his even more useless subordinate, Major-General

James Abercromby and the equally feeble Colonel Daniel Webb. Shirley, hounded by his enemies, left in disgrace, while, unbelievably, an order accompanied Loudoun stating that even generals with provincial commissions could be outranked by mere regular majors. Better news was the arrival with Loudoun of the 35th and the 42nd Foot.

The rest of this miserable year was a chapter of calamities. Although Johnson managed to persuade many of the Iroquois to remain neutral this could not save Oswego from falling to Montcalm. The French captured over 1,600 prisoners, six ships, 113 cannon, plus ammunition, supplies and money, and silenced the fort. They had used Braddock's guns to help destroy it.

The nervous Webb, hearing of the loss, believed a rumour that Montcalm was advancing on him and fled to German Flats on the Mohawk.



One of Brigadier Townshend's many waspish cartoons of Wolfe; though coarsely witty, they tended to demoralize his fellow staff officers, already disturbed by the long stalemate and their commander's illness. (McCord Museum)



ROYAL
REG'T



22
REGIMENT

The 1st or Royal Regiment of Foot, later the Royal Scots, wore red coats and waistcoats, blue breeches and facings, and plain white lace. The cap is blue, the crown is full colour, the green Order of the Thistle circlet bears the motto *Nemo Me Impune Lacessit*, and the cipher is yellow on blue; the red flap bears the usual white horse. Colonel James Sinclair's 2nd Battalion was at Ticonderoga in 1759, and remained in America until 1764. (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. the Queen)

Colonel Edward Whitmore's 22nd Foot served in America from 1758 to 1765. The facings were buff, the lace white with two red and blue stripes. The scrolls and cipher on the buff-fronted cap are yellow. (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. the Queen)



INNISKILLING
REGIMENT

The 27th (Inniskilling) Foot served in America from 1758 to 1767; they were at Ticonderoga in 1758 and 1759. The facings were buff, the lace white with a yellow stripe between a blue and a black zigzag. The cap bears a blue roundel with a castle flying St George's flag beneath a scroll inscribed Inniskilling. (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. the Queen)



40th
REGIMENT

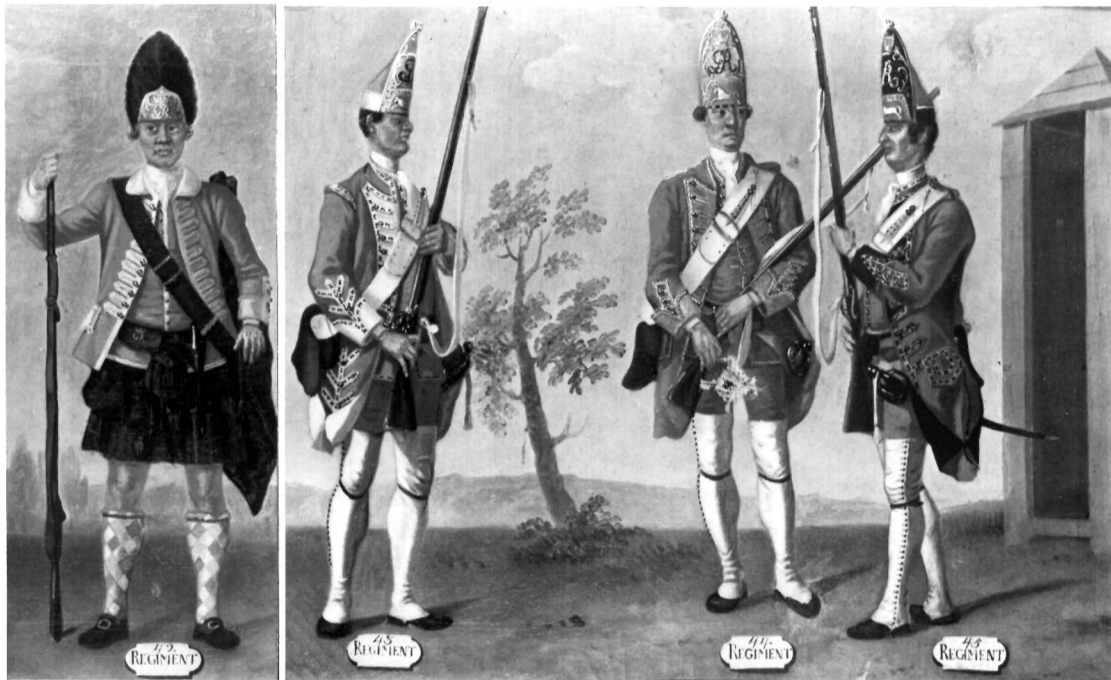
The 40th Foot, which seems to have gone through four colonels during its American service in 1758-65, wore buff facings; the lace had a black stripe edged each side with buff. The grenadier cap bears white scrollwork and a black cipher. (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. the Queen)

Actually, the war had petered out for the winter, with the British at Fort William Henry dying of disease in a stinking outpost which faced the French at Ticonderoga (called by them Fort Carillon).

That winter Newcastle, a master politician in the worst sense of the word, retired and the Duke of Devonshire took over. So, fortunately, did William Pitt. The British Establishment was raised to 30,000 men, with 19,000 more for the colonies, plus 2,000 engineers and artillerymen.

Fifteen line regiments were ordered to raise second battalions and Pitt – boldly, for it was only twelve years after the '45' – raised two regiments of Highlanders, Fraser's and Montgomery's. Among other signs of action were seven battalions ordered to North America and new drafts for regiments already there.

For all his faults, Loudoun should not have been burdened with the provincials, at their most selfish and insular at this critical time. Native Americans resented British troops being billeted



The 42nd Foot (The Highland Regiment), or more popularly The Black Watch, served in America from 1758 to 1767, and was famous for its part in the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758. Two battalions were in America in the winter of 1759-60. Coat and waistcoat were red, as was the flap embroidered with a white motif on the front of the fur grenadier cap. Collar and cuffs were buff; lace was white with two red stripes. Note that the collar is sewn to the coat *below* the strip of lace around the neck of the coat. Belts are black, the musket sling very dark buff. (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. the Queen)

Colonel James Kennedy's 43rd Foot served in America from 1758 to 1765. Facings were white, and the white lace had two red stripes with a row of black stars between. The cap has white scrollwork relieved in black, a dark blue cipher, and a blue and white tuft. Sir Peter Halkett's (later James Abercromby's) 44th Foot was one of the regiments involved in Braddock's Massacre, but served on in America until 1765. General colour details will be found in the description of colour plate C2. The grenadier corporal (centre) has white scrolls and a black cipher on his ochre-yellow cap front. The strip of lace on his right shoulder holds the knot of his rank, hanging down the back. Hugh Warburton's 45th Foot served in America from 1758 to 1765; its facings were a dark bluish green, its lace white with green stripes and stars. The mitre cap has white scrolls and cipher on its green front, and a green and white tuft. (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. the Queen)

on them, but expected the same troops to die for them.

Events of the 1757 campaign included a disappointment and a disaster. The former was an ill-mounted attack on Louisbourg, distinguished by late mustering of provincial troops, later reinforcements from Britain, and a late arrival by Loudoun at Halifax. Finally, the expedition found the great fortress heavily garrisoned and supported by a large French fleet, so sailed back to New York.

The disaster was the fall of Fort William Henry, where Lieutenant-Colonel Monro of the 35th Foot commanded over 2,000 redcoats and New Englanders, including sailors and mechanics. His men's health and morale was as alarming as the state of his twenty-four guns.

Montcalm had reached Fort Ticonderoga in July with 8,000 men, regulars, Canadians and Indians, and proceeded by land and water to invest the British post. During the six-day siege the gutless Webb, though previously of good

record, stayed put with 1,200 men at Fort Edward, a mere fourteen miles away, and made no effort to summon several thousand troops south of him along the Hudson.

So it was that Monro and his disease-ridden men, after losing 300 men (some of them killed by Braddock's guns) accepted Montcalm's surrender terms.

The terms were honourable and included an armed escort to Fort Edward, but the British failed to destroy the rum, which the Indians found and drank with disastrous results. The next morning the march began, with the Indians closing in ominously and demanding more rum. A massacre followed and a disputed number – 80 to 200 – of men, women and children were butchered before the French under Montcalm could restore order. The great Frenchman was not to blame. Both sides used Indians and knew the consequences of drink plus blood-lust. The survivors reached Fort Edward under escort and Webb called urgently for more men, who came up the Hudson. Montcalm, urged by his Governor-General to advance, could not comply because of lack of supplies – back in Canada also there was a desperate food shortage – and because his Indians had headed for home with booty and captives. He returned to Fort Ticonderoga, having lost his one great chance of winning North America.

The winter of 1757–58 found morale in the colonies lower than ever, but though there were calamities to come, William Pitt was fully in command now. Even he was not to succeed at

first, but everyone, even the most bloody-minded and insular provincial, now knew that there was a titan in command.

The 1758 Campaigns

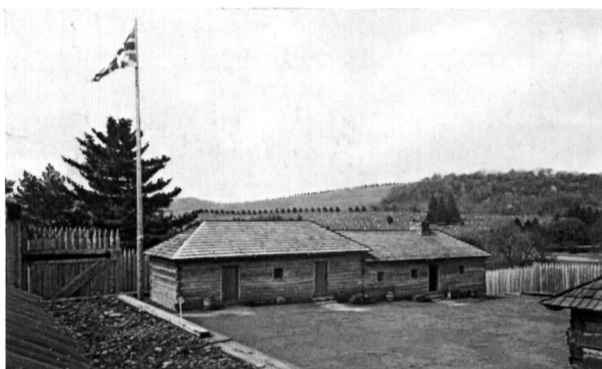


Pitt's plan for 1758 was a masterly one, but it was weakened by the impossibility of supervising it at a distance of 3,000 miles, the difficulties of communications, and by his exaggerated opinion of Abercromby. The new Commander-in-Chief of the Army, the expatriate Huguenot, John Ligonier, selected Jeffrey Amherst to command the next attempt on Louisbourg. It was a good, if not inspired, choice. Admiral Boscawen was to command the fleet.

Under Amherst were 14,000 regulars. The grenadiers and light infantry, also the 42nd (the Black Watch), were to be commanded by Brigadier James Wolfe, whose earlier career will be found in the next chapter. Brigadier Lawrence commanded the 13th, 22nd, 35th and 45th Foot, also the 2nd Battalion, the Royal Americans – American troops under British discipline, paid for by Britain and some of them commanded by Swiss mercenaries. Colonel Whitmore commanded the 17th, 47th, 48th and 58th Regiments, also the 1st Royals and the 3rd Battalion, the Royal Americans.

Abercromby had 15,000 regulars and provincials and the finest young officer in the army, Lord Howe, as his second-in-command. Their plan was to head up Lake Champlain, while Brigadier John Forbes was to lead 6,000 men against Fort Duquesne.

Significantly, Pitt changed the official attitude to the colonies. Asking for 25,000 provincials, he said that Britain would provide food and shelter



The inner fort at Fort Ligonier, built by Brigadier John Forbes on his march into the Ohio Valley in 1758: a reconstruction which follows the original plans. (S. Fredman)

for them, only requiring the assemblies to raise, pay and clothe them. Also, senior provincial officers were no longer to be ordered about by mere regular striplings.

The Louisbourg expedition did not leave Halifax until the end of May because of bad weather, but, finally, the transports set out escorted by twenty-three ships of the line. Their task was a daunting one, for to defend the fortress the Chevalier de Druccour and the population of 4,000 had 3,000 regulars, plus Canadians, militia and Indians, 219 cannons and 17 mortars. The arrival of five ships of the line and seven frigates added 544 guns to the total.

The weather prevented boats being launched from the transports for several days, but on 8 June the attack began. Feints were to be made by Lawrence and Whitmore, while the main attack rowed towards Freshwater Cove four miles from Louisbourg. This was led by Wolfe, who had with him five companies of grenadiers, 550 marksmen from various regiments, Fraser's Highlanders and provincial Rangers.

The French held their fire, then first artillery and next muskets from 1,000 entrenched men cut into the invaders. It looked like failure, but some of the light infantry had headed right against orders and landed on an unguarded section of rocks. After ordering them to withdraw, Wolfe realized his chance, changed his mind and was the first to land. Despite heavy losses of men and boats, he collected several hundred men, ordered them to fix bayonets, and led them against the French. The enemy fled, not even spiking their guns. Not until the fortress's cannon opened up to cover their panic-stricken troops did Wolfe halt.

The rest of the Army came ashore and a siege began, giving Amherst, a less mercurial commander than Wolfe and less capable of improvising, a chance to shine. Bad weather and difficult terrain did not help the British, nor did Admiral Boscawen's perhaps prudent decision not to enter the harbour.

The French dismantled a large battery on the north of the harbour opposite the fortress, into which they concentrated all their troops. Learning



Three naïve but very important drawings by Lieutenant William Baillie, who in 1753 sketched members of his 13th Foot recruiting party in Birmingham. The 13th were not in America, but these lively if untutored drawings of battalion soldiers are rare representations of redcoats of the period. Note that the grenadier (left) has a GR cipher on his cartridge-box, and a picker and brush hanging from the belt just above it. 'Corporal Jones loading musket' (centre) shows hair tucked into hat, unusual spacing of lapel lace, and clearly

drawn hook and eye on coat skirts. The vast number of tiny gaiter buttons must have caused some curses. The shirt cuff, visible on the right arm, seems to be closed with a link rather than a button; examples have been dug up in America. The right-hand sketch of Corporal Jones shows the lines of lace on the waistcoat, and the jaunty hat angle - to avoid accidents when shouldering arms. All the uniforms appear to be fairly crumpled, and rather tight. (Courtesy British Museum; and Light Infantry Museum, Taunton)



Various changes in uniform were taking place by 1760, which may be seen in these two Sandby watercolours. Both these infantrymen have cream-coloured breeches, which were increasingly replacing the red type, and hats with a markedly higher cock at the front. One wears shorter gaiters with a stiff knee-piece. The cartridge-box was increased in size to take thirty-six rounds, and given a larger weather-proofing flap. (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. the Queen)

Another Sandby sketch, of two infantrymen resting, c. 1760. Again, note shorter gaiters and high, straight front to the hat. (Reproduced by gracious permission of H.M. the Queen)



of this, Wolfe was ordered to move and bring both fortress and harbour under artillery fire.

By 23 July, the French were reduced, as Amherst noted, to firing 'all sorts of old Iron Nails on every occasion' but the well-entrenched British were not much troubled by the bombardment. The city was steadily reduced to rubble, and on 27 July the garrison capitulated, laying down firearms, colours, more than 200 cannon and surrendering vast amounts of stores. Over 5,000 men surrendered.

So fell Louisbourg, along with Cape Breton Island and Île St Jean (Prince Edward Island), and bells and bonfires sounded and blazed in America and Britain. Even the New England clergy indulged in paroxysms of loyalty to the Crown.

If the news from elsewhere had been better, Amherst could have pushed on towards Quebec, but Boscawen pointed out that such an operation could not succeed on its own. The Champlain campaign had collapsed because of Abercromby's gross blundering and the death of Howe.

The campaign had seemed promising enough. Before he left America, Loudoun had relaxed his European standards of warfare to the point of allowing Colonel Thomas Gage to raise a Ranger Regiment, the 80th, which was to model itself on Rogers' already famous Rangers. Abercromby, however, was a well-meaning, pleasant, slow-witted 'book' soldier of fifty-two (not to be confused with the famous Sir Ralph) whose lack of martial talent bordered on the phenomenal.

He had a fine army of 9,000 provincials and over 6,000 regulars, five regiments of them. This magnificent force, three times as strong as its opposition, had ample artillery support and supplies and a thousand boats. It also had Lord Howe, grandson of George I and his mistress Baroness Kielmansegge, an officer in his mid-thirties. (His brothers were destined to be even more famous than he, William becoming Commander-in-Chief during the early part of the American Revolution, and Richard, Admiral 'Black Dick' Howe.)

Lord Howe was that rare being, the beau ideal of an English officer and gentleman. He had been made second-in-command to Abercromby to make up for the latter's suspected weaknesses.

What set Howe apart from nearly every other officer was that by his bravery, skill, charm and brains he almost singlehandedly overcame the colonists' hostility to British regular officers. He was 'the Idol of the Army', wrote one American. He scouted with Rogers, carried his own blanket and did his own washing without loss of respect, and he was at home with the wildest backwoodsman as he was in a fashionable drawing-room. He rapidly mastered woodcraft by studying with those who knew it best, and he soon became the most liked and admired British soldier ever to serve alongside Americans.

He worked to transform his own men. The long skirts of their jackets were shorn off, so were their pigtailed; musket barrels were browned to prevent glitter; pipeclay and leather stocks were banned. Howe also ordered officers to live rough, making them cut down their own baggage, do their own washing as he did, and eat more simply. Morale soared in the ranks.

On 5 July the expedition embarked from its camp by the ruins of Fort William Henry in its fleet of batteaux, whale-boats and artillery flat-boats. Bands played as the armada moved north. In the van were Rogers' and Gage's Rangers and Howe's 55th Foot. Men from Britain, New York, New England, New Jersey and Rhode Island sailed to win Canada from Montcalm.

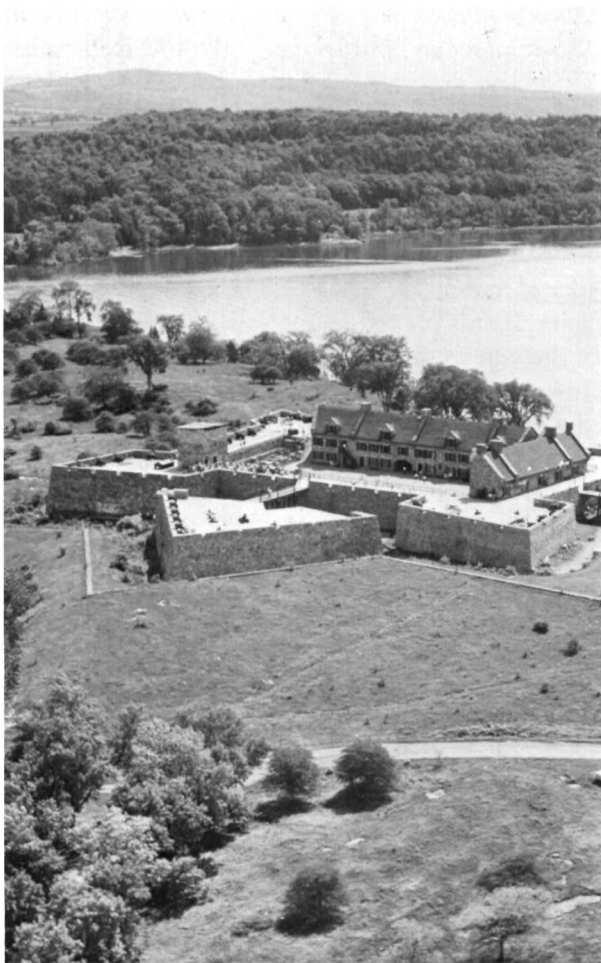
The French General had 3,500 men and his position at Fort Ticonderoga seemed serious. Fortunately for the French, the British advance had been held back by the slow assembling of the provincials, but now, with the British advancing up the lake, Montcalm withdrew his outposts in the fort's perimeter and ordered the fortifications to be strengthened. A defence line of tree trunks and earth was frantically built, and trees were felled round the fort with the branches facing the expected line of attack.

Montcalm had little more than a week's supplies. His retreat could have been cut off if Abercromby had sent a force to control the narrows between the two lakes, but he had one stroke of luck, the arrival of 400 regulars and the same number of Canadians, sent by the Governor-General.

Abercromby's men landed at 10 a.m. on the morning of 6 July, and by noon his whole army

had disembarked. The French had destroyed the bridge across the channel dividing the lakes and it was decided to advance up the western bank and attack the fort from the rear. Rogers went ahead to scout, with the rest of the force trying to follow but getting lost in the forest. Then came a major tragedy. Howe, with some Rangers, ran into a French scouting party and a fierce skirmish followed. It was a small-scale affair with great consequences, for Howe was shot through the heart.

The whole army was shattered by the loss, as were Americans generally. Abercromby was not only shaken – he promptly went to pieces. Despite



View, looking south-east, over the beautifully reconstructed Fort Ticonderoga, now a museum. The stone fort is of typical star-shape, with an inner courtyard or Place d'Armes where troops might assemble. There are barracks on south and west, four bastions, and two massive exterior defences – demi-lunes – on north and west; a square watch-tower rises on the east. (Courtesy Fort Ticonderoga Museum, New York)

advice to attack the enemy on the flank having wrecked his breastworks with cannon fire first, he decided on 8 July to attack head-on with the bayonet. Carefully stationing himself a mile and a half away, he sent his men against the completed breastworks.

Battalion after battalion was sacrificed, cut to pieces by musketry and grapeshot. First in were the Rangers and light infantry, then came the 42nd and the 55th. The desperate attack of the Black Watch was the most famous of the many hopeless assaults that were launched on the French positions. For a full hour the Scots tried to storm the breastworks, hacking their way with broadswords and trying to shoot an enemy they could not see, but finally even these bravest of the brave – what was left of them – had to fall back.

Abercromby now surpassed himself. He sent his men in again and there followed one of the most valiant attempts in the history of arms to storm an impregnable position. It failed, as it was bound to; then, with the French almost out of ammunition, Abercromby ordered a retreat, and even the reluctant Highlanders finally obeyed.

Montcalm, who had inspired his men greatly, had lost about 400 of them; 1,600 regulars fell, 314 men of the Black Watch being killed and 334 wounded, while the provincials lost 334 men. The wretched Abercromby partly blamed the provincials for the disaster and wished to retreat at once to Albany, but, fortunately, he managed to force himself to entrench his men once again at the foot of Lake George.

Montcalm had saved Canada with Abercromby's help, and now suffered, not from the British, but from his own Governor-General who urged him vainly to advance with his tiny force. The British effort in 1758 seemed little better than in previous years, Louisbourg apart, but in August things improved. In 1757, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet had been eager to attack Fort Frontenac (now Kingston, Ontario), the French supply base for their western outposts. Now, in 1758, he got his chance, leading a force of over 2,500 men, provincials, militia and 157 Royal Americans.

They passed the ruins of Oswego and sailed across Lake Ontario, avoiding action with three French ships, and appeared at Fort Frontenac on 25 August to find only 110 men there, plus 9 ships

and 60 cannon. All fell easily into Bradstreet's hands before Vaudreuil could rush reinforcements to the fort, which was then destroyed. This major provincial triumph lost the French control of Lake Ontario.

The other campaign, too, was a success, though its leader, Brigadier John Forbes, did not survive it. He was a fine Scottish soldier in his sixties, the Colonel of the 17th Foot. He believed in studying 'the art of warr from the enemy, Indians or anything else who have seen the country and warr carried on in it'. Reaching Philadelphia in April 1758, he ran into the by now traditional difficulties that had afflicted Braddock earlier.

He finally mustered some 1,600 men, including Montgomery's Highlanders, a battalion of Royal Americans under a Swiss soldier, Henry Bouquet, and provincials from all the central colonies, including a large body of Virginians, also many southern Indians.

His route to Fort Duquesne was the shortest and best, taken against the advice of land-hungry Americans of the Ohio Company who wanted Braddock's old road taken, repaired and turned into a free short-cut to their would-be possessions. One of those who urged this was Washington, whose motives may or may not have been disinterested. He had endured several years of frontier warfare, still without a regular commission, but he served Forbes loyally with his Virginian provincials. On the march Forbes was hit by severe dysentery, which gradually wrecked his health altogether, and he had to be carried on a litter between two horses.

The road was hacked out of the forest, forts were built at regular intervals, but progress was slow. Then an ambitious junior officer caused a disaster. Major James Grant, commanding 800 Highlanders and Virginians, got permission from Bouquet, leading the vanguard, to try and take Fort Duquesne by a night attack. Though he got within a mile of the fort, his men became lost and the French attacked them. Three hundred were killed and wounded and a panic-stricken rout only ended at the base camp. Bouquet halted the fugitives and, not being a Dunbar, held his own.

British morale was made lower by rain and mud, but in late November the troops near Fort Duquesne learnt from a prisoner that the French

were abandoning the fort. Within a mile of the fort the forest suddenly echoed with the sound of explosions: the tiny garrison – only 200 strong now – was burning it down. The British marched in the next day, 25 November.

Forbes left a small garrison and named the fort 'Pittsborough', soon shortened to Pitt. Helped by Bradstreet's success to the north, he had achieved a major triumph, but he was now a dying man. Leaving Bouquet in charge of building Fort Pitt (and Washington to go home and marry a rich widow, Martha, and retire from soldiering for seventeen years) Forbes was carried home to die a hero in Philadelphia.

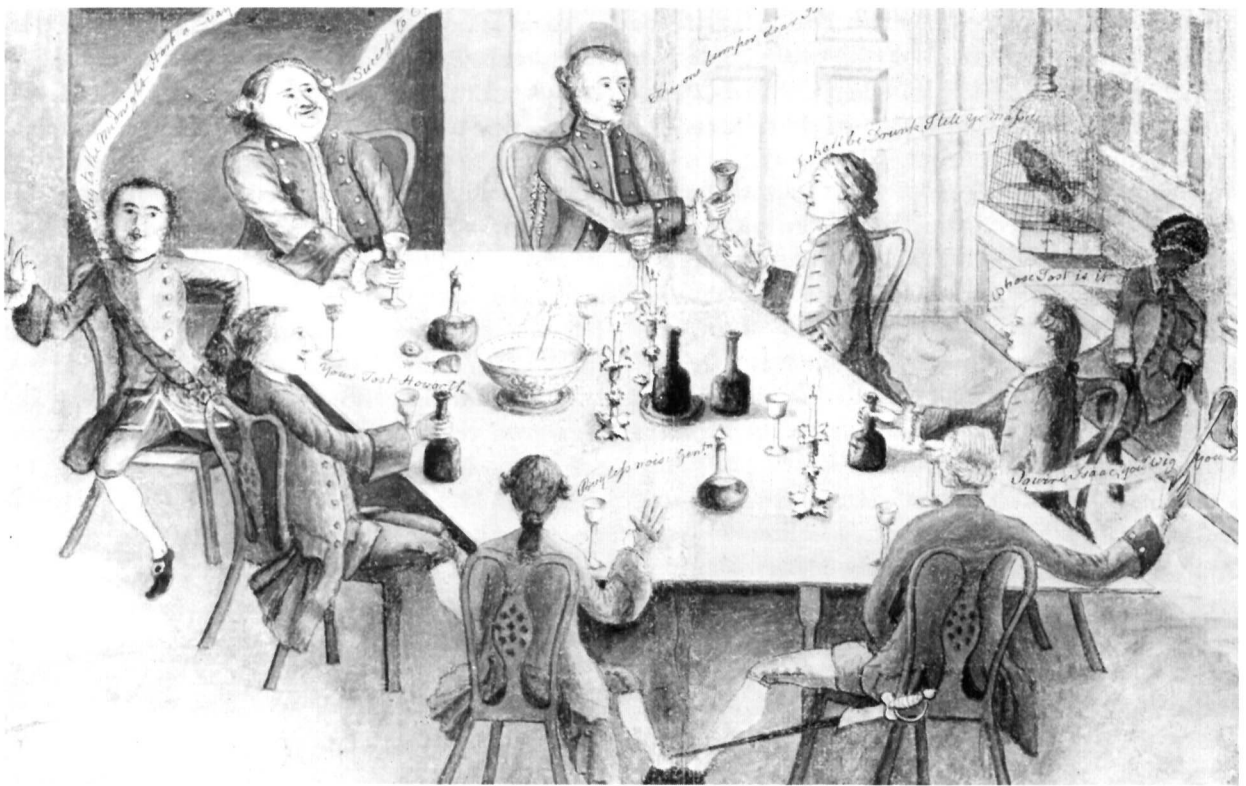
So ended a year of triumphs ruined in part by one appalling tragedy. Pitt sacked Abercromby, and Amherst took his place for the 1759 campaign. But in November 1758, just before Fort Duquesne fell, young James Wolfe, already racked with ill health, had returned to London from Louisbourg to find himself a popular hero. It is now time to meet him more fully before beginning the story of the Year of Miracles in general and Wolfe and his army's triumph in particular.

With Wolfe to Quebec



James Wolfe was born at Westerham in Kent in 1727. He was of Irish and Yorkshire descent, a potent mixture for a soldier, and his father had risen to be a lieutenant-colonel under Marlborough. Only ill health prevented the boy accompanying him to the Siege of Cartagena in 1740; but the next year, young Wolfe became a second lieutenant of Marines.

Being a martyr to seasickness, it was lucky that he transferred to the 12th Foot. His first battle



Charming drawing showing officers of the Independent Companies dining – or rather wining – with friends. The officer at left wears his sash, and his lapels buttoned

across; the two facing us have their buttoned back. (Courtesy the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum)

was Dettingen, by which time he was sixteen and already an adjutant. His horse was shot under him and the Duke of Cumberland noted his efforts, a good start for a born soldier.

He fought at Culloden and on at least one occasion showed himself more ruthless than he need have been in ‘pacifying’ the Highlands. He cared deeply about his duty, tried to live on his pay, and began his endless run of ill health as he brooded about his profession and his lonely garrison life. Though he fought in the Netherlands in 1747, most of his pre-American career was spent in Scotland, where he never ceased trying to improve himself, even hiring a mathematics tutor. His temper was explosive and sudden, his nature warm and impetuous and sometimes arrogant, and his military genius was a mixture of dash and diligent attention to detail. As many have noted, he had much in common with Nelson, including the ability to inspire loyalty in those below him. When his hour came at a very early age, he was a seasoned veteran who had

trained his men to such a peak of efficiency that even his least observant superiors noted it.

When Wolfe finally left Scotland in 1753, he was a lieutenant-colonel cursed by ‘the stone’ and rheumatism. The 20th, currently his regiment, was to be four years in the south.

He had to endure reading about the bungling of others in North America until, in 1757, he was made quartermaster-general of the force sent against Rochefort, the first of his three major amphibious expeditions. This abortive effort led to the court martial of its leader, Sir John Mordaunt, who, in modern parlance, was ‘past it’. Only two senior officers came out of the feebly conducted expedition well: our hero, and Captain Richard Howe, later, as we have seen, the famous admiral.

At the inquiry into the fiasco, Wolfe’s performance on the witness stand was widely admired. He summed up his colleagues privately to a friend: ‘There never was people collected together so unfit for the business they were sent upon –

- 1 Sergeant, Battalion Company of a Regiment of Foot, 1750s
- 2 Corporal, Battalion Company, 45th Foot, 1750s
- 3 Grenadier, 15th Foot (Amherst's); in America, 1758-67





- 1 Soldier of the Independent
Companies, 1755
2 Officer, 2nd Connecticut Regiment,
1758
3 Private, the Virginia Regiment,
1755-62



- 1 Private, Battalion Company, 48th Foot, 1755**
- 2 Ensign with Regimental Colour, 44th Foot, 1755**
- 3 Captain of over three years' seniority, Royal Navy**



1 Ranger, His Majesty's Independent
Companies of American Rangers,
1758
2 Ranger, late 1750s
3 Ranger, late 1750s

- 1 Drummer, 35th Foot, late 1750s
- 2 Senior Officer, 1st or Royal Regiment of Foot, late 1750s
- 3 Private, 17th Foot, winter dress, late 1750s





1



2



3

1 Private, 80th Regiment of Light
Armed Foot (Gage's Light Infantry),
1758
2 Private, 55th Foot, 1758
3 Light Infantryman, 1759

- 1 Officer, Royal Artillery, 1759
- 2 Private, Battalion Company, 42nd (Highland) Regiment of Foot, 1758
- 3 Private, Battalion Company, 78th Foot (Fraser's Highlanders), 1757-63





1



3



2

- 1 Major-General James Wolfe, 1759
- 2 Grenadier, 60th (Royal American) Regiment of Foot, 1759
- 3 Officer, 40th Foot, 1758-59

dilatory, ignorant, irresolute, and some grains of a very unmanly quality and very unsoldierlike or unsailorlike.' He excepted Howe.

The King got to hear of Wolfe's efforts and promoted him colonel. There followed the Louisbourg campaign, already recorded, and we can resume the main story where we left it, with Wolfe the hero of the hour in London in November 1758.

In December, Pitt summoned Wolfe and offered him the command of the expedition up the St Lawrence to take Quebec. He was to be a major-general – local American rank – and he was not quite thirty-two.

For Newcastle, the choice of such a man on grounds of sheer merit was too much. He rushed to George II to complain, but the veteran of Dettingen admired young Wolfe. When informed that the fellow was mad, he made his immortal reply: 'Mad is he? Then I hope he will bite some of my other generals!'

So James Wolfe, who had returned to England to join the 2nd Battalion of the 20th (lately made a separate regiment, the 67th) found himself 'in a very bad condition, both with the gravel and rheumatism' and, on 12 January 1759, officially made a major-general.

In America, Amherst had heard he was to be Commander-in-Chief on the previous 9 November. He had twenty-three under-strength battalions of regulars and many promises of provincial troops, who were finally to reach 12,000 in all.

Pitt's plan was once again a four-pronged one. Apart from Amherst's campaign to the north and Wolfe's up the St Lawrence, Brigadier Stanwix was to reinforce Fort Pitt, and Brigadier Prideaux, with Sir William Johnson as his second-in-command, was to take Fort Niagara, then head eastwards down the St Lawrence.

This last campaign was to divide the Canadians from their people in the west and wreck plans to retake Fort Pitt. Prideaux had two Regular regiments, a battalion of Royal Americans and over 3,000 Provincials; and, thanks to Johnson, 900 previously neutral Iroquois joined the expedition.

The force reached Niagara and besieged the fort. Prideaux was killed early in the siege and Johnson, provincial that he was, took over with no complaints from the regulars. It was to him that

the great prize fell on 25 July; a little-remembered victory today, but almost as significant a one as Quebec.

Amherst was a slower mover. In late June, he rebuilt Fort William Henry and, in late July, took a deserted Fort Ticonderoga after a stubborn defence by the French rearguard. Then he settled down to rebuild the fort and build ships to dominate Lake Champlain. The French were now very much on the defensive and everything depended on Wolfe.

His three aristocratic brigadiers were Robert Monckton of Acadia fame; George Murray, a brave, ambitious, envious soldier; and George Townshend, the malicious, sullen, arrogant nephew of the Duke of Newcastle, but undeniably brave and clever and, not least, a good artist and caricaturist. He was three years older than Wolfe.

There were two staff officers: the Quartermaster-General, Guy Carleton, later the saviour of Canada, and Isaac Barré, the Adjutant-General, and the son of a Huguenot. The Chief Engineer was Major Patrick Mackellar, who had been with Braddock, been captured, taken to Quebec, and exchanged complete with a perfect description of the city and its defences in his head.

On the naval side, Wolfe could not have been luckier. Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, a protégé of Anson's, was the finest type of naval officer. His second-in-command, Rear-Admiral Durell, was less able, but the number three, Rear-Admiral Charles Holmes, was a fine sailor. Also under Saunders were two men destined respectively to fame and immortality: John Jervis, later Lord St Vincent, and James Cook, the humbly born Yorkshireman later to become the greatest of all navigators.

The fleet was a fine one; there were three large ships of the line, including Saunders' ninety-gun *Neptune*, a number of smaller ships of the line, plus frigates, sloops, fire-ships, bomb-ketches and 119 supply and ordnance ships.

Wolfe's army was only slightly less remarkable, less so because the originally planned 12,000 had been reduced to 8,500 by sickness, desertions and other causes. There sailed from Louisbourg on 6 June 1759, an army almost wholly made up of regulars. There were no cavalry, but three companies of artillery, who could be supported by

guns from the ships, and six companies of Rangers, who were characterized at first by Wolfe, an ardent anti-American from a military point of view, as the worst soldiers in the universe.

His regiments were the 15th, 28th, 35th, 43rd, 47th, 48th and 58th.¹ There were also Fraser's battalion of Highlanders, the 78th,² whose officers were much admired by Wolfe, and the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the Royal American Regiment.

These were the men determined – in the words of Sergeant Ned Botwood, the soldier-versifier of the 47th – to give the French 'hot stuff'.

There were grenadier companies from each of the regiments and a small corps of light infantry, and later 300 colonial pioneers were to arrive for the siege.

Wolfe followed Lord Howe's sensible reforms with some of his own. He might dislike and despise Indians, but he could order knapsacks to be carried higher and fastened with 'a scrap of web over the shoulder, as the Indians carry their packs'. Extra pockets for musket balls and flints were sewn on, scouts' coats were made freer and the lace of the cuffs abolished. The grenadier companies' mitre caps were retained, but the light infantry's hats were turned into caps 'with as much black cloth added under his chin' to 'keep him warm when he lies down'.

Meanwhile, the French had been betrayed by their own Government. It was bad enough that the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief were at loggerheads, but far worse that Montcalm's messenger to France, Bougainville, could not make her rulers see beyond Europe. He returned to Canada with about 400 men and – something at least – instructions that military decisions were to be made by Montcalm. He also carried an intercepted letter revealing Pitt's plans, so Montcalm was able to revise his. But, like everyone else, he believed that the British could not sail up the St Lawrence, considered by Frenchmen a navigational nightmare. For the defence of the whole country he could only muster some 16,000 men, about 3,000 of them regulars, but with desertions and leave for farming the total was more like 11,000. In his final encounter at Quebec with Wolfe, both sides were to have about 4,500 men.

By 26 June, Wolfe's Army had been transported up the St Lawrence and its commander had landed on the Île d'Orleans, four miles from Quebec. It had been a magnificent feat of seamanship, though British sailors did not think it so. 'Damn me,' roared Captain Killick, master of the transport *Goodwill*, at a Canadian pilot, 'I'll convince you that an Englishman shall go where a Frenchman dare not show his nose!' then, having cleared a difficult passage, he claimed: 'Damn me if there aren't a thousand places on the Thames more hazardous than this.' The French were stunned.

Wolfe could now see Quebec and also the Beauport Lines stretching eight miles eastwards from the city. Monckton was at once sent to take Point Lévis, downstream from Quebec on the southern bank of the river, before the French realized its importance.

On the 28th, the French tried floating fire-ships downstream on Saunders' ships, but bungled the job, the fire-ships being set alight too soon. Saunders then anchored under the lee of Point Lévis. British artillery was placed two miles west of it in easy range of the citadel, and, on 9 July, Wolfe sent troops east of the Falls of Montmorenci, which did not lure Montcalm out. On the 27th, the French made another attack with fire-ships but again they failed, and, four days later, it was the turn for British action.

This was Wolfe's misconceived attack on the Beauport Lines, a combined operation which failed because of faulty reconnaissance. Though the shallows of the Beauport Bank had been found, which prevented ships getting close in, a ledge short of the flats had not. So the landings went in at intervals instead of in one major assault. The grenadiers in particular suffered heavy casualties from cannon and 'Small shot like showers of hail' as they tried to climb the slope, until a rainstorm soaked the ammunition of both sides. Wolfe ordered a withdrawal after his grenadiers and marines had lost 500 officers and men. Sergeant Ned Botwood, too, fell in this action. 'Come, each death-dealing dog who dares venture his neck, Come, follow the hero that goes to Quebec', he had written in his magnificent doggerel poem, but for once the hero had blundered.

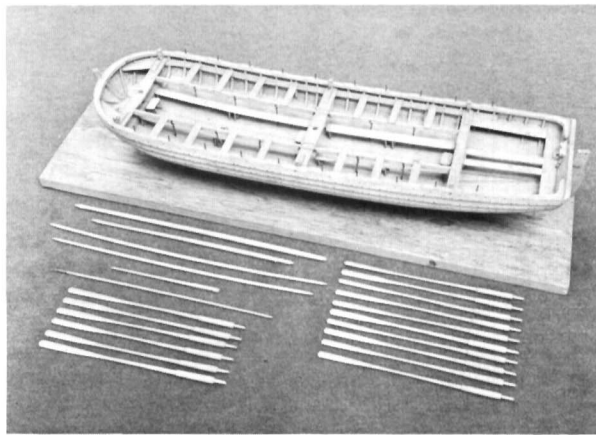
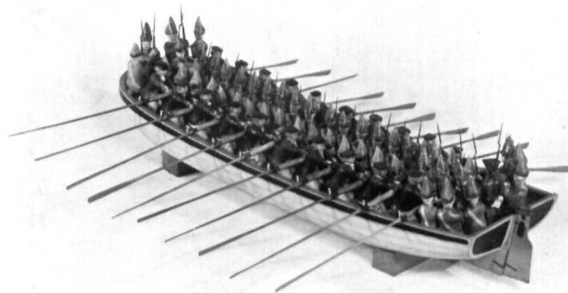
A lull occurred during which Wolfe tried to

dishearten the Canadians by destroying all nearby settlements, hoping he would cause the militia to desert. Spasmodic guerilla warfare had been going on for some time in a minor, but savage, way, with the Rangers using their scalping knives as well as the Indians and Canadians until Wolfe objected, and with the Indians complaining to the French that the British were harder to kill than in Braddock's day.

Meanwhile, Admiral Saunders had sent several vessels upstream and troops had landed, severing communications between Quebec and Montreal, but stalemate followed, punctuated by bombardment of the city. It seemed impossible to cross the Montmorenci upstream because of its defences, and farther west the Charles River was a barrier to be overcome, even supposing the Montmorenci were forced.

In late August, Wolfe's health finally broke down and he lay sick, frustrated and depressed in his camp on the east bank of the Montmorenci. His three brigadiers took over and it was they who suggested a landing upstream of Quebec. Reconnaissance from the south bank led to the choice by Wolfe of a cove called the Anse de Foulon at the foot of nearly vertical cliffs (they are far less so today) which were, however, scaleable. The resourceful Captain Robert Stobo, whom we first met at Fort Necessity, and who had now escaped from Quebec, where for a time he had been on parole, agreed with this choice of a landing-place. Even before Wolfe arrived in the St Lawrence, he had hoped to land above the city, but his illness seems to have clouded his judgement, leading to his subordinates actually putting up the plan.

On 12 September, British Intelligence reported that provision ships would try and reach Quebec on the next ebb tide, just the cover needed to help the new plan to success. At 1 a.m. on 13 September two lanterns were swung to the maintop of H.M.S. *Sutherland*, the signal for Wolfe and 1,700 men aboard thirty landing-craft to start their hazardous adventure. In the first six boats were William Howe's light infantry, with Captain Delaune of the 47th beside Howe in the leading boat. Wolfe was up with the leaders, along with the 28th, 43rd, 47th and 58th Regiments, also the Highlanders and Royal Americans. 1,900 were to follow later, including the 15th, 78th and 35th,

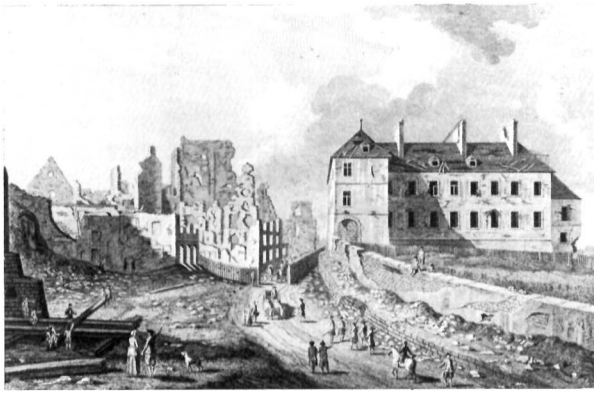


Models of the flat-bottomed landing barges used to transport troops at Quebec. In the 'manned' model, note naval officer at the tiller, and drummer in bows, with landing-party of grenadiers. (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich)

more light infantry, the remainder of the Royal Americans and the Louisbourg Grenadiers.

The weather was good and it was a starlit night, but that did not make a river with a six-knot tide and swollen by rains, easy to navigate. Ships opposite Beauport made a feint attack, and Montcalm massed most of his men there to ward it off.

As the boats passed close to the shore on the way to the landing-place, the story goes that French sentries challenged them with 'Who goes there?' One version of the story has it that Captain Donald McDonald, a Jacobite in his time who had served in France, answered: 'La France.' 'Which regiment?' he was asked. 'The Queen's,' he replied in French. Another sentry challenged him and he said the boats were the provision ships and was believed. There was no guard at the landing-place. It was 4 o'clock in the morning.



An impression of Quebec after British bombardment. (Public Archives of Canada)

The cliffs rose 175 feet above the invaders, some of whom scrambled up as best they could, others using the only path. In the dark it was a tricky climb, but the first men up, including Howe, Delaune and some light infantry, soon overpowered the post at the top, which was slackly held, and let out a hurrah. Wolfe was at his best in the complicated situation which demanded organization and inspiration of a high order; and before sun-up, the whole of his 4,500 strong force was on the Heights of Abraham and moving on to the plain. Captain Chads, who had led the convoy to its destination, having been selected as the best boat navigator in the fleet, could relax. It was up to the army now.

There was a moment when guns to the west made Wolfe believe that Bougainville's forces, eight miles in upstream, were approaching, and he ordered that troops not yet disembarked should remain in their boats. Fortunately, Barré had disobeyed him.

Wolfe's position was dangerous. Though Montcalm's line of battle was to be numerically the same, the French had Canadians and Indians, as well as Bougainville as a possible threat; but so brilliant had the operation been that Wolfe had all the time he needed to assemble his battle-line, first with his troops with their backs to the river, then, after a personal reconnaissance, deployed on open ground. It was an ideal position for his army, which was entirely made up of regulars drilled to his own standard and ready to use their massive fire-power to maximum effect. Only his

flanks were open to attack and, before Montcalm arrived, Canadians and Indians were causing some nuisance value on the left flank.

Showers were falling as Wolfe's magnificent thin red line, standing two deep, its files a yard apart with more than forty yards between each battalion, took up its battle order. From right to left of the line were the Louisbourg Grenadiers with Wolfe at their head, the 28th, 43rd, 78th, 58th and 15th Foot. The Royal Americans and the 48th were in reserve, while Howe's men guarded the flanks and the rear. The Highlanders looked splendidly conspicuous in the centre in their kilts.

When the news was brought to Montcalm, he decided that only a small party had landed, but, somewhat alarmed, he galloped off on his black charger to be stunned by what he saw; a British army, drawn up for battle and motionless. It was 6.30 a.m.

Without surprise on its side, Wolfe's army might well have been defeated, but as it was the surprise was complete. De Vergor, who had commanded the post at the top of the cliffs, had an appalling previous record, made worse that night because he had allowed most of his men to go home for the harvest. On such small things can the fate of continents depend.



Watercolour of James Wolfe painted by George Townshend in 1759. (McCord Museum, Canada)



Fine example of a contemporary officer's uniform – that of Captain Thomas Plumbe of the Royal Lancashire Militia, c. 1760. Coat, waistcoat and breeches are red, the former two items fully and the latter partly lined with blue. The collar is lined with blue velvet, the lace is all gold and the buttons copper-gilt. Lapels can be buttoned back and the coat closed with cloth-covered buttons on a red fly. All edges are 'raw'. The unlined white linen gaiters have twenty-nine horn buttons; they are cut to the shape of the leg and stitched up the back, with inset sections over the foot, and linen tapes underneath. (Lancashire Museum, G. A. Embleton)



Not until 9.30 were the two battle-lines finally drawn up, the French having the regiments of Béarn and La Sarre on the right, the troops of Guyenne and Languedoc on the left.

The battle began at 10 a.m. Montcalm has been criticized for not waiting for Bougainville and his men (probably rightly) but he wanted to dislodge the British before they were finally established. He did not realize that they already were. As for Wolfe, he had to force an action and, fortunately, action came on his terms.

Montcalm thought that the British were already entrenched, but they were merely down on the ground to avoid the now very troublesome fire from Canadians and Indians on the flanks, who were being dealt with by the British skirmishers. But this was a mere sideshow. Now the French, fired on by artillery dragged up the cliffs, began to advance and the redcoats rose up to await them.

The French came on at a run, which at once broke their lines, then fired too soon, the Canadians among them flinging themselves to the ground to reload. They decided to retreat rather

than face a British volley with its following bayonet charge, but the French regulars continued to advance as the British stood motionless, each redcoat with his Brown Bess at the ready. The orders had been given: 'Handle cartridge', 'Prime', 'Load', 'Draw ramrod', 'Return ramrods', 'Make ready', 'Present'. Now only 'Give fire' remained.

The order came when the French were forty yards away, and the volley which followed, so Sir John Fortescue wrote, was the most perfect ever fired on a battlefield. In the centre of the British line it was like a single shot, only less so on the right and left, and it won Canada.

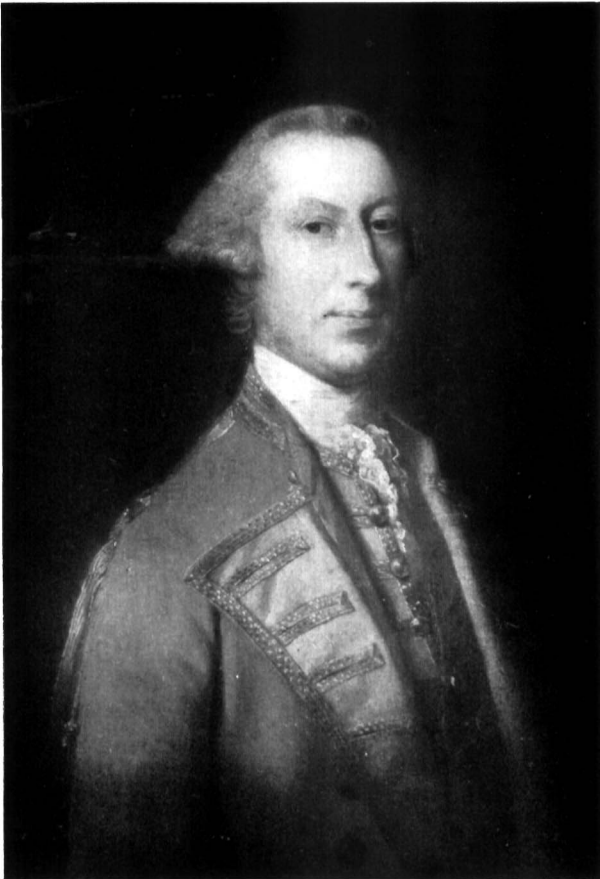
There was another volley, and the smoke rose to reveal the ruin of an army. Then came the order to charge and a great cheer went up. The British surged forward with bayonets and claymores as Montcalm's men fled. Wolfe, already injured in the wrist, was now struck in the groin and the chest, as he led the Louisbourg Grenadiers and the 35th forward, but his work – the climax of years of preparation and training – was done.

He was laid down, refusing a surgeon because 'It is needless; it is all over with me.' 'They run,' cried someone. 'Who runs?' asked the dying man urgently. 'The enemy run. Egad, they give way everywhere,' was the reply. Wolfe gave his final orders to cut off the fugitives, then, smiling, said: 'Now, God be praised, I will die in peace.' A moment later, as Parkman wrote, 'his gallant soul had fled'.

The French retreat was a rout from the first, so 'horrid' and 'abominable' in the words of a survivor that Townshend, the new commander, failed to bottle up the enemy along the Beauport shore. Many escaped towards Montreal and others only survived because the town was so near. Too late, Bougainville appeared to help, summed up the situation, and retreated westwards.

Townshend, Wolfe's bitterest critic, could not cope with a situation which needed improvisation of a high order, always Wolfe's strong point. Montcalm, too, had been mortally wounded, and Townshend contented himself with besieging Quebec. Five hundred French had died and 350 been taken prisoner, while the British had lost 9 officers and 49 men, with nearly 600 wounded. Montcalm died on the 14th and the city capitulated on the 18th. Bougainville was now on his way back to Quebec with better troops than had fought there, but it was too late. The capital of New France and the birthplace of Canada was in British hands.

The Fall of New France



Gabriel Christie, captain and major in the 48th Foot from 1754 to 1762, was at Ticonderoga in 1759. He wears a scarlet regimental coat, faced buff; a buff waistcoat, and gold lace and buttons. His insignia of rank is a shoulder-knot of two parallel rows of lace forming a shoulder-strap ending in a bow with a flattened knot, with a loop and tail hanging down the arm. (Courtesy the Curator, Chateau de Ramezay)



If Quebec had fallen, Canada had yet finally to be won. Amherst heard about the victory while still at Crown Point. His ponderous advance was not helped by disease and desertions, but the sufferers were Brigadier Murray's garrison of 7,500 men left in Quebec when the fleet had had to sail away for the winter because of the St Lawrence ice. The redcoats endured bitter months which left more than half of them unfit for duty.

In April 1760, the new French commander, De Lévis, tried to recapture Quebec before the ice broke and the Navy could return. A second, very severe battle was fought on the Plains of Abraham, which Murray did not lose for he was able to retreat safely into the citadel, while the French, being without siege guns, could do nothing to follow up their advantage. The defences were strengthened, officers working with their men to



The Death of Wolfe by Edward Penny, c. 1764. In an earlier, more realistic version of this painting Penny showed the battle-line in the distance, having advanced from the scene of Wolfe's fall. He took great trouble to

paint the figures accurately, however, and the costumes are worth careful study. He was advised by an eyewitness, Volunteer Henderson of the Louisbourg Grenadiers. (Courtesy The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)



The Death of Wolfe by Benjamin West, c. 1770. West was more concerned with dramatic effect than historical accuracy, and many of the people depicted were not even in America, let alone at Wolfe's side; there is a strong suggestion that places in this prestigious scene were obtainable from the artist for a financial consideration! Several men who were definitely with Wolfe at the end are not shown. Considering Wolfe's lively dislike of Indians, the inclusion of one here is most unconvincing. The costume is a mixture of 1750s and 1770s styles. Wolfe's clothes were sketched by a staff officer. The Ranger costume was supposedly lent for copying by Rogers himself, and, together with the grenadier uniform on the right, displays several interesting features. (Courtesy the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa)

place 150 guns on the walls; then, on 9 May, the fleet arrived, De Lévis was in full retreat and Quebec was saved.

Amherst heard the news from the north and at last, in the summer, he moved. By 24 August, Murray had reached a point only nine leagues from Montreal while Brigadier Haviland was closing in on the city via the Richelieu River. Amherst by now was leading eight under-strength battalions of 6,000 regulars, plus 500 provincials, down the St Lawrence, and, by 6 September, the three armies were besieging the city, 17,000 men against Vaudreuil's 2,500 regulars. Canada's Indians had seen that it was time to stop supporting the French and had made peace.

The end came on 9 September, and with it a century and a half during which the outnumbered French and Canadians had so often had the best of the matter in the fight with the English. They had gradually been worn down by lack of support at home, British sea power, intrigue and corruption in New France and, finally, by determined British efforts. The Treaty of Paris finished both the Seven Years War and also its gory, dramatic offshoot, the French and Indian War.

Long before this, James Wolfe had met his end in the hour of victory. Townshend had done his best to underplay his dead commander's part in that victory, but his malicious efforts were drowned in a sea of acclamation. Montcalm, too, suffered denigration, after his death, at the hands of his governor-general, but history has seen to it that only the names of victor and vanquished live on, not the pygmies who assailed them.

As for the redcoats, having won a victory which freed the colonies from the French menace and soon had them thinking about freedom themselves, they suffered the usual fate of British soldiers after a war. While some of them found themselves in action against Pontiac, whose rebellion of 1763 was the last really dangerous Indian uprising, others were 'axed' as an economy measure. The fact that Pontiac proved how brittle was the peace in North America made no difference. Soon the colonists, the French menace gone, forgot their

gratitude to the men who had saved them; soon the mere sight of a redcoat was to be an anathema to many Americans. The redcoats would be in America in strength again, and this time it would be to fight a war that, for all their traditional bravery, won them no battle honours to set below Quebec.

NOTES

1. 15th Foot, later the East Yorkshire Regiment
28th Foot, later the Gloucestershire Regiment
35th Foot, later the Royal Sussex Regiment
43rd Foot, later the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry (1st Battalion)
47th Foot, later the North Lancashire Regiment (1st Battalion)
48th Foot, later the Northamptonshire Regiment (1st Battalion)
58th Foot, later the Northamptonshire Regiment (2nd Battalion)
2. The 78th Highlanders were a temporary unit serving only in the Seven Years War; though raised once again in 1778, and eventually becoming the Seaforth Highlanders, there is no direct link.

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The Plates



Information on regimental life, uniforms and equipment of this period is very scarce; it is limited to portraits of officers and a few sketches and paintings, and to regimental records and order books, inspection returns, and the Royal Cloathing Warrant [*sic*]. The finest pictorial record of the clothing of other ranks is the series of paintings by David Morier, now in the Royal Collection at Windsor. The author knows of no contemporary illustration of other ranks' dress while on service in North America, and with the exception of a few mitre caps, he knows of no surviving items of their uniforms. Few among even the officers left journals; and although N.C.O.s were expected to be able to write and many soldiers were literate, only the most fragmentary diaries and letters of common soldiers have come down to us. In this attempt to bring Wolfe's men to life, we have drawn on material dealing with the organization and control of the Army and the life of the soldier at home in Britain or on service in Europe as well as in North America.

Commanders of regiments were very much like ships' captains at that time; by their interest and enthusiasm, or lack of it, they set the tone of their battalions. Dress, equipment, and the quality of recruits varied enormously. Some regiments were poor in every respect – the officers rarely present, the N.C.O.s worthless, and the uniforms worn out. In others genuine *esprit de corps* was cultivated; and inspecting generals, who regularly reported on the regiments and attempted to enforce adherence to the Royal Warrants and Sealed Patterns, might compliment a colonel on a fine body of men but complain about minor alterations to regulation uniform adopted to 'cut a dash'.

Many of the details of the uniforms illustrated here can only be the subject of educated guesswork, and the author and illustrator have not shrunk from such guesswork after carefully examining all available contemporary material. They make no apology for this, but are conscious that any illustration reconstructed from a written description is vulnerable to alternative interpretations. They hope that anyone possessing more positive information may be prompted to put it into print.

A1 Sergeant, Battalion Company of a Regiment of Foot, 1750s

Sergeants carried halberds, which by the 1750s were mere symbols of rank and of use only to push crooked ranks of men into position; there was no sharpened edge, and construction was too weak for the halberd to be useful as a weapon. On campaign in America they were usually left in store and a musket and bayonet substituted. The sergeant's badge of rank was a crimson sash with a narrow central line of facing colour, worn round the waist. This sergeant is further distinguished by silver lace on his hat and uniform. For parades and guard duty all ranks wore white linen gaiters with black bone or horn buttons up the outside join – ration beef-bones provided an unending source for these. For marching, and when on campaign, gaiters of brown, black or grey were issued; towards the end of the 1750s these seem often to have been quite low, with stiffened leather tops to protect the knees, and occasionally they were entirely of leather.

A2 Corporal, Battalion Company, 45th Foot, 1750s

Corporals were distinguished by a knot of white tape on the right shoulder; otherwise this is the basic dress of all the battalion or 'hat' men (a nickname distinguishing them from the grenadiers with their mitre caps). The brick-red coat, waistcoat and breeches were cut after the civilian fashion of the day, fully lined in the regimental colour which showed at the cuffs, lapels and skirts. (Coats were apparently worn inside out while at sea.) The buttonholes and various edges of the coat and waistcoat were decorated and reinforced with a woven tape – 'lace' – with a regimentally distinctive pattern of coloured lines,

worms or shapes. The coarse felt-like coat material was cut with a raw, unhemmed edge. Coats were renewed each year, and when the new issue arrived, all tailors, and other soldiers handy with needle and thread, were excused other duties and turned to fitting their fellow soldiers. Each man paid the tailor one shilling for turning his last-year's coat into a waistcoat (and perhaps breeches), and eightpence for fitting his 'small-clothes'. 'Foraging caps' were made from left-overs.

White 'rollers' or neckcloths were worn, and woollen stockings. Rounded buckles were preferred on the short leather shoes, as they did not cut into the shoe; and soldiers were ordered to change their shoes from right to left each day so that they 'did not run crooked'! Uniform buttons were usually plain pewter, although some regiments wore yellow metal. In 1752 it was ordered that the colour should follow the gold or silver of the officers' lace in each regiment. Some regiments wore buttons marked with the regimental number, and in 1767 this became regulation for all. Hair was powdered – with flour – for ceremonials and parades. It was usually tucked up under the hat, and wigs were only worn by bald men, and by some officers.

A3 Grenadier, 15th Foot (Amherst's); in America, 1758–67

Grenadiers were distinguished by their tall mitre caps, match cases, and 'wings' – the shoulder decorations of red cloth bound with regimental lace. (In 1751 Morier shows only nineteen regiments wearing wings, but in 1752 they were ordered for all grenadiers.) This soldier wears his lapels buttoned half across, and his waistbelt with sword and bayonet over his coat. He wears an extra cartridge-box on a tan or buff strap buckled over his waistbelt. These were certainly adopted by grenadiers, and by line troops in Germany in 1763, and probably saw widespread use by infantry of all companies.

It was customary to combine the grenadier companies of regiments in the field to form a grenadier battalion: at Quebec the 'Louisbourg Grenadiers' led by Wolfe in person were made up of the grenadier companies of the 22nd, 40th and 45th Foot stationed at Louisbourg. Many officers deplored this practice, which tended to rob

battalions of their best men, potential N.C.O.s.

Contemporary illustrations sometimes show the uniforms as being fairly tight, and this was not only due to the influence of military fashion. The cloth was supposed to be 'pre-shrunk' before issue but often was not – until the first shower of rain. Each man had to make do with a single suit of clothes, and must often have shown signs of hard wear and tear. Although waistcoats were worn for drill, and coarse smock-like shirts for rough work and fatigues (since 1749), the life of the soldier must have been one long round of mending and patching; in Germany the coat-sleeves of the band – who wore modified uniforms – were used for patching material. Inspection returns often mention worn-out equipment and 'bad cloathing'.

B1 Soldier of the Independent Companies, 1755

Various Independent Companies were formed and sent on garrison duty to the colonies, and these units are known to have been stationed in the West Indies, Georgia and New York, among other places. There is little firm evidence of their uniforms in the 1750s. In the 1730s they were ordered to wear red coats faced and lined green; and those serving in the West Indies (then rather a vague term used to cover many overseas stations) were to have their coats lined with brown linen, which showed when the skirts were hooked back for ease of marching. Descriptions of deserters in 1755 mention coats of 'red turned with green'; and the wash drawing in the text shows officers with laced buttonholes. The number of companies in North America varied as new ones were raised and others transferred or re-formed. The constant changes must have led to great variations in uniform. A composite company served with Washington at Fort Necessity, and with Braddock in 1755. The surviving privates were transferred to the 50th Foot while the officers and N.C.O.s went to South Carolina to recruit the companies back to strength.

B2 Officer, 2nd Connecticut Regiment, 1758

The costume of this well-dressed officer is largely based upon a portrait of Colonel Nathan Whiting, who commanded a provincial battalion at Ticonderoga in 1758. He is dressed as for a parade.

His regimentals are of fashionable cut, a scarlet coat with slashed cuffs of yellow, a yellow waistcoat with silver lace, and scarlet breeches. He wears the usual insignia of commissioned rank – a silver gorget suspended round his neck on a ribbon of facing colour – yellow in this case – and a crimson silk net sash over the shoulder. He wears a liberally powdered wig of the popular contemporary style known as a ‘pigeon-winged toupée’; the powder frosting his shoulders was quite acceptable socially, and appears in several contemporary portraits of gentlemen.

B3 Private, the Virginia Regiment, 1755–62

Many militiamen fought in civilian clothes, and were offered cash bounties if they brought their own guns. Items of equipment, coats, hats, or complete uniforms were provided by some states, however. Massachusetts troops serving with William Johnson in 1755 wore blue coats faced red, a favourite Colonial colour scheme worn also by troops from New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Some Pennsylvanians also wore green coats faced red, and in 1757 New Yorkers wore ‘dark drab turned up with middle drab cloth’. Red was also popular, and presumably the red cloth of regular army uniforms was readily available. Officers usually bought their own uniforms, and all were more or less based on the uniforms of the King’s troops.

The Virginia Regiment was raised in 1754, and at first only the officers were uniformed. Later that year uniforms were issued, and there are various references to ‘red coats and breeches’, ‘red coats faced blue’ and ‘thunder and lightning jackets (German serge) and red breeches’. Blue coats were also issued, and the Virginia companies with Braddock may well have worn a variety of uniforms, some with the coats cropped short. George Washington and other officers and men laid aside their regimentals and wore hunting shirts. When the regiment was reorganized late in 1755 the uniform was established as blue faced with red; officers’ uniforms were silver-laced, although they were ordered to have a suit of ordinary soldier’s clothes for campaigning. This soldier wears his regimental jacket with the tails ‘bobbed’, and is about to exchange it for a linen hunting shirt.

C1 Private, Battalion Company, 48th Foot, 1755

The 48th Foot – later, 1st Battalion the Northamptonshire Regiment – wore buff facings and brass buttons. The regimental lace had a green and yellow stripe and a green scroll pattern.

General Braddock drew up detailed orders covering the dress and conduct of his troops on campaign, and his concern for detail shows that while he may have been one of the ‘old school’ he was certainly not stupid. His men were ordered to leave behind as much of their heavy kit as possible, and to discard their waist- and shoulderbelts and their swords. One must presume that they carried their cartridges, and perhaps their bayonet frogs, on waist-straps like those worn by the grenadiers. Sergeants retained their swords, but substituted muskets for halberds. Though the men were necessarily burdened with rations, spare shirts and shoes and so forth, the orders threatened dire punishment to any fool who used his musket as a convenient slinging-pole for equipment ‘or by Any other means incumber his Firlock. . . .’ Because of the hot weather woollen breeches and waistcoats were replaced by small-clothes of ‘Oznaburg’, or coarse linen, which may have been brown, dyed red or of natural colour. Thin pads or bladders of leather were placed in the hat between lining and crown as protection against the hot sun, a practice which was generally ordered for all troops in hot climates from 1761 onward. Brown canvas marching gaiters were issued.

A report on the exact equipment, and the weight of every buckle, garter and pouch carried by the British infantryman in 1762 survives; it was compiled by Lieutenant Alexander Baillie, 1st Battalion Royal American Regiment, for Colonel Henri Bouquet. The limitations of space unfortunately prevent a complete quotation, but the whole amounted to 65 lb. 12 oz., including every stitch worn and every item carried in full marching order in America. Of this actual clothing accounted for 13 lb. 8 oz.; belts, pouches, knapsack, haversack, and the contents thereof, 32 lb. (including six days’ rations); and weapons and ammunition, 20 lb. 4 oz.

C2 Ensign with Regimental Colour, 44th Foot, 1755

The Regimental and King’s Colours of each

battalion were carried by two ensigns, the most junior regimental officers. Often of very tender years, these lads must have found the six-foot-square colours difficult to handle in a high wind. The First or King's Colour was the Union flag, with a wreath of roses and thistles placed centrally containing the regimental number. The Regimental Colour was of the facing colour, with the Union flag in the upper canton. The number appeared in the wreath of roses and thistles, except for those regiments granted special badges, or those with red or white as their facing colour: in the latter case the Second Colour was to comprise the Cross of St George with the Union flag in the upper canton. This ensign is in full parade dress; on campaign brown gaiters or knee boots would have been worn, the latter on Braddock's ill-fated expedition. Sashes and gorgets were worn at all times, even in action. Company officers would have discarded their half-pikes or espartoos when in the forests, and many carried muskets in addition to their swords. The 44th Foot had, obviously, yellow facings, and the men's lace had blue and black zigzags divided by a yellow stripe.

C3 Captain of over three years' seniority, Royal Navy

The Royal Navy gave invaluable assistance during the landings in Canada, and James Cook, the famous navigator, drew magnificent charts of the St Lawrence. Naval officers and seamen not only manned landing-barges during amphibious operations but also frequently served guns ashore; and since there was much block-and-tackle work to be done, Braddock's expedition was accompanied through the forests by Lieutenant Charles Spendlowe and a party of men from H.M.S. *Norwich*. This sturdy salt has fitted himself out with infantryman's gaiters and has hooked his coat skirts back for a scramble along the St Lawrence shore. He carries a brass telescope and an infantry haversack.

Officers of the Royal Navy first received a uniform in 1748. Junior captains had blue lapels, commanders had blue lapels and blue cuffs, and Lieutenants had plain blue without lace. The midshipman's white collar patch appeared in 1758. The men wore no uniform in the eighteenth century; but the bulk purchase of clothing, and the intentional issue of identical garments by some

captains led to a varying degree of uniformity among some ships' crews.

D1 Ranger, His Majesty's Independent Companies of American Rangers, 1758

Many provincials came from long-settled communities, had seldom seen an Indian, and had less idea of what to do if ambushed than the average English regular. However, the Ranger companies were usually recruited from the frontier villages, and many of them were comparatively new immigrants. Though it is hard to say what proportion had previous military experience they were certainly more at home in the woods, and their natural independence and toughness enabled them to mature quickly under the spur of hard experience. With a nucleus of real frontiersmen, they soon became a first-class instrument for irregular warfare; they scouted far behind French 'lines', ambushed and raided not just the French but the Indians themselves, and quickly gained a formidable reputation among friend and foe alike.

The most famous were Rogers' Rangers – originally the Ranger Company of Blanchard's New Hampshire Regiment – who were later expanded into His Majesty's Independent Companies of American Rangers. With a maximum strength of seven companies, they were neither regulars nor provincials, but were paid by the King. Some attempt was made at a uniform dress, varying within each company. Some, at least, of Rogers' men are known to have worn short green frieze jackets – made up by Messrs. Thos. and Benjamin Forseys of Albany – from 1758 onwards. The Scots bonnet was popular headgear, probably familiar to many of the men all their lives, and this costume seems to have caught the general fancy, ' . . . those who can get them wear nothing else when they go out. . . . ' Buckskin breeches were worn, with leggings of green or brown rateen. Hunting smocks may have been the more usual dress when the Rangers 'went out'.

D2 Ranger, late 1750s

Although Rogers' attracted most of the publicity, then and since, there were other companies of Rangers serving with the British Army in America. Among them was Captain Hezekiah Dunn's Company of Rangers, raised in New Jersey. A

deserter was described as wearing ‘. . . provincial clothing viz., A grey lapell’d waistcoat and an under green jacket, A leather cap, and Buckskin Breeches. . . .’ Each officer and man was furnished with a good blanket, underjacket, kersey lapelled jacket, buckskin breeches, shoes, stockings, leather cap and hatchet. Major Gorham’s Company of Rangers in 1761 wore red coats with brown linings and facings (so that the coat could be reversed, brown faced red, in the field), brown waistcoats, and leather ‘jockey’ caps with an oakleaf or branch painted on the left side.

This Ranger wears a cap made from a cut-down cocked hat with a part of the brim retained and hooked up – it could be dropped as a peak to shade the eyes at will. This ‘cut-hat’ was popular among both provincials and regulars. He wears Indian leggings and British Army equipment, with the sword replaced by a hatchet or tomahawk. Note the straight haft – the curved shape did not develop until the nineteenth century.

D3 Ranger, late 1750s

In 1759 Captain John Knox of the 43rd Foot described Rangers wearing ‘black rateen’ – a coarse frieze cloth – lapelled and cuffed with blue: a sleeved waistcoat, a short jacket without sleeves, white metal buttons, canvas or linen ‘drawers’, and a short ‘petticoat’ or kilt made with a waistband and one button, open in front, black ‘leggings’ which buttoned on the calf, and Highland bonnets. The very Scots character of this costume seems to confirm the influence of traditional dress among Rangers recruited from recently settled Scots immigrants. This Ranger has a quilled and tufted Indian pouch, a British Army tin canteen, and carries his kit rolled in a blanket and slung Indian-style by a ‘tumpline’.

E1 Drummer, 35th Foot, late 1750s

Drummers and fifers of the Foot Guards and Royal Regiments wore the royal livery of red and blue. Line drummers wore coats of facing colour – in this case orange – with cuffs, lapels and linings of red, the whole profusely decorated with regimental pattern lace ‘. . . as the Colonel shall think fit’. The cap was decorated with a trophy of drums and banners; the back, formerly a hanging bag, seems to have been stiffened like a

grenadier mitre cap at this period. Few regiments had extra musicians. Those there were, were not ‘official’, but were probably uniformed like the drummers.

In the noise and confusion of battle the drummers performed a very necessary duty by relaying the officers’ commands in the form of different rhythms; and a long and weary march could be made to seem shorter if accompanied by the music of fifes and drums. Drummers were also used as messengers, and one of their other – less pleasant – duties was the infliction of punishment. It was the regimental drummers who wielded the cat when a flogging was ordered. Punishment in the British Army at that time was savage, and completely at the whim of the commanding officer. Some were sadists who ordered horrific numbers of lashes, while other regiments did very well with a minimum of floggings; the orderly book of the 44th Foot contains one passage of instructions to officers and N.C.O.s on the treatment of men brought in drunk which is impressive for its enlightenment. Again, it must be remembered that this was a brutal age, both in civilian and military life, and that Wolfe’s army certainly included many hair-raising ‘hard cases’ who felt that they had not proved their manhood until they had ‘kissed the cat’.

The 35th later became 1st Battalion, Royal Sussex Regiment.

E2 Senior Officer, 1st or Royal Regiment of Foot, late 1750s

All regiments bearing the ‘Royal’ title wore blue facings and blue breeches. This senior officer has the usual marks of rank, and his coat is richly laced with gold. He is booted and spurred for riding. In the winter of 1757–58 this unit (later, The Royal Scots) had nine companies at Albany and one company at Stillwater. The 2nd Battalion was at Quebec in 1759, and during the following winter the companies were dispersed once again: four to Amboy, New Jersey, four to Brunswick, and two to Trenton, New Jersey.

E3 Private, 17th Foot, winter dress, late 1750s

Forage caps for the soldiers were made from left-overs from converted coats, and usually seem to have taken the form of red stocking caps with

small turned-up flaps of facing colour marked with the regimental number. The 17th Foot – later the Leicestershire Regiment – is known to have had six companies at Ticonderoga during the winter of 1759–60; and this soldier wears a common North American winter garment, the blanket coat, with his equipment belted over it. British soldiers were not issued overcoats, although a small number of ‘watch coats’ were issued to each battalion for the use of sentries; so it is certain that thick winter coats must have been improvised for wear in the very severe American winter.

F1 Private, 80th Regiment of Light Armed Foot (Gage's Light Infantry), 1758

Recruited in the winter of 1757–58, this battalion, some 500 strong, did valuable service in America until 1764; it fought in some notable actions in the French and Indian War, and some elements particularly distinguished themselves at Detroit during Pontiac's Rebellion. The men seemed to have included a high proportion of independent-minded individualists better suited for the scouting, advance guard and rear guard duties of the light infantry than for line service.

The brown jacket without facings or lace was not a field-service modification but the prescribed regimental dress, a fact confirmed by official documents. This short and practical combat garment was locally procured until 1763; in that year the unit changed to more conventional red regimentals faced orange. The buttons of the brown jacket were black. This soldier wears one of the many variations of the cap which originated in the cut-down cocked hat, and carries only the lightest equipment; shot bag and powder horn, cartridge-box on a waistbelt, bayonet and hatchet. Many of the muskets carried by light troops were shortened, and some had browned barrels: ‘carabines’ were later issued, although the exact definition of a ‘carabine’ at this period is uncertain.

F2 Private, 55th Foot, 1758

The 55th Foot (later 1st Battalion, the Border Regiment) was Lord Howe's regiment, and this soldier displays the field modifications introduced by that energetic and gifted commander for the Ticonderoga campaign of 1758. (The 55th are

listed as having green facings and yellow lace in 1761, but absolute confirmation of their distinctions in 1758 is lacking.)

The severely cropped cocked hat has a brim only two and a half inches wide, worn slouched; the green sprig is worn in celebration of the King's birthday. Eyewitnesses of the day describe how the coats were docked short so as not to encumber the men in thick forest. For ease and comfort the hair was cropped, and in this, as in every other measure, Lord Howe set a personal example. A hatchet is carried instead of a sword, and an extra cartridge-box at the waist brings the total ammunition carried by each man up to thirty-six rounds. Many of the muskets were shortened, and the ten best marksmen in each battalion were issued with ‘rifled barrelled guns’, probably of German *jäger* pattern. Each man carried in his knapsack (not worn here) a large supply of meal, which he was expected to cook for himself; and when on the march the bare necessities were carried rolled up in a blanket.

F3 Light Infantrymen, 1759

The logical conclusion of the piecemeal measures adopted over a number of seasons of campaigning; the following description appears in Captain John Knox's *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the years 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760*, published by the Champlain Society in Toronto in 1914 and relevant to May 1759:

‘The following order for the dress of the light infantry as approved by his Excellency Gen. Amherst: Maj. Gen. Wolfe desires the same may be exactly conformed to by the light troops under his command: the sleeves of the coat are put on the waistcoat, and instead of coat-sleeves, he has two wings like the grenadiers, but fuller; and a round slope reaching about half-way down his arm; which makes his coat of no incumbrance to him, but can be split off with pleasure; he has no lace, but the lapels remain; besides the usual pockets, he has two, not quite so high as his breast, made of leather, for ball and flints; and a flap of red cloth on the inside, which secures the ball from rolling out, if he should fall.

‘His knapsack is carried very high between his shoulders, as the Indians carry their pack. His cartouch-box hangs under his arm on the left

side, slung with a leathern strap; and his horn under the other arm on the right, hanging by a narrower web than that used by his knapsack; his canteen down his back, under his knapsack, and covered with cloth; he has a rough case for his tomahock, with a button; and it hangs in a leathern sling down his side, like a hanger, between his coat and waistcoat. No bayonet [Gen. Wolfe ordered the light infantry to wear their bayonets]; his leggins have leathern straps under his shoes, like spatterdashes; his hat is made into a cap, with a flap and button, and with as much black cloth added as will come under his chin, and keep him warm, when he lies down; it hooks in the front, and is made like the old velvet caps in England.'

G1 Officer, Royal Artillery, 1759

At this period two guns – light three- and six-pounders – were generally attached to each infantry battalion, with a detachment of an officer, two N.C.O.s and twelve men. The Royal Artillery was noted for the rapidity and accuracy of its fire, and for the cleanliness and good quality of its equipment. This senior officer wears the traditional blue uniform faced red with gold lacing (which would also have been worn on his three-cornered hat). From 1758, the yellow lace which previously decorated the waistcoats of other ranks was discontinued. Sergeants wore two gold lace shoulder-knots, corporals two worsted knots, and bombardiers one. This officer follows normal practice in wearing the soft-topped 'jockey' boots popular at this period; other ranks wore black cloth gaiters on all occasions except full-dress parades, when white ones were substituted. The other ranks carried haversacks and knapsacks, and flintlock muskets; there is some evidence that N.C.O.s were armed with the shorter fusils or carbines during the 1750s. Officers usually carried fusils in the field, although this practice declined during the 1760s. This officer has cut himself a staff for use when walking in rough country.

G2 Private, Battalion Company, 42nd (Highland) Regiment of Foot, 1758

The Black Watch were named as a Royal regiment in July 1758, and exchanged their buff facings for blue; but the old-pattern uniform was

worn at Ticonderoga. The short red Highland jacket is decorated with regimental lace, and is worn over a red waistcoat, which latter was the normal hot weather working and field dress. The well-known dark tartan was relieved by a red stripe in the 'little kilt', and in the belted plaid of the Grenadier Company only. The dark blue bonnet has a strip of bearskin sewn on; the sporran or goatskin purse is of the plainest design at this period. Breeches of coarse linen and infantry gaiters were often worn in place of the kilt for working details. All leather is black; the cartridge-box bears the royal cipher, and is worn, with the bayonet frog, on the waistbelt. A broadsword is carried on a shoulder-belt.

G3 Private, Battalion Company, 78th Foot (Fraser's Highlanders), 1757–63

This short-lived unit was raised in 1757 by the Hon. Simon Fraser, and fought at Louisbourg and the Plains of Abraham. Little is known about the uniform; it would have been similar to that worn by the Black Watch, with light buff facings. It is not known for certain whether the dark 'Government sett' tartan of the Black Watch was worn, or the mainly red sett illustrated here, an ancestor of the present-day Fraser tartan. This soldier has unpinned his plaid from his left shoulder and pulled the top half round his shoulders for protection – in bad weather it was often worn over the head and used to muffle the musket as well. The plaid consisted of twelve yards of cloth folded in pleats, belted round the waist to form a kilt with the remainder pinned up to the shoulder.

H1 Major-General James Wolfe, 1759

As far as can be ascertained there was no regulation dress for general officers at this period; portraits usually show them wearing scarlet and blue laced with gold, and the spacing of the laced buttonholes may have indicated exact rank. Plainer dress was usually worn in the field. We are lucky that a sketch of Wolfe, made at Quebec by or for one of his A.D.C.s, Captain Harvey Smythe, has survived. The young General is shown wearing a severely practical red coat and waistcoat and blue breeches. He wears what are perhaps gaiters with leather tops; the buttons are visible in the original sketch, and they cover the knee. In an age

when generals were not infrequently killed in action, it is understandable that Wolfe carried a fusil and wore a cartridge-box and bayonet on a waistbelt – all these features are shown plainly in the sketch from life. The black armband was worn in mourning for his father who had died recently; all officers of the Army wore such bands in April 1759 in mourning for the Princess of Orange. Officers' hair was usually unpowdered on service, and sometimes cropped (*cf* H2), either as a conscious 'front-line' precaution or because the individual normally wore a wig.

H2 Grenadier, 60th (Royal American) Regiment of Foot, 1759

The 60th, ancestor of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, was raised during the course of the war (25 December 1755) from local recruits. Four battalions were recruited in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, and were later augmented by volunteers from England. Many of the officers were European professionals with local commissions, and the first two battalion commanders were Swiss. Many of the men were of German and Swiss immigrant stock. The emphasis in training and use of this unit was upon forest fighting, and drill and disciplinary requirements were to some extent relaxed. (The original title – 62nd Royal American Regiment – was changed to that quoted in 1757.)

No picture of the uniform of other ranks of the 60th survives from earlier than 1768. For this reconstruction we have presumed that grenadiers followed the dress of line troops closely, and this figure illustrates several innovations typical of the late 1750s and early 1760s. Military fashion usually precedes the regulations, and it became the practice to cover the mitre cap with fur before this style was officially authorized. Some regiments left the 'little flap' at the front uncovered, and sometimes the stiffening was removed to allow the back of the cap to hang over the side, as here. The

60th wore the red faced with blue of all Royal regiments, without lace; this coat is cut fairly short. The waistbelt and bayonet frog, with a hatchet replacing the sword, are worn over the shoulder – an increasingly popular fashion which eventually led to the wearing of the bayonet on a 'purpose-built' shoulder-belt. The black gaiters have softened leather tops cut away at the back, and to protect the knees of the breeches from the leather, white canvas knee-cuffs are worn, as was the practice in the cavalry. The heart decorations at the tips of the hooked-up coat skirts are typical of the period, and were worn by men of several armies of the day.

H3 Officer, 40th Foot, 1758–59

The popular myth of the wars in America, to the effect that all American troops were expert woods fighters and all British troops were blundering ignoramuses, has been wildly exaggerated. Many British officers were hardened professionals, accustomed since childhood to country life, hunting, and the handling of firearms; and by 1759 the harsh first-hand experience of the French and Indian War had brought to many of them a familiar skill in forest fighting and woodcraft. Men like Wolfe and Lord Howe appreciated the need for practical dress and tactics, and were energetic reformers. While contemporary letters show that some of the more self-consciously elegant officers were mildly appalled at the orders to crop their hair, wear cut-down soldier's uniforms, and do their own cooking and laundry, there is no doubt that they obeyed. This officer has removed all lace from his coat, and wears a soldier's waistcoat. He retains his sash; some retained both sash and gorget, some discarded both. He carries a fusil, a bullet pouch and a powder horn, and carries a hatchet instead of a sword. The leather 'jockey' cap was already in use by some horsemen and sportsmen in England and, as other figures on these pages show, was often improvised by cutting down a cocked hat.

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Avec annotations en français sur les planches en couleurs.
Mit Aufzeichnungen auf Deutsch über den Farbtafeln.

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