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Thomas Carter's *Historical Records of the Forty-Fourth Foot*.

# The Organization of Braddock's Army

Franklin Thayer Nichols\*

GREAT was the stir in Alexandria in the spring of 1755 as Major General Edward Braddock began to assemble his expedition against the French at Fort Duquesne. Strategy for the campaign with its proposed operations against Crown Point, Niagara, and Fort Beauséjour, as well as against Fort Duquesne, was determined at a Council of War in April. Disposition of troops, routes of march, and matters of supply settled, the Council dispersed; but the excitement in the city in no wise abated.

Two British regiments, the 44th and 48th Foot, had disembarked late in March. Both were slightly under the normal complement of 611 rank and file each regiment. At full strength on a basis of 500 privates to the regiment each of the ten companies of a regiment would have had a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, and fifty privates.<sup>1</sup> As field officers the 44th had Colonel Sir Peter Halket, Lieutenant Colonel the Honorable Thomas Gage,<sup>2</sup> and Major Russell Chapman.<sup>3</sup> General Braddock had selected Francis Halket, the colonel's eldest son and captain of the 10th company, to act as brigade major, and another son, James, was lieutenant of the 6th company. Ensign Daniel Disney of the 8th company had been regimental adjutant

\*Mr. Nichols served during the war as a lieutenant colonel in the Army of the United States. He has just taken his doctor's degree at Harvard University and this article is a portion of his thesis.

<sup>1</sup> *A List of the Officers on the British and Irish Establishments . . . to August 1755* (Dublin, 1755), 11. Hereafter cited as *Army List, British and Irish Establishments* (Dublin, 1755). Sir Thomas Robinson to Duke of Dorset, Oct. 14, 1754, Colonial Office Papers (PRO), 5/211, 165. Hereafter cited as C. O. 5. The senior company was always the colonel's grenadier company, commanded by the captain lieutenant. The second company was the lieutenant colonel's, the third the major's, and the remaining seven ranked according to the seniority of their captains.

<sup>2</sup> He was the second son of Thomas, Eighth Baronet and First Viscount Gage. Commissioned lieutenant colonel, March 2, 1750/51. *Millan's List of All the Officers . . . on the Irish Establishment* (London, 1754), 9. Hereafter cited as *Army List, Irish Establishment* (London, 1754). Later he became famous as military governor of Massachusetts.

<sup>3</sup> Halket and Chapman were the only officers who had served in the 44th from its foundation in 1741. Chapman was commissioned captain at that time, major on March 1, 1750/51. *Ibid.*, 11.

for the past two years, and the regimental staff also included a quartermaster, surgeon, surgeon's mate, and chaplain. Colonel Thomas Dunbar's regiment, the 48th, had Ralph Burton,<sup>4</sup> who was one of Braddock's cronies, for its lieutenant colonel, and William Sparkes was the major.<sup>5</sup> Captain Roger Morris of the 6th company had been appointed recently as aide-de-camp to the general. Lieutenant John Gordon of the 5th company served as regimental adjutant, and the remainder of the regimental staff was similar to that of the 44th.<sup>6</sup>

The uniform of the private was picturesque. He wore a flat black tricorne hat edged with white, or if he were a grenadier, a tall mitre-shaped hat bearing a metal plate marked "G R" for Georgius Rex. Beneath the hat his hair was clubbed and tied at the nape of the neck with a small black ribbon, and on ceremonial occasions he powdered his hair with flour or rice powder. A white stock and waistcoat set off the striking red coat with its distinctive regimental facings, lapels and wide-turned cuffs of vivid yellow silk for the 44th and of buff for the 48th. Red breeches were tucked into long white spatterdashes, buttoned above the knees and fastened with black garters. On his feet he wore sturdy black shoes. He carried a muzzle-loading, smoothbore, flintlock musket, fitted with an offset socket bayonet, steel ramrod, and white sling strap. A wide waist belt supported a bayonet frog on the left hip and a short sword and scabbard on the right. A shoulder strap held his black leather cartridge pouch in place and another supported his knapsack. The sergeants carried halberds in lieu of muskets, and commissioned officers were armed with espontoons (half-pikes) in addition to their light dress swords. The officer in his powdered wig, scarlet tunic and waistcoat, lace stock and cuffs, gleaming gorget, voluminous red waist sash, and black leather boots was a dashing figure.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In order to go on the expedition Burton had exchanged a majority in the 2nd Horse Grenadiers for the lieutenant colonelcy of the 48th Foot. Lt. Col. Wilson was the officer who exchanged places with him. Fox to Wilmot, Oct. 15, 1754, War Office Records (PRO), 4/50, 72. Hereafter cited as W. O. Burton was to enjoy a brilliant military career and to become major general in 1762.

<sup>5</sup> Nothing is known of his earlier career except that he was commissioned major of the 48th on June 3, 1752. *Army List, Irish Establishment* (London, 1754), 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Army List, British and Irish Establishments* (Dublin, 1755), 11.

<sup>7</sup> "Warrant regulating the Standards, Colours, Clothing, etc. and Rank or Number of the Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry. Dated 1st July, 1751," Appendix No. 229, Daniel MacKinnon, *Origins and Services of the Coldstream Guards* (London, 1833), II, 346 ff. The material from which this whole section is drawn is too

Each regiment carried two flags, or colors: the First or King's Color was the familiar "Great Union"; the Second or Regimental Color was bright yellow in the 44th, buff in the 48th, with the "Union" in the upper right canton and the regimental rank (number) in gold Romans in the center.<sup>8</sup> The practice of placing battle honors upon the regimental color had not been introduced at this time, but today many of the older British regiments possess colors literally covered with the names of historic battlefields in faraway places. Had this custom been in vogue neither regiment would have had any decoration upon its color, for the sole victorious action had been the 48th's participation at Culloden, incident to the suppression of a rebellion.

The three independent regular companies from New York and South Carolina, stationed at Fort Cumberland since July, 1754, were also a part of General Braddock's force. Their uniforms and equipment were similar to those of the British regulars, but each company had its own distinctive color of coat facings.<sup>9</sup> They were a sorry lot of soldiers despite their bright red coats, and the New York troops were in a particularly rotten state. When Governor De Lancey ordered the 3rd and 4th companies to the Virginia frontier in 1754, he reported to the secretary of state, "By false Musters, the full complement appear under Arms at a Review, but are filled by Persons who only do occasional Duty."<sup>10</sup> John Rutherford, captain of the 3rd New York, had been absent in England for the past three years, and only 21 men out of his complement of 100 were under arms. The 4th company, commanded by Captain Clark, reported with 46 privates for duty. These two companies were sent to Virginia because they were

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scattered to be documented here. A good illustration of the uniform of the 44th Foot in 1742 appears in Thomas Carter, *Historical Records of the Forty-Fourth Foot* (London, 1864), fac. p. 4. This has been reproduced to accompany this article. The distinctive regimental facings of the British Army are listed under each regiment in the *List of the General and Field-Officers . . . for 1763* (London, 1763).

<sup>8</sup> "Warrant," Appendix No. 229, MacKinnon, II, 346 ff. Both colors of the 44th are illustrated in Carter.

<sup>9</sup> The uniform of the 3rd N. Y. was faced with green. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 10, 1755. The colors of facings of the other companies have not come down to us. For the complete organization of the New York and South Carolina companies see *A List of the General and Field-Officers as They Rank in the Army. A List of the Officers in the Several Regiments of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, etc. on the British Establishment* (London, 1754), 63-64. Hereafter cited as *Army List, British Establishment* (London, 1754).

<sup>10</sup> De Lancey to Holderness, April 22, 1754, Additional MSS (British Museum), 32,735, ff. 147-150.

in better shape than the remaining two New York companies, the 1st and 2nd!<sup>11</sup> It had been customary to give all New York troops "Liberty to Work and go where they pleased, so they appeared at Muster," and their officers habitually reported absent men as present in order to pocket the pay of the absentees.<sup>12</sup> The two New York companies had been ordered to Virginia in March, 1754, but they did not get up to Fort Cumberland in time to support Washington at Fort Necessity.<sup>13</sup> When they at last appeared upon the theatre of activity, "they had no Tents, Blankets, Knapsacks, Spatterdashes or Kettles, nay only one bl. of Gun Powder quite spoiled."<sup>14</sup>

The other independent company at Fort Cumberland in 1755 was the 3rd South Carolina, which had fought at Fort Necessity under Captain Mackay and was now commanded by Captain Paul Deméré. Shortly after Washington's surrender it was reported at full strength of 100 privates.<sup>15</sup> This company had spent the winter of 1754, along with the 3rd and 4th New York, in enlarging and strengthening the base camp at Fort Cumberland. Quartermaster Sir John St. Clair had reported that the South Carolina company was in "much better order and Discipline" than the New Yorkers, who "seem to be draughted out of Chelsea. The Excuse they make for having so many old Men does very little Honour to those Companys that are left behind at New York; for they say that they are draughted from them."<sup>16</sup> Later Sir John scoffed at these superannuated

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* The creditors of Captain Marshall, 2nd N. Y. Co., would not allow him to leave the province.

<sup>12</sup> "Extract of a Private Letter," March 19, 1755, Additional MSS, 33,029, f. 172. This letter must have been written by Capt. King of the 1st N. Y. since he refers to his lieutenant, Hitchin Holland, who was senior lieutenant in the company commanded by King.

<sup>13</sup> Dinwiddie to Sharpe, March 1, 1754, *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia* [Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, new ser., III-IV] (Richmond, 1883), I, 85. Hereafter cited as *Dinwiddie Papers*. He blamed Washington's defeat entirely upon the failure of the two N. Y. companies to arrive in time for the battle. Dinwiddie to Innes, July 20, *ibid.*, I, 232. It is difficult to see how this sorry outfit could have helped Washington materially or prevented his surrender.

<sup>14</sup> Dinwiddie to Lords of Trade, July 24, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 241.

<sup>15</sup> Dinwiddie to Hamilton, July 31, *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1851-1853), VI, 138. Hereafter cited as *Pa. Col. Recs.*

<sup>16</sup> St. Clair to Braddock, Feb. 9, 1755, Stanley Pargellis, ed., *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle* (New York, 1936), 62. Hereafter cited as *Cumberland Papers*. Capt. King in New York was claiming at this time that he had given up 25 of his best men to the two companies ordered to Virginia for a like number of "bad Men" from

infantrymen, who had "neither Legs to get upon the Heights nor to run away thro' the Valleys."<sup>17</sup> It seems incredible, but several of the New York soldiers were "from sixty to seventy years of age, lame and every-way disabled," and Captain Robert Orme probably was right in branding all of them as "Invalids [retired veterans] with the ignorance of militia."<sup>18</sup>

Therefore, General Braddock ordered St. Clair to return to Fort Cumberland in March to overhaul the independents. Late in that month the quartermaster discharged over forty men from one company, checked up on the training and equipment of all three, and by doing so "greatly incurred the Displeasure of the New York Companys."<sup>19</sup> The officers of the New York troops meanwhile had been busy composing a long apologia, to be printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, in refutation of an article which had appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* on July 19, 1754, blaming them for Washington's defeat.<sup>20</sup> The New York companies were listed as carrying a captain and three lieutenants each, while the 3rd South Carolina had a captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign.<sup>21</sup> Of these officers only Captain Horatio Gates of the 4th New York was to make a name for himself in later years.<sup>22</sup>

The provincial troops of Virginia joined the two regular regiments at Alexandria in March. These colonials are not to be confused with the provincial militia, thousands of whom were in every colony except Pennsylvania, where Quaker scruples had prevented the passage of a militia

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them. Additional MSS, 33,029, f. 172. The inevitable conclusion is that all New York troops were so wretched that it would have been impossible for any commander to receive a good draft from another company and certain that he would have given a bad one to any other company.

<sup>17</sup> St. Clair to Napier, Feb. 10, *Cumberland Papers*, 65.

<sup>18</sup> "Journal of Captain Robert Orme," in Winthrop Sargent, ed., *History of an Expedition against Fort Duquesne, in 1755, under Major General Edward Braddock* [*Memoirs of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, V] (Philadelphia, 1855), 285-286. Hereafter cited as Orme Journal.

<sup>19</sup> St. Clair to Sharpe, March 28, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—), VI, 188. Hereafter cited as *Md. Archives*. Gov. Sharpe to John Sharpe, April 19, *ibid.*, VI, 201. The company to lose 40 men was certainly one from New York, probably the 3rd Company, commanded by Capt. John Rutherford.

<sup>20</sup> "To the Printers of the Pennsylvania Gazette, March 12, 1755," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 10, 1755. The six officers who signed it were Capt. Clarke (already replaced by Gates), Lts. Soumain, Miller, and Spering of the 4th N. Y., Lt. Ogilvie of the 3rd N. Y., and surgeon Calhoun.

<sup>21</sup> *Army List, British Establishment* (London, 1754), 63-64.

<sup>22</sup> Gates got the credit for Arnold's great victory at Saratoga.

law. Virginia, for example, possessed 27,000 militiamen, aged twenty-one to sixty, but none of them were called out until after Braddock's defeat.<sup>23</sup> It is also incorrect to designate the Virginia provincial troops as the "Virginia Regiment," their old title of 1754, because they now were composed of individual unregimented companies and consequently were devoid of field officers. In 1754 the regiment had been 300 strong under Washington, but two months after his defeat this number was reduced to 140 by death and desertion.<sup>24</sup> By the following January Governor Robert Dinwiddie reported that the Virginia troops numbered 800, divided into separate companies and without regimental organization.<sup>25</sup> Before Braddock's arrival St. Clair and Governor Horatio Sharpe had reviewed these scattered detachments on several occasions and had ordered them to assemble at Alexandria.<sup>26</sup> In February Sir John formed a company of "Carpenters" there. These troops were to act as axmen and bridge builders and were to assist the engineers in all their work.<sup>27</sup>

In March General Braddock proposed the reorganization of all Virginia troops on the following basis:

Two Companies of Carpenters, consisting each of a Captain, two Subalterns, Three Serjeants, three Corporals, and fifty men; Four Companies of Foot Rangers or six, if I can get them . . . One Troop of Horse Rangers, consisting of one Captain, two Subalterns, two Serjeants and thirty Men.<sup>28</sup>

Far from despising colonial troops, the general was eager to get as many as possible for his army. Entirely mythical is the story that Richard Henry

<sup>23</sup> Dinwiddie's annual report to the Board of Trade, January, 1755, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 387. Washington roundly condemned Virginia militia for cowardice and stupidity the following year. To Dinwiddie, Aug. 4, Nov. 9, 1756, J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington, 1931-1940), I, 416, 493. Hereafter cited as *Washington Writings*. In June, 1755, Governor Sharpe was unable to induce the Maryland militia to escort provisions to the Ohio. Gov. Sharpe to John Sharpe, June 12, *Md. Archives*, VI, 221. In 1756 the militia of Maryland numbered 16,500. Sharpe to Lords of Trade, Feb. 8, 1756, *ibid.*, VI, 353.

<sup>24</sup> Dinwiddie to Hamilton, July 31, 1754, *Pa. Col. Recs.*, VI, 138; Sharpe to Calvert, Sept. 15, *Md. Archives*, VI, 98.

<sup>25</sup> Dinwiddie to Robinson, Jan. 20, 1755, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 474.

<sup>26</sup> St. Clair to Braddock, Feb. 9, *Cumberland Papers*, 61, 63; to Napier, Feb. 10, *ibid.*, 65; Gov. Sharpe to John Sharpe, April 19, *Md. Archives*, VI, 202; St. Clair to Sharpe, Feb. 22, *ibid.*, VI, 169.

<sup>27</sup> St. Clair to Braddock, Feb. 9, *Cumberland Papers*, 63; Sharpe to Braddock, Feb. 9, *Md. Archives*, VI, 168. The engineers had no enlisted personnel of their own.

<sup>28</sup> Braddock to Napier, March 17, *Cumberland Papers*, 78.



Lee, a Virginia militia captain, offered himself and his men to Braddock at Alexandria "and there had the mortification to be contemptuously refused permission to enter the service. The General would accept the aid of none of the provincial troops."<sup>29</sup>

In all General Braddock formed nine Virginia companies which were designated by the names of their respective captains: two companies of carpenters—Polson's and Mercer's, six of rangers—Stephens', Waggener's, Peyronie's, Hogg's, Cocke's, and Lewis', and a company of light horse rangers—Stewart's.<sup>30</sup> On this basis the nine companies numbered about 450 men exclusive of officers. The remaining 350 of Dinwiddie's original 800 were used to augment the two regular regiments. The name "Ranger" is misleading, for no troops so designated were backwoodsmen or riflemen. Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina "Rangers" were largely drawn from tidewater settlements, and they were dubbed "Rangers" because General Braddock hoped to employ them "to cover the Main Body of the Army, and shelter it from all Manner of Surprise."<sup>31</sup> No greater error can be made than to classify these troops with Rogers' Rangers or Morgan's Riflemen of later fame, who were especially trained and equipped for bushfighting and *la petite guerre*.

Maryland had raised 100 men for the 1754 campaign, but they had taken no part in the fighting.<sup>32</sup> In September Governor Sharpe reorganized the Maryland company and placed it under Captain Dagworthy, a veteran of King George's War.<sup>33</sup> This company joined the three independent regular companies at Fort Cumberland in November and spent the winter helping them enlarge the fort and build new barracks.<sup>34</sup> The Maryland Rangers numbered eighty men in January when reviewed by

<sup>29</sup> *North American Review*, XXII (1825), 379, Edward Everett quoting from R. H. Lee, *Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee*. In the America of 1825 it was virtually *de rigueur* to relate anti-British anecdotes when writing about the men of the Revolution, although the victims were more often the better-known, well-hated British generals of the American Revolution.

<sup>30</sup> Dinwiddie to Robinson, March 17, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 525. All these officers except Cocke had served in the 1754 Virginia Regiment. "Commissions, Virginia Regiment, Sept., 1754," *ibid.*, I, 319.

<sup>31</sup> Braddock to Robinson, March 18, 1755, [Jacob Nicolas Moreau], *A Memorial Containing a Summary View of Facts, with Their Authorities, in Answer to the Observations Sent by the English Ministry to the Courts of Europe* (New York, 1757), 121. Hereafter cited as *A Memorial*.

<sup>32</sup> Dinwiddie to Hamilton, July 31, 1754, *Pa. Col. Recs.*, VI, 138.

<sup>33</sup> Sharpe to Calvert, Sept. 2, *Md. Archives*, VI, 95.

<sup>34</sup> "Extract of a Letter, Jan. 27, 1755," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 18, 1755.

their governor and the quartermaster general. Sir John was pleased to report, "They are a good body of Men."<sup>35</sup> During February and March St. Clair hoped to draft this company for the augmentation required in the two British regiments, but as Dagworthy's Rangers it remained intact at Fort Cumberland and served throughout the 1755 campaign.<sup>36</sup>

The remaining provincial company in Braddock's army was from North Carolina. That province had planned to raise a regiment of 750 men under Colonel James Innes for Washington's campaign, but the North Carolina Regiment in 1754 never numbered more than 350 and took no active part in the campaign.<sup>37</sup> In September the regiment had been disbanded when provincial funds for its support were exhausted.<sup>38</sup> Upon news of Braddock's coming the North Carolina Assembly, chastened by the 1754 fiasco, modestly voted to raise one company of 100 men, and the captaincy went to Edward Dobbs, son of the governor.<sup>39</sup> Dobbs' Rangers, 84 strong, sailed up to Hampton late in April, 1755, and shortly after put in at Alexandria. They were the last of General Braddock's army to arrive at Fort Cumberland.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> St. Clair to Braddock, Feb. 9, *Cumberland Papers*, 62.

<sup>36</sup> St. Clair to Sharpe, Feb. 22, *Md. Archives*, VI, 170; Rutherford to Morris, March 22, *Pennsylvania Archives* (Philadelphia, Harrisburg, 1852—), ser. 1, II, 227. Hereafter cited as *Pa. Archives*. The company numbered 50 men, as did each company of Virginia Rangers. Sharpe to Calvert, April 10, *Md. Archives*, VI, 189-190.

<sup>37</sup> Dinwiddie to Innes, March 23, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 125; Dinwiddie to Hamilton, July 31, *Pa. Col. Recs.*, VI, 138. Innes had commanded the colonial forces following Washington's defeat and was superseded when Sharpe was made commander-in-chief *pro tem*. He had held a commission in Governor Gooch's regiment at Cartagena in 1740. Dinwiddie to Robinson, Nov. 16, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 404.

<sup>38</sup> Sharpe to Calvert, Sept. 15, *Md. Archives*, VI, 98.

<sup>39</sup> Gov. Dobbs to Robinson, Jan. 1, 1755, *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1886-1890), V, 313. Hereafter cited as *N. C. Recs.* Dinwiddie to Gov. Dobbs, Feb. 8, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 487.

<sup>40</sup> Dinwiddie to Gov. Dobbs, April 30, May 5, *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 18, 25. They appeared at Ft. Cumberland on May 30, 1755, "Journal of a naval officer," in Sargent, *Braddock's Expedition*, 381. It is also known as the "Morris Journal." "Extracts from a Journal of the Proceedings of the Detachment of Seamen, Ordered by Commodore Kepple, to Assist on the Late Expedition" is from a different MS of this same journal and differs somewhat from it. This work, cited hereafter as the Seamen's Journal, is printed in Archer Hulbert, *Braddock's Road* (Cleveland, 1903). All citations are collations of these two versions of the same journal, the version cited in a particular case being the one in which the bulk of the citation originated. To add to the confusion Hulbert calls his version the "Gordon Journal," because he believes Engineer Gordon wrote it. The author is clearly that midshipman who was not at the battle because sickness forced him to remain at Ft. Cumberland. The names of the other two midshipmen were Haynes and Talbot, but the name of the author of this journal is nowhere in the Admiralty records.

All colonial troops wore blue uniforms of the regulation cut, faced with red to set off the blue of their coats and breeches.<sup>41</sup> The famous "buff and blue" of Revolutionary days was not worn at this time, for the blue uniform was always faced with red or scarlet to signify the British affiliation. Officers provided their own uniforms, and beyond the fact that blue, faced with scarlet, was universal, there was little uniformity in dress. Washington's orders in the fall of 1755 concerning the colonial officers' uniform represented the peak of provincial smartness:

A Suit of Regimentals of good blue Cloath; the Coat to be faced and cuffed with Scarlet, and trimmed with Silver; A Scarlet waistcoat, with Silver Lace; blue Breeches, and a Silver-laced Hat, if to be had, for Camp or Garrison Duty.<sup>42</sup>

The arms and equipment of the provincials were similar to those of the regulars although often of inferior quality. Unlike the regulars they carried no short swords. Their smoothbore flintlocks were fitted with bayonets, ramrods, and sling straps.<sup>43</sup> They carried black leather cartridge pouches, for no powder horns were used since only a rifleman or a lazy smoothbore shooter would have employed this clumsy method of loading a piece.<sup>44</sup> Field equipment, including tents and other camp necessities, had been brought from England or supplied by the colonies for all provincial troops.<sup>45</sup>

The Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina troops had become subject to the Articles of War of the British Army since they were serving in conjunction with regulars. Every officer and soldier had to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and all troops were now under mili-

<sup>41</sup> Dinwiddie to Stewart, Nov. 26, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 413; Orme Journal, 297; advertisement for deserters, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 12, 1755. The cost of a provincial uniform was 40s. sterl. Dinwiddie to Sharpe, June 13, *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 59.

<sup>42</sup> Orders at Fort Cumberland, Sept. 17, 1755, *Washington Writings*, I, 176.

<sup>43</sup> Dinwiddie to Robinson, Oct. 25, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 353; to De Lancey, May 3, 1755, *ibid.*, II, 22.

<sup>44</sup> Powder and ball had to be loaded separately in a rifle, for the ball fitted the bore much more closely than in a smoothbore, hence paper cartridges would have been useless. Smoothbore muskets could be loaded quickly and easily with cartridges, and only militia or civilians used the slower method of loose powder in the horn. There were no rifles or riflemen with Braddock's army.

<sup>45</sup> "Major General Edward Braddock's Orderly Books from February 26 to June 17, 1755," in W. H. Lowdermilk, ed., *History of Cumberland County, Maryland* (Washington, 1878), xvi. Hereafter cited as Orderly Books. Dinwiddie to Orme, May 16, 1755, *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 37.

tary law and its "Tryals, Penalties, and Punishments," for a clause to this effect had been inserted in the recent Mutiny Bill passed by Parliament.<sup>46</sup> The Articles of War were read publicly to the assembled provincials before the administration of the required oaths.<sup>47</sup> It is certain that the Americans did not immediately see the full implications of the colonial clause in the Mutiny Bill, but in the course of the war much of the colonial reluctance to serve in conjunction with regular troops was due to the fact that desertion, for example, would have carried the death penalty, whereas colonial authorities were notoriously easygoing in this and all other military crimes. The New Englanders especially came to be wary of service with the regulars for this reason. As the war progressed, the home government usually managed to have a few regular troops on duty in every provincial expedition or troop concentration in order to subject the slipshod colonials to the Articles of War.<sup>48</sup>

Whenever regular army troops serve with colonial, provincial, or state levies or with militia of any sort, the troublesome question of rank always appears and aggravates an already antipathetic relationship. The professional naturally looks down on the amateur, and the civilian soldier in turn both resents and envies the veteran regular. In the British Army of Braddock's day such was the case, despite all efforts to promote good feeling. When regulars were reviewed or paraded with non-regular troops, the redcoats were ordered "to behave civilly, and not to laugh or make any game of them."<sup>49</sup> All regular officers, with their royal commissions, considered themselves superior to colonial officers of all ranks, who had their commissions from their respective governors. When the independent regulars were serving with the provincials in 1754, this question of rank had caused bad feeling. Governor Dinwiddie allowed the regular lieutenants to rank with provincial captains, but the regular officers, none of

<sup>46</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons* (London, 1754-1757), XXVII, 50; Orderly Books, iv; Robinson to Braddock, Dec. 31, 1754, C. O. 5/211, 299-300.

<sup>47</sup> Orderly Books, iv. The "Rules and Articles of War of 1749" were twenty in number, and each dealt with a specific phase of military life. For example, number one pertained to "Divine Worship," three to "Inlisting," six to "Desertion," nine to "Quartering," and so on. "Rules and Articles for the better government of Our Forces, 1749," W. O. 72/2.

<sup>48</sup> Sir Charles Hardy to Lord Halifax, May 7, 1756, *Cumberland Papers*, 172. The New Englanders also feared, and with reason, that the regulars would get all of the credit for any joint victories, for such had been the case in 1755 under Monckton at Beauséjour. Franklin to Fawkener, July 27, 1756, *ibid.*, 185.

<sup>49</sup> Coldstream Orderly Room, Oct. 25, 1745, Appendix No. 211, MacKinnon, II, 341.

whom were above the rank of captain, refused to obey any colonial officer.<sup>50</sup> Since the commander was a provincial field officer, Colonel Washington, this situation doubtless contributed to his failure in the field.<sup>51</sup> Following Washington's defeat Dinwiddie requested royal commissions for all provincial officers, but the request was denied.<sup>52</sup>

The War Office understood the gravity of the situation and attempted a compromise. By Order in Council it was decreed that all regular general and field officers ranked all regular line officers (grade of captain or below), and that all regular line officers ranked all provincial line officers of the same grade regardless of priority of commission.<sup>53</sup> This ruling allowed a colonial field officer to rank a regular line officer and thus removed the principal cause of the 1754 friction. Regular army men considered it an injustice that a colonial major with virtually no experience now could rank a regular captain of thirty years' active service. The Virginians had done away with their field officers and regimental organization before the new ruling became known, and they gladly would have gone back to their 1754 setup had it not been that the regulars looked with disapproval on it. Braddock could have authorized the regimentation of the provincials under their own field officers and enforced the new ruling among his own officers, but he wisely maintained the Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina troops in unregimented companies rather than risk bad feeling between them and the regulars. Colonel Washington dodged the problem by becoming Braddock's aide, but other colonials who had held field grade were forced to swallow their pride, and accept provincial line commissions or leave the service.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to the 44th and 48th, the three independent companies, and the provincials, Edward Braddock had two other corps under his

<sup>50</sup> Dinwiddie to Washington, June 25, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 218; to Fox, July 24, *ibid.*, I, 246.

<sup>51</sup> Gov. Sharpe to John Sharpe, April 19, 1755, *Md. Archives*, VI, 198; Dinwiddie to Rutherford, Oct. 15, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 350.

<sup>52</sup> Dinwiddie to Abercromby, Oct. 23, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 376.

<sup>53</sup> Order in Council, Nov. 12, 1754, C. O. 5/211, 231-232; "Sketch of Regulations," *Cumberland Papers*, 36; "Sketch of an Order about the Rank etc. of the Provincial Troops North America," *ibid.*, 43-44.

<sup>54</sup> The French allowed absolute parity between all regular and colonial *line* officers: "Les capitaines d'infanterie rouleront avec les capitaines des colonies, les lieutenants d'infanterie avec les lieutenants des colonies, et les enseignes d'infanterie avec les enseignes des colonies." Ordonnance pour le service de la discipline, Versailles, 1 Mars, 1755, in H. R. Casgrain, ed., *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis* (Montreal, Quebec, 1889-1895), III, 9.

command, the regular artillery company and a company of sailors lent him by Commodore Keppel. The artillerymen did not encamp at Alexandria for they were busy unloading and transporting their siege train to Fort Cumberland.<sup>55</sup> Since the general had only four twelve-pounders and these were considered insufficient for battering effect against Fort Duquesne, he secured four more from the commodore.<sup>56</sup> A party of three midshipmen, two boatswains mates, and thirty seamen was ordered to serve with the expedition in order to assist with the tackle and gear needed in handling and transporting the guns and to construct and navigate floats on the rivers.<sup>57</sup> The commander of the naval detachment, Lieutenant Charles Spendelow, R.N., had been sent to America as an extra lieutenant to command one of the sloops on Lake Ontario. He was an expert draftsman and had recently conducted an Admiralty survey of Harwich harbor.<sup>58</sup> The personnel of the detail was drawn from the two frigates at Alexandria, and these sailors must have welcomed shore duty. They were armed with muskets, bayonets, and cartridge pouches by the gunners of their respective ships.<sup>59</sup>

The first serious problem to confront the army in America was recruiting. The time-honored method was for recruiting officers to obtain from local authorities "beating orders," that is, authorization to beat the drum in town and hamlet to attract yokels and idlers. Unlike the navy, which used impressment, the army had to induce men to join up. Levy money of from £3 to £4 per recruit was part of the inducement, and recruiting was always carried on in an alcoholic haze, which when dispelled usually found the prospective recruit safely enlisted in His Majesty's service. Respectable citizens looked askance upon all recruiting officers. Farquhar wittily revealed all their low tricks and familiar dodges to secure recruits in the machinations of his rival recruiting officers, "Captain Plume" and "Captain Brazen," and the recruiting sergeant, who had to do all the dirty work, was held up as a miracle of vice and corruption: "If your Worship

<sup>55</sup> Orderly Books, xiii.

<sup>56</sup> Braddock to Napier, March 17, 1755, *Cumberland Papers*, 79; to Keppel, Feb. 25, Admiralty Records (PRO), 1/480, 1016. Hereafter cited as Ad. The guns were taken from the upper tier of H.M.S. *Norwich*. Keppel to Cleveland, March 14, State Papers (PRO), 42/37, 78-79. Hereafter cited as S. P.

<sup>57</sup> Keppel to Cleveland, March 14, S. P. 42/37, 79; to Spendelow, March 14, Ad. 1/480, 1233; "A Return of the Detachment of Seamen," May 28, Ad. 1/480, 1169.

<sup>58</sup> Admiralty to Navy Board, Oct. 30, 1754, Ad. 2/218, 146; Secret Instructions to Keppel, Nov. 26, Ad. 2/1331, 107.

<sup>59</sup> Keppel to Cleveland, Aug. 23, 1755, Ad. 1/480, 1240.

pleases to cast up the whole Sum, viz. Canting, Lying, Impudence, Pimping, Bullying, Swearing, Whoring, Drinking, and a Halbard, you will find the Sum Total amount to a Recruiting Serjeant."<sup>60</sup>

From early in 1754 Governor Dinwiddie had been sending recruiting officers throughout Virginia and the adjacent provinces,<sup>61</sup> and they often had received a cold reception from the local authorities. Mobs had insulted and beaten them at Petersburg and Fredericksburg, and the magistrates had made no effort to apprehend the culprits.<sup>62</sup> An attempt in 1755 to induce recent German immigrants to enlist in the Virginia Rangers was abortive, and Sir John St. Clair in February had to discharge numbers of recruits as "sickly, distempered and unfit for Service."<sup>63</sup> Many of these rejected soldiers must have been former vagrants for the Burgesses had passed a bill, "For raising Levies and Recruits," the previous November which empowered "the Justices, in their respective Counties, to take up all Vagrants" for the service.<sup>64</sup> North Carolina had passed a similar bill: "Whereas many of the youth of this Province . . . have no visible estates . . . Strole from one County to another neglecting to Labour . . . are burthensome to the Honest and Industrious Planters, may be usefull if Enlisted in his Majesty's Service."<sup>65</sup>

The colonial recruiting officer was very often not above reproach and occasionally dishonest in his activities. The most common form of speculation was the simple expedient of pocketing the recruiting money instead of using it to obtain recruits. Captain Rose, for example, received £60 from Dinwiddie, obtained no recruits, and moved to the north. Governor Arthur Dobbs of North Carolina gave Captain Dalrymple "£100 to raise recruits, which he sunk in his pocket."<sup>66</sup> Captain Polson of the Virginia

<sup>60</sup> George Farquhar, *The Recruiting Officer* (London, 1718), 31 and *passim*.

<sup>61</sup> The details of Virginian recruiting in the fall of 1754 may be followed admirably in the *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 395-490.

<sup>62</sup> Dinwiddie to Stewart, Nov. 26, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 414; to Mercer, Waggener, and Stewart, Jan. 15, 1755, *ibid.*, I, 461.

<sup>63</sup> St. Clair to Napier, Feb. 10, 1755, *Cumberland Papers*, 64; Dinwiddie to Stephens, Feb. 18, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 504.

<sup>64</sup> *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia* (Richmond, 1905-1915), VIII, 222. Act reprinted, *Virginia Gazette*, "Supplement," Nov. 7, 1754.

<sup>65</sup> Laws of North Carolina, Jan. 7, 1755, C. O. 5/333.

<sup>66</sup> Dinwiddie to Sharpe, June 13, *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 60; to Rose, June 16, *ibid.*, II, 66; Dobbs to Board of Trade, March 15, 1756, *N. C. Recs.*, V, 571. Lt. Mercer of the Horse Rangers also cheated Dinwiddie in this manner. Dinwiddie to Stewart, July 4, *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 81. He is not to be confused with Capt. Mercer of the Virginia Carpenters.

Rangers at first refused to go out on recruiting duty, stirred himself at last only under threat of losing his commission, and was criminally extravagant with recruiting money.<sup>67</sup> Another Ranger captain, Peter Hogg, lived up to his name by recruiting a handful of men at very great expense to the public and in recruiting areas assigned to other officers.<sup>68</sup>

The recruiting cost of augmenting in America the 44th and 48th Foot from 500 to 700 men each was to have been met by the common fund supplied by quota from all colonies, but with the failure of that project Braddock had to draw upon the regular paymaster at the rate of £3 sterling for each recruit.<sup>69</sup> St. Clair tried to raise a part of the required 400 recruits in Pennsylvania, but the Assembly refused to grant any money for this purpose.<sup>70</sup> The Virginia recruiting officers were ordered to recruit for the regulars in addition to filling their own ranks.<sup>71</sup> The quartermaster general was satisfied with the Maryland men whom he had reviewed at Fort Cumberland in January and hoped to procure at least 150 more from that province to augment the regular regiments. Eventually 120 Maryland recruits helped to fill up the 44th and 48th.<sup>72</sup> Most of the remaining necessary troops were secured by drafting the best men from the Virginia Rangers, and by April 19, 1755, the two regiments were virtually completed to 700 each.<sup>73</sup>

Many regular recruiting officers unwittingly, or in some cases knowingly, recruited indented servants in Maryland and Pennsylvania, for these unfortunate persons naturally were eager to join up in order to escape from servitude. Governor Sharpe of Maryland charged that General Braddock had issued orders for the recruiting of servants, but there is no record of any such order.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, the general discharged four newly recruited servants at this governor's request.<sup>75</sup> This was certainly

<sup>67</sup> Dinwiddie to Polson, Nov. 18, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 412; to Sharpe, July 5, 1755, *ibid.*, II, 87.

<sup>68</sup> Dinwiddie to Hogg, Jan. 19, Feb. 1, 1755, *ibid.*, I, 470, 482.

<sup>69</sup> "Private Instructions for Ed. Braddock," Nov. 25, 1754, C. O. 5/6; printed, *Cumberland Papers*, 53-54.

<sup>70</sup> St. Clair to Morris, Jan. 14, 1755, *Pa. Col. Recs.*, VI, 299; Morris to St. Clair, Feb. 10, *ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Dinwiddie to Stephens, Jan. 31, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 481; to Dobbs, Feb. 1, *ibid.*, I, 483.

<sup>72</sup> St. Clair to Braddock, Feb. 9, *Cumberland Papers*, 62; Sharpe to Calvert, April 10, *Md. Archives*, VI, 189; to Lord Baltimore, April 19, *ibid.*, VI, 194.

<sup>73</sup> Orme Journal, 285; Braddock to Napier, April 19, *Cumberland Papers*, 83.

<sup>74</sup> Gov. Sharpe to John Sharpe, May 24, *Md. Archives*, VI, 211.

<sup>75</sup> Sharpe to Braddock, May 7, 28, *ibid.*, VI, 204, 213. Daniel Dulany later stated



a real colonial problem and was to become more acute in the later years of the war, when Pennsylvania became an important recruiting area, for to enlist a servant without paying to his owner the balance of the indenture fee was equivalent to robbing the owner of that amount.<sup>76</sup>

Much of the difficulty in recruiting for the regulars was also occasioned by the more rigid recruit qualifications:

You are to inlist no Irish, or any other Country, unless you are sure that they are Protestants . . . All your Recruits must be straight and well made, broad shouldered . . . you are to Inlist none but shall measure 5 Feet 5 Inches without shoes, from 16 to 20, and 5 Feet 6 from 20 to 35.<sup>77</sup>

Despite such regulations there must have been many a recruiting officer who overlooked a recruit's brogue or allowed him to stand on tiptoe for measurement. To make matters more trying for all recruiting officers in America, orders had been issued in January to augment all regular regiments in America, Braddock's two and the three stationed in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, to 1000 men each.<sup>78</sup> General Braddock sent out recruiting officers in obedience to this order, but the additional complement of 600 men for the two regiments was not obtained until the following year.<sup>79</sup>

The Alexandria camp buzzed with activity early in April. The General, seated under his wide marquee facing the forest of white tents, received daily returns from the adjutants of every command and in this way was able to follow the progress of recruiting. An aide also reported the number of men on sick list each day. At eleven every morning the adjutants reported at the brigade major's tent to receive the orders for the day.<sup>80</sup> Thrice daily the roll of each company was called by one of its of-

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that the officers of Dunbar's regiment had been the chief offenders in recruiting servants. Dulany to Carroll, Dec. 9, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, III (1879), 13-14.

<sup>76</sup> In 1756 an Act of Parliament authorized the enlistment of indented servants, but it provided that the prime cost of the servant minus time served be paid to the owner. Franklin to Fawkenner, July 27, 1756, *Cumberland Papers*, 185. Washington enlisted many of these servants for the Virginia troops in 1756. Washington to Dinwiddie, Nov. 9, 1756, *Washington Writings*, I, 497-498.

<sup>77</sup> "Recruiting Instructions, 1755," *Pa. Archives*, ser. 2, II, 691.

<sup>78</sup> Robinson to Braddock, Jan. 23, C. O. 5/6. Shirley's and Pepperell's had been established originally at 1000 each, hence this order did not affect them.

<sup>79</sup> Braddock to Robinson, April 19, *A Memorial*, 129.

<sup>80</sup> *Orderly Books*, vii-ix.

ficers and a return of all absent or disorderly men was sent to the colonel of the regiment.<sup>81</sup> The 44th, 48th, and the artillery were formally mustered at seven on the morning of March 31. The troops were drawn up in review formation, the captain of each company holding his muster roll in his hand, and all officers with new commissions were required to carry these in their pockets. Braddock "received" each company individually as he passed down the brigade line.<sup>82</sup>

The field officer of the day was the busiest officer in camp, for he had charge of the whole encampment during his tour of duty. He visited all guards, including distant pickets, and received their reports. The sentry who did not know the correct parole for the day was sure to be reprimanded by him on his rounds. In case of alarm the field officer of the day took command of all officers and men in the vicinity of the disturbance.<sup>83</sup> All details of troops destined for drill, work, or guard duty were first drawn up on the "Grand Parade" at the head of the senior regiment before marching off on their particular mission.<sup>84</sup> The quartermaster general had authority to call for daily work parties from all commands, and the two companies of Virginia Carpenters were usually under his direct orders.<sup>85</sup> Since Sir John was busy with the disembarkation and forwarding of ordnance and supplies to Fort Cumberland, his ordinary task of issuing provisions in the camp was delegated to the senior colonel, and Sir Peter made this issue every fourth day, as was customary.<sup>86</sup> Men not on guard or work duty were kept busy making up musket cartridges with paper, powder, and ball drawn from the artillery stores. Every private had to keep his musket cleaned and ready for firing. His cartridge pouches always contained twenty-four rounds of ammunition, and woe to the man who was short at evening inspection.<sup>87</sup>

For training purposes large numbers of troops were on guard at all times. One captain, three subalterns, and 100 men from each regiment formed the daily "piquet" or picket guard, and they were paraded each

<sup>81</sup> "Camp Orders, March 27," Orme Journal, 292.

<sup>82</sup> Orderly Books, ix-x, xii.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, ix and *passim*. The two lieutenant colonels and majors of the regulars took turns at this post. The parole was changed daily, and, since it was customarily the name of a British city or town, a sentry can hardly be blamed for giving "Winchester" instead of "Chichester," for example.

<sup>84</sup> Orderly Books, xvi.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, xiv.

<sup>86</sup> "Camp Orders, March 27," Orme Journal, 294; Orderly Books.

<sup>87</sup> Orme Journal, 291-292, 295.

evening at retreat beating. The general's guard consisted of one lieutenant and thirty privates, supplied on alternate days by each regiment, but this guard shortly was reduced to a mere corporal's guard of nine men.<sup>88</sup> The general ordered all outposts to receive him with shouldered muskets without salute or drum beat, but for Governor Dinwiddie, who was in and about camp much of the time, he commanded all guards to present arms and beat two ruffles. Later Braddock decided that the guards needed more drilling in the art of saluting and accordingly ordered all guards to turn out and "beat a march to him" whenever he passed.<sup>89</sup> On April 8, the day after the general's return from Annapolis, a grand review of all troops took place at the Alexandria encampment. Virginia and Maryland society from miles around witnessed this novel and stirring spectacle, after which the great ladies of the vicinity regaled General Braddock and his staff with many delicacies including "delicious Cake, and potted Wood cocks."<sup>90</sup>

This charming interlude had not prevented the general from making wise dispositions for his coming march through the wilderness. He ordered that the senior captain's company in each regiment should act as a second grenadier company posted on the left of the regimental line.<sup>91</sup> Although none of his troops were properly equipped for long marches through difficult country, he did his best to lighten the soldier's burden: "The Soldiers are to leave their Shoulder Belts, Waist Belts and hangers [swords] behind and only to take with them to the Field one spare shirt, one spare pair of Stockings, one spare pair of Shoes and one pair of Brown Gater's."<sup>92</sup> Lightweight waistcoats and breeches replaced the heavier regulation uniforms, and leather bladders were inserted in all hats to protect the wearer from sunstroke. Officers and sergeants discarded their espontoons and halberds, replacing them with lightweight muskets or "fusees." The privates put away their white spatterdashes in favor of serviceable brown gaiters, and all discarded equipment went into regimental storehouses especially constructed for that purpose at Alex-

<sup>88</sup> Orderly Books, vii, xv. The picket was shortly reduced to 50 men from each of the two regular regiments. *Ibid.*, xi. A provost guard of two non-coms and 12 privates was relieved every 48 hours. *Ibid.*, x.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, xix.

<sup>90</sup> Washington to Mrs. Fairfax, May 14, *Washington Writings*, I, 122.

<sup>91</sup> Orderly Books, v-vi. The grenadier company itself was always on the right flank, the post of honor and danger.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, xix.

andria.<sup>93</sup> In all this Edward Braddock was ahead of his time, for here was the first step in the direction of light infantry, a significant development which was to be more fully pursued under Howe, Gage, and Bouquet in the latter years of the war.

Minor breaches of discipline were tried in summary courts martial and punished by the provost marshal, but major crimes were always tried in a general court martial. On March 29 a general court, Colonel Gage presiding, condemned Private James Anderson of the 48th to "1000 lashes with a Cat and Nine Tails," probably for the crime of larceny, but part of this sentence was remitted.<sup>94</sup> Three other soldiers in the 48th were later convicted of stealing a keg of beer and were sentenced to receive from 800 to 1000 lashes. The drummers of the regiment carried out the punishment in instalments at the head of the regiment before the assembled troops.<sup>95</sup> At Fort Cumberland in May another general court martial found John Nugent of the 44th guilty of stealing money and sentenced him to "one thousand lashes, and to be drum'd out of the Reg't through the line with a halter about his neck." The same court exonerated Private Dalton in an accidental shooting case and returned him to duty.<sup>96</sup> A later court sentenced John Igo, a batman, "to receive 500 Lashes with a cat and nine Tails by the hands of the common hangman," for receiving and concealing stolen property, but John McDonald, a soldier in the 44th, was acquitted of the charge of being his accomplice.<sup>97</sup>

Judged by modern standards these courts martial more than made the punishment fit the crime. Yet he who hastily condemns the army for its extreme brutality should read the Newgate calendar on contemporary civilian crime and punishment or delve in the Admiralty records of the period, for brutality can be judged only relatively and within a given chronological period. It was to the personal interest of a captain not to maim a soldier permanently, for his replacement took £3 levy money out

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, viii, xxi; Orme Journal, 296, 298; Braddock to Napier, April 19, *Cumberland Papers*, 83.

<sup>94</sup> Orderly Books, xi-xii; Orme Journal, 299, 358. Only in exceptional cases was the dreaded cat used. Ordinarily the whip consisted of a single lash.

<sup>95</sup> Orderly Books, xxxiii-xxxiv. Part of this punishment was remitted by the general. Orme Journal, 358.

<sup>96</sup> Orderly Books, xxxix-xli. Lt. McLeod of the artillery was confined to quarters by a general court. He was back on duty, however, in time to march to Ft. Duquesne. *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Orderly Books, xlvi.

of the officer's pocket. On the other hand the navy could and did flog many a man to death, and the press gang filled these vacancies at no cost. Ignorance of military offenses could have been no excuse in Braddock's army, for the general ordered that the Articles of War be read frequently to the troops, and the various crimes and punishments were explained in detail to the men. As an encouragement to good behavior no stoppages in pay were to be made for provisions unless "any man shall be found drunk, negligent, or disobedient."<sup>98</sup>

Heavy drinking was the curse of all walks of eighteenth-century life, and the arduous lot of the common soldier did not promote abstinence. General Braddock was eager to remove his troops from the seaport of Alexandria "as the greatest care and severest punishments could not prevent the immoderate use of spirituous liquors."<sup>99</sup> At Fort Cumberland conditions were no better, for Captain Rutherford reported in March that the independents and provincials had taken so to whisky that he was obliged to stave the sutlers' kegs.<sup>100</sup> At Alexandria each soldier was allowed to purchase daily one gill of "spirits" mixed with three of water, and any sutler who sold liquor without an officer being present was sent to the provost for punishment. There must have been a great deal of illegal selling despite such a precaution. Drunkenness in camp was punished by "two hundred lashes without a Court Martial."<sup>101</sup>

In any army the most serious crime, other than mutiny, is desertion. In Braddock's day Section 5 of the Articles of War stipulated the death penalty for desertion or influencing to desert,<sup>102</sup> but in time of peace the punishment was sometimes as mild as fifty lashes. Often in Great Britain the captured deserter had the choice of 1000 lashes or service in a regular regiment on colonial service, and there are several cases on record of deserters electing the former.<sup>103</sup> Since the army's purpose was rather to discourage future than punish present offenders, often several deserters were allowed to cast dice to determine one of their number for execution.<sup>104</sup> In time of actual war the death penalty was usually, but not in-

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, v.

<sup>99</sup> Orme Journal, 297.

<sup>100</sup> Rutherford to Morris, March 22, 1755, *Pa. Archives*, II, 277.

<sup>101</sup> Orderly Books, xxxix, xli.

<sup>102</sup> Articles of War, 1749, W. O. 72/2.

<sup>103</sup> W. O. 4/50, 115 ff, 294 ff; S. P. 44/324, 89, 104.

<sup>104</sup> *Whitehall Evening Post*, December 3, 1754. Three deserters from the Coldstream Guards took "the chance of Dice." Two of them threw eights, and the third

variably, inflicted. General Braddock had warned all troops, regular and provincial, that "Any Soldier who shall desert tho' he return again will be hanged without mercy."<sup>105</sup>

Although the threat of colonial service could hardly have been made to his men, the death sentence for desertion was never carried out under Braddock. A general court martial sentenced to death Private Luke Woodward of the 48th Foot, but the general, after approving the sentence, pardoned the culprit.<sup>106</sup> Private Samuel Draumer of the 44th, found guilty of desertion, received but 200 lashes punishment.<sup>107</sup> The usual reward for the capture of a deserter was two pistoles, but Lieutenant Bailey of the 44th offered £30 for the return of deserter Thomas Douglas, who had stolen from him a large sum of money, a fusee, and a pistol.<sup>108</sup> There is no record of Douglas' capture, but he probably would have suffered the death penalty, for a case of desertion coupled with larceny rarely received clemency. Virtually all of the deserters from the regular regiments were American recruits, for out of 122 men listed as deserters only four had come from Great Britain and these were drafts from other British regiments.<sup>109</sup>

The independents and provincials had suffered heavily from desertion in the 1754 campaign, and they continued to be plagued with it in 1755.<sup>110</sup> Most of the independent deserters were from the New York companies, but Private George Darty of the 3rd South Carolina received 200 lashes for his crime on May 26 at Fort Cumberland.<sup>111</sup> In 1754 the Virginia Regiment advertised that "all deserters that return with their Arms, shall be pardon'd."<sup>112</sup> Under Braddock provincial desertion continued, but the harshest penalty inflicted was 1000 lashes.<sup>113</sup> Critics have charged the gen-

cast a six and was executed by a firing squad. The lucky (?) two got their choice of serving in the Plantations or suffering the fate of the loser in this deadly crap game. For similar cases, see W. O. 4/50 *passim*.

<sup>105</sup> Orderly Books, v.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxiv.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, xl.

<sup>108</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 12, 1755.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1755.

<sup>110</sup> Various advertisements for deserters, *ibid.*, April 10, 17, May 1, 22, June 5, 1755.

<sup>111</sup> Orderly Books, xl.

<sup>112</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Nov. 7, 1754.

<sup>113</sup> Orderly Books, xlv; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 10, May 1, June 12, 1755; Morris to Committee of Assembly, March 12, *Pa. Archives*, ser. 1, II, 271.

eral with brutality on the one hand and excessive leniency on the other, but he seems to have tempered justice with mercy. He did not permit deserters to go scot-free, as had the Virginians in many cases, nor did he employ the death penalty, as was done in England in several contemporary cases. He understood that the Americans never had held desertion to be a serious crime, and he wisely withheld the death penalty, which it was clearly within his power to invoke.

Army life was regulated by drumbeat, just as today the bugle call is the most familiar sound at military posts and camps. Drumming was a fine art, and the varied patterns of ruffles and taps ordered the soldiers to assemble, disperse, advance, retreat, and so on. At drill and parades field music of fife and drum animated the men. "To beat the General" did not signify a drubbing of the commander but meant that the assembled drummers were to beat that particular call designated for a general assembly of all troops. In the eighteenth century "to beat a retreat" was a specific command for the drummers and not a mere figure of speech.<sup>114</sup>

Officers who had come from England without servants hired them in Virginia. "Numbers of Mullattoes and free Negroes" served as batmen on this expedition.<sup>115</sup> Soldiers of the regular regiments were expressly forbidden to act as servants.<sup>116</sup> All batmen and women were required to attend the troops whenever their officers read aloud from the Articles of War, and they were subject to punishment at the hands of the provost marshal for infractions of camp orders or military rules.<sup>117</sup> When the troops were on the march, all women marched with the provost guard at the foot of the column. Six women per company, double the legal number, were allowed at the Alexandria camp and at Fort Cumberland, but when the expedition struck out for Fort Duquesne, only two per company were authorized.<sup>118</sup>

The common soldier's pay was 8d. per day for the regulars and 6d. for provincials,<sup>119</sup> but among the regulars it was customary to make stoppages

<sup>114</sup> Orderly Books, *passim*.

<sup>115</sup> Braddock to Napier, March 17, *Cumberland Papers*, 78.

<sup>116</sup> Orme Journal, 327.

<sup>117</sup> Orderly Books, xxx, xxxviii.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, i, vii, xxxvii. The general sent to Philadelphia under military pass 28 soldiers' wives who could not be taken to Duquesne. Stoppages from their husbands' pay helped to support them during their absence. *Pa. Col. Recs.*, VI, 426, 430; *Pa. Archives*, II, 348.

<sup>119</sup> *Army List, British and Irish Establishments* (Dublin, 1755), opp. p. 10; Dinwiddie to Fairfax, Aug. 25, 1755, *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 179.

for various items. General Braddock pleaded with the prime minister to cease this mean practice, since "the Duty of a Soldier here is very great."<sup>120</sup> One of the few justifiable stoppages was that for the hospital:

All the troops are to acct with the Director of the Hospital once in three months . . . for stoppages at the rate of 5 pence stir'l'g per Day, for every Man that is admitted in the Gen'l Hospital.<sup>121</sup>

Because of his meagre pay and the strict regulations against drinking the soldier had little opportunity to amuse himself. The punishment for "gaming" was 300 lashes, but the man in the ranks had little or no money for games of chance. The officers, on the other hand, probably spent much of their free time at cards.<sup>122</sup> For the common soldier quaffing "Cyder" and dancing "Jiggs" were common forms of amusement.<sup>123</sup> There was good fishing in the rivers and streams of Virginia, and General Braddock procured for his men "four large and four small Seyns, with a proportionable number of Hooks and Lines."<sup>124</sup> Sunday in camp was a day of rest, for the only regular troop formation was the assembly of each regiment at the head of its colors to attend divine service conducted by the regimental chaplain.<sup>125</sup>

Braddock's forces were now completed and ready for their march to the base camp at Will's Creek. His two "green" regular regiments, in which were drafts composed of the misfits of several other British and Irish regiments, had been augmented by 400 virtually untrained colonials. Some attempt had been made to correct the outrageous abuses in the independent companies, and General Braddock tried to get as many provincial troops as possible for his army. Discipline was mild, if judged by military standards of the day, and relatively humane compared with the contemporary barbarity of civilian and naval practice. Throughout this period of preparation and training Braddock proved that he was no martinet and that he had sympathy for the lot of the humble soldier.

The life of the private was hard and thankless, but the fact that

<sup>120</sup> Braddock to Newcastle, April 19, Additional MSS, 32,854, f.190.

<sup>121</sup> Orderly Books, xxxvii.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, xl.

<sup>123</sup> "Journal of Charlotte Browne, Matron of the General Hospital with the English Forces in America, 1754-1756," Isabel M. Calder, ed., *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys* (New York, 1935), 176.

<sup>124</sup> Admiralty to Navy Board, Oct. 5, 1754, Ad. 2/218, 115; Keppel to Palliser, March 14, 1755, Ad. 1/480, 1247.

<sup>125</sup> Orderly Books, xi.



civilians universally damned the army and all its works tended to bind together men of all army ranks and to foster a genuine paternal relationship between officers and men.<sup>126</sup> Of Britain's soldiers Farquhar had said, "They do the Nation more harm by debauching us at home, than they do good by defending us abroad."<sup>127</sup> The British Army was never to be popular, except for brief interludes under a Marlborough, Wolfe, or Wellington, until Kipling's poetry and Fortescue's prose made the general public aware that Tommy Atkins was a human being after all. When the "Old Contemptibles" gave way to "Kitchener's Million" in 1915, the British Army at long last was received into the hearts of the people it had served so long and so faithfully.

<sup>126</sup> There is no better source for technical details of British Army life in Braddock's time than General Humphrey Bland's *A Treatise of Military Discipline* (London, 1746), which was the standard drill book and "bible" for all officers. Washington heard about the book while on the Braddock Expedition, and ordered a copy from London in December, 1755. To Richard Washington, Dec. 6, 1755, *Washington Writings*, I, 254. The first edition was in 1727, and up to 1762 nine editions appeared. The author used the sixth edition, 1746.

<sup>127</sup> George Farquhar, *The Recruiting Officer*, 38.