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The Scottish Highland Regiments in the French and Indian War

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THE SCOTTISH HIGHLAND REGIMENTS

IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

(TITLE)

BY

NELSON ORION WESTPHAL

B. A., University of Illinois, 1966

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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PREFACE

If a pollster stopped ten people on the street in Champaign, Illinois and asked them to name a famous British Highland regiment, most would quite likely name the Black Watch. Such is the appeal of that colorful and illustrious regiment to the popular imagination Black Watch and Scottish Highlanders have come to be almost synonymous. Hollywood has done its share by filming countless movies in which a hardpressed little band of heroes is saved during the final scene either by the United States Cavalry or the Scottish Highlanders, depending upon whether the setting is east or west. Since the Highlanders are invariably dressed in the British government tartan (Black Watch), the credit goes to the Black Watch regiment.

It is well known to students of American history that the Black Watch played an important part in the French and Indian War, Pontiac's Rebellion of 1763, and the American Revolution. What is less well known, however, is that two other Scottish Highland Regiments served in America during the French and Indian War whose services were even more distinguished than those of the Black Watch--Fraser's and Montgomery's Highland regiments, the Seventy-seventh and Seventy-eighth. The Frasers served with great distinction in the battles of Louisbourg, Montmorency, Quebec, Ste. Foy, and St. John's

while the Montgomerys played the leading role in the expeditions against Fort Duquesne and the Cherokees of South Carolina.

The Montgomerys and Frasers were two of eleven regiments raised in the Scottish Highlands between 1756 and 1763 as an emergency war-time measure. Both were disbanded as soon as the war was over and, because they were in existence for such a short time, no one has written their regimental histories. As a result, their achievements have generally been obscured by those of the Black Watch. Both the Frasers and the Montgomerys are mentioned briefly in the general histories of the British army and in various works on the Scottish clans and regiments as the first of the Highland regiments raised for service in the French and Indian War. Such treatments are so sketchy as to be almost useless to anyone seeking specific information on the two regiments. Another problem that arises is that most of the better works on the British regiments, and the Highland regiments in particular, are either out of print or available only in the larger libraries. As a result, one must rely heavily upon secondary works and sift through a great amount of periodical literature and the correspondence of the important political and military figures of the French and Indian War to find the desired information.

Aside from the important contributions they made to the British military victory in America, the Frasers and Montgomerys

are worthy of study because they represented a departure from long established military and political policies and were the proto-type of a large number of Scottish Highland regiments. This paper traces the military, political and economic factors which led to the raising of the first Highland regiments, how they were recruited and equipped, their services during the French and Indian War, and how those services were rewarded.

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Chapter I

During the closing years of the seventeenth century a mighty conflict developed between France, Spain, and England to determine which country would control North America. This 'Great Imperial War' or 'Second Hundred Years War' began in 1688 and continued with interruptions of varying lengths until the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815. There were seven distinct periods of armed conflict during this time, the first four of which were intercolonial as well as European wars. Spain was forced to bow out as a front rank contender early in the race and the conflict developed into a world-wide contest between France and England.

Although the real basis of the struggle was the bitter competition for control of the colonial markets and the sea lanes leading to them, the colonial theaters of war were largely military backwashers of the European "world" wars. William Pitt is said to have boasted at one time that "America was won on the plains of Germany."¹ Whether or not one accepts Pitt's assessment, it is true that the first three intercolonial wars began in Europe and spread to the colonies.

¹Quoted by Lord Mahon in History of England from the Peace of Utrecht (4 vols.; London, 1844), IV, 135.

But the last and most important of the four wars began as a traders' squabble in the Ohio Valley in 1754 and was not formally declared in Europe until nearly two years later.

The third of the great Anglo-French wars, called the War of the Austrian Succession in Europe and King George's War in America, was brought to a formal conclusion by a treaty signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on October 18, 1748. It was a peace of mutual exhaustion and quickly proved to be only an uneasy truce during which the antagonists engaged in a reshuffling of the traditional European alignments and maneuvered for strategic positions prior to the inevitable resumption of hostilities.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle returned all conquests to their former owners and the vital issue of commercial supremacy rested exactly where it had been at the opening of hostilities eight years earlier. The treaty failed either to fix the contested frontier between New France and New England or to determine ownership of the Ohio Valley. These questions were left for later settlement by a commission representing the two nations. No date was set and when the commission finally met it was in an atmosphere in which neither party intended to negotiate in good faith.²

²John L. Thompson, History of the Indian Wars and the War of the Revolution of the United States (Philadelphia, 1887), 106.

Subsequent to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the British Cabinet heeded the demands of the taxpayers and quickly reduced the military establishment. The English people had a long tradition of opposition to large standing armies dating back to the days of Oliver Cromwell and Parliament controlled the military through the power of the purse. As a result, the army was reduced to 18,000 men scattered in various garrisons in Ireland, Scotland, England, Minorca, Gibraltar and Nova Scotia. The larger part of the troops were permanently stationed in Ireland and Scotland where they were employed as police. The army's effectiveness was reduced by the practice of recruiting large numbers of Scots and Irish into the British regiments.³

The austerity policy also had an adverse effect upon the British fleet. The official returns continued to list two hundred ships, but neglect and mismanagement quickly reduced their effectiveness.⁴

France, too, limited her military forces after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, but her position as the greatest European power made it necessary to maintain a large army along

³Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe. Part One, (New York, 1965), 180.

⁴In May of 1756 the British fleet was in such bad condition that the government had difficulty finding enough seaworthy vessels to transport reinforcements to Minorca. Ten ships were finally sent but they were rotten and leaky and dangerously undermanned. See Lord Mahon, History of England from the Peace of Utrecht. IV, 95.

her borders. Unlike England, France did not permit her regular army to fall below 100,000 men. The French fleet consisted of fewer than a hundred ships but a large proportion of them were seaworthy despite the government's preoccupation with land operations and neglect of the maritime services. Neither adversary felt they could afford to maintain large colonial garrisons and neither was fortunate in leadership, either civil or military. As a result, they were fairly well matched militarily even though the British colonists numbered about 1,500,000 and the French less than 60,000.⁵

The English authorities in America did not even see fit to wait for the boundary commission to come into being before they began aggressive action. Attempts were made to exact oaths of allegiance from the French inhabitants of Beaubassin and St. John, places which were in uncontested French territory. Bloodshed was narrowly averted when the Canadian government sent a detachment of troops to St. John early in 1749 with orders to resist encroachments by armed force.⁶

In February of 1749 the British government granted a tract of 500,000 acres of land on both sides of the Ohio River to a group of wealthy and influential Virginia speculators known as the Ohio Company. Under the terms of the

⁵Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, Part I, 161.

⁶Gustave Lanctot, History of Canada (4 vols.; Cambridge, Mass., 1965), III, 86.

grant a strong fort was to be built in the area for the protection of the expected influx of settlers. At about the same time traders and merchants from New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia rushed into the Great Lakes region and built posts in the upper Ohio Valley. All of these activities were contrary to treaty terms and the Canadian governor responded by sending out an expedition of 230 soldiers to reaffirm French claims to the disputed territory.

The French already had a chain of military posts and forts reaching from New Orleans to the Great Lakes and eastward to Acadia which gave them control of the trade in the Mississippi and St. Lawrence Valleys, but they also needed the Ohio Valley and what is now western Pennsylvania and New York. By constructing new posts in the region they were able to tighten their control gradually to the point where British trade was in danger of being excluded.⁷

The combined commercial and military activities of the Canadian government caused increasing dissatisfaction and uneasiness in the British colonies, especially among the merchants of Virginia. On October 31, 1753, Lieutenant-Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington to the French post at Fort-aux-Boeufs with a letter of Protest.

⁷Referring to the map at the beginning of chapter, it is easy to see why the British colonists believed that they were being deliberately encircled by the French. See Max Savelle, "Diplomatic Preliminaries of the Seven Years War in America," Canadian Historical Review, XL, No. 2 (March, 1959), 21-57.

Dinwiddie claimed the Ohio region as an English dependency on the basis of certain Indian treaties and respectfully requested that the French evacuate their posts. The French regarded the mission as a spying expedition and the commandant, Sieur La Gardeur de St. Pierre, refused to comply with the request. Instead, he courteously informed Washington that he "recognized no rights but those of France and would maintain them in their entirety."⁸ In March of the following year Dinwiddie sent Captain William Trent with a work party under the protection of a small detachment of Virginia militia to secure the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers with a fortified post. French patrols reported these activities and a French force was quickly dispatched to eject them. Upon the Virginians' departure the French took over the uncompleted work and erected a fort which they named Duquesne, in honor of the governor of Canada.

While the French were engaged in expelling Captain Trent and his little force from their new post, Washington was on his way with reinforcements. Upon hearing of the French coup he determined to retaliate by ambushing a force of thirty Canadians who were operating in the area. Together with a band of Mingo Indians, the 120 Virginians surrounded the unsuspecting French and fired upon them without warning. The

⁸ Lanctot, History of Canada, III, 86. The British derived their claim from an early Iroquois conquest of the tribes in the region. Since the Iroquois acknowledged the King of England as their "father" it followed, at least to the British, that the entire disputed area should be under British control.

officer in command, Ensign Coulon de Jumonville, and ten other Frenchmen were killed in the first volley. The survivors were taken prisoner. Elated by his easy victory, Washington wrote in his journal soon after the event: "I heard the bullets whistle and believe me, there is something charming in the sound."⁹

The Canadian camp was quickly plundered, the dead scalped and the prisoners herded toward the safety of Virginia. Well aware that the French would retaliate Washington marched southward in constant fear of attack.

News of the ambush and murder of Ensign Jumonville and his party was received by the French with deep indignation. Governor Duquesne was especially outraged and declared the "unprovoked attack could only be washed out in blood." Captain Coulon de Villiers, a brother of the dead Jumonville, was given command of a punitive expedition of 600 Canadians and Indians which was ordered to march from Fort Duquesne in pursuit of Washington and his Virginians. The Canadians overtook Washington on July 3 at Fort Necessity, a hastily erected log breastwork, and forced him to surrender after a ten hour siege. The Virginians lost eighty men, killed and wounded, while the French had only two killed and seventy-four

⁹Douglas S. Freeman, George Washington, A Biography (5 vols.; New York, 1948), I, 372. See Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe, Part one, 147-150, and George Bancroft's History of the United States (Boston, 1852), IV, 116-119, for accounts of Washington's exploits in the Ohio County. Washington published his journal soon after he returned to Virginia.

wounded. Washington was permitted to evacuate Fort Necessity with the honors of war and the next day (July 5) the Virginians, "haunted with terror of the savages," decamped so fast they left behind their battle flags and much of their equipment. Under the terms of surrender Washington engaged to return the prisoners of Jumonville's party and left two of his captains as hostages until the conditions could be carried out.¹⁰

The immediate result of Washington's defeat was to remove the last protection of the British settlements west of the Alleghany Mountains. It also marked the nadir of British prestige and influence among the western Indians and caused even the Iroquois to have second thoughts regarding their traditional loyalty to the British. The French were quick to capitalize on their victory and for once they secured the allegiance of all of the western tribes as well as the temporary neutrality of the powerful Iroquois confederacy. Border warfare which had been going on intermittently despite the official peace quickly flared up, the new British settlements in the Ohio region were abandoned, and the inhabitants forced to flee to the protection of the older settlements.¹¹

News of the capitulation of Washington at Fort Necessity was a severe blow to Great Britain but the country was in no position to declare war against France. On October 10, 1754,

¹⁰Lanctot, History of Canada, IV, 85-88.

¹¹Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, Part One, 180.

the Duke of Newcastle, the chief minister of George II, wrote to the Earl of Albemarle, the British Ambassador in Paris, that "war is, I hope, the furthest thing from our thoughts."¹² This letter was in response to the tense situation caused by the French discovery of British intentions of secretly reinforcing the colonial garrisons. Abemarle was instructed to represent the military measures being taken as purely defensive and to do all he could to preserve the peace. England needed time to raise her forces to a war footing and the policy of the ministry continued to be one of encouragement of military activity by the colonists supported by covert assistance from England. Neither France nor Great Britain could afford to be regarded as the official aggressor because they could not fight without European allies and their mutual assistance treaties were all of a defensive nature.

At the outbreak of hostilities there were three understrength British regiments, seven independent companies, and a few detachments of Royal Artillery in North America. The three regiments were the permanent garrison of Nova Scotia and the seven companies were stationed at posts in New York and South Carolina. Several of the units had been in America for more than forty years and were composed largely of colonists.

¹²Julian C. Corbett, England in the Seven Years War (2 vols.; London, 1907), I, 10.

As the conflict grew, it became obvious that more troops would be needed and large scale recruiting began. The smallness of the British military appropriation for 1755, as well as the earnest desire of the ministry to avoid a European war with France, necessitated raising the bulk of the required troops in America.

It was recognized, however, that colonial forces required a stiffening of British regulars. The policy which finally evolved is attributed to the Dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle and had the firm support of King George II. It consisted of sending regiments of the Irish establishment which were on a peace footing of only 310 men, but which had full compliments of officers, to America where they were to recruit to full strength. The two regiments--the Forty-fourth and the Forty-eighth--had been stationed in Ireland for nearly a hundred years and their ranks were made up largely of Irish who hated England and were quick to desert when given the chance. They sailed from Cork in the middle of January, 1756, under the command of General Edward Braddock, a stern disciplinarian and protégé of the Duke of Cumberland.¹³

Having full knowledge of the British preparations and aware of their import, the French government dispatched a counter-expedition of eighteen ships and 3,150 soldiers to

¹³Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, Part One, 180.

strengthen the defense of New France. The force consisted of one battalion from each of six regiments--La Reine, Bourgogne, Languedoc, Guienne, Artois, and Bearn--the flower of the French army under Baron Dieskau.¹⁴ The French fleet left Brest on April 29 and arrived off Newfoundland on June 7. Here they encountered a large British fleet which succeeded in capturing two of the French ships, the "Alcide" and the "Lys," despite the fact that England and France were still officially at peace. The greater portion of the force reached the safety of the St. Lawrence, however. In reply to an official protest from Paris, the British government attributed the incident to "a misinterpretation of royal instructions" and both sides repeated their assurance of peaceful intentions.¹⁵

On February 20, 1755, General Edward Braddock and his two regiments landed at Hampton Roads and immediately marched to Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia. After creating an initial good impression, Braddock quickly became involved in disputes with the colonial assemblies over the difficulties of obtaining men and supplies, so that the departure of the expedition to Fort Duquesne was delayed until June 10. The intention of raising the two British regiments

¹⁴Harrison Bird, Battle for a Continent (New York, 1965), 32-35.

¹⁵Lanctot, History of Canada, III, 136.

to full strength in North America was disappointed and the number of provincial troops provided was only a fraction of the number requested. It took Braddock's little army of 1,000 regulars, 1,200 provincials, thirty sailors and a few Indians four weeks to march the hundred miles from Fort Cumberland to the disastrous battlefield near the confluence of Turtle Creek with the Monogahela River.¹⁶

This engagement marked the first time a large force of British regulars was forced to fight in a remote wilderness cut off from their maritime supply lines. Here they were introduced to the "terrible novelty" of frontier warfare in which courage and rigid discipline learned on the battlefields of Holland were of no avail against unseen enemies. Only the steadiness of Washington and his Virginia militia prevented a complete slaughter. General Braddock was mortally wounded and sixty-three of his eighty-nine officers and 997 of his troops were killed or wounded in the ghastly

¹⁶Braddock has been subjected to much criticism for being misled into approaching Fort Duquesne by way of the Potomac route rather than through the settled portions of Pennsylvania. The route he chose traversed one of the most densely wooded and mountainous regions in the eastern United States and he was forced to hack out a road for his transport wagons and cannon. Parkman, citing a contemporary political pamphleteer, says that the more difficult route was chosen by the British ministry because of the influence of John Hambury, a Quaker merchant and prominent member of the Ohio Company. It was in Hambury's financial interest that the troops pass through Maryland and Virginia rather than eastern Pennsylvania. Braddock was aware of the difficulties of the route he took, but he was committed to it. Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, Part One, 196-197. See also Lee McCardell, Ill-Starred General: Braddock of the Coldstream Guards (Pittsburgh, 1938), for a new and generally sympathetic treatment of Braddock.

roul. The terrified survivors, numbering less than 400 officers and men, fled back the way they came and did not stop until they reached the safety of Fort Cumberland. The supplies for six months and nearly all the transports were abandoned or destroyed along the way.¹⁷ Braddock's virtual annihilation left the frontier from Georgia to the Great Lakes at the mercy of the French-led Indian war parties who descended upon them with renewed fury. Settlements as far east as Fort Granville, near Philadelphia, were attacked and burned while raiding parties penetrated into areas where no enemy had been seen for seventy years. The only force left to oppose them was the Virginia militia regiment under George Washington, but it was hopelessly unable to defend 400 miles of frontier. As a result, the frontier was rolled back still further "amid an orgy of blood and tears" and for the remainder of 1755 and all of 1756 Pennsylvania and the colonies to the south lived in daily dread of Indian raids.¹⁸

¹⁷There are several good sources for the story of Braddock's expedition. Among them are Major General Edward Braddock's Orderly Books from February 26 to June 17, 1855 (Cumberland, Md., 1878), and Winthrop Sargent's History of an Expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1755, under Major General Edward Braddock (Philadelphia, 1855). Sargent's book contains the journals of Braddock's aides, Orme and Morris, Braddock's instructions, the French report of the battle, and a statement by George Croghan, the Indian agent. See also A. O. Sherrard, Lord Chatham: Pitt and the Seven Years War, (London, 1955) 84, A. G. Bradley, The Fight with France for North America (Westminister, 1902) 86-89; and Bancroft, History of the United States, IV, 184-192. Sargent's book is by far the most useful.

¹⁸Bradley, The Fight with France for North America, 105.

England's reaction to the news of the disaster on the Monongahela was shame and humiliation while unbounded enthusiasm prevailed in Canada and France. The only bright spots in the gloom of defeat were Colonel George Monckton's capture of Fort Beausejour in Nova Scotia and William Johnson's conclusive victory over Baron Dieskau and his French regulars near Lake George. Fear of a French invasion of England made it impossible to send any more regular troops to the colonies for the remainder of the year.¹⁹

Braddock's expedition demonstrated the inadequacy of the policy of "letting Americans fight in America." Despite the fact that there were an estimated 200,000 men in America capable of bearing arms, a disappointingly small number enlisted in the British regiments. This was particularly true in the middle colonies. The Quaker merchants of Philadelphia controlled Pennsylvania and were opposed to the war. Maryland and Delaware considered themselves safe and were unwilling to contribute to the expedition. They quarrelled among themselves and refused to vote money for supplies and provisions and failed to furnish the needed wagons. Braddock was forced to delay his expedition until he could secure the necessary supplies at exorbitant prices and,

¹⁹Lawrence H. Gipson, The Great War for the Empire: The Victorious Years, 1758-1760, Vol. VII, The British Empire Before the American Revolution (13 vols.; New York, 1949), 10. (Hereafter cited as Gipson, The Victorious Years).

although the defeat at the Monongahela was due to military reasons and not to the uncooperativeness of the colonial assemblies, it, too, was the direct result of the policies of the Newcastle ministry. The two regiments from the Irish Army were composed largely of unreliable Irish conscripts and raw recruits who joined in America. Rather than wonder why Braddock was defeated, one should marvel that he was even able to reach the Monongahela with his undisciplined little army.

Instead of learning from the misfortunes of 1755, the Newcastle government continued to follow the same general policy throughout 1756. Two more Irish regiments were sent to America to be raised to full strength and the colonies were again requested to provide men for those regiments already in America. The chief innovation of 1756 was the raising of a new regiment of four battalions of 1,000 men each. The officers and non-commissioned officers of the new regiment (Royal Americans) were recruited in Europe and the rank and file came largely from among the Germans of Pennsylvania. Four battalions were eventually raised but as the prestige of the British army in North America steadily decreased it became correspondingly more difficult to procure enlistments.

Instead of carrying out the anticipated descent on England, the assembled French troops attacked and overwhelmed the small British garrison on Minorca. The British ministry

had sufficient advance warning of the French buildup in the Mediterranean to send reinforcements, but Newcastle was convinced that the preparations were a feint to divert attention from the invasion of England. But by the end of March, 1756, even he realized the true import of the French preparations and dispatched Admiral John Byng with a hurriedly gathered force of ten leaky and undermanned ships to reinforce Minorca. Byng failed to relieve the island and the garrison was forced to surrender after an heroic resistance. When the news reached England, the people rioted and the ministers were publicly condemned for procrastination, neglect of the proper precautions, and even treason.²⁰ Fortunately, a scapegoat was at hand in the person of the unlucky Admiral Byng, who was tried, condemned, and hanged from his own yardarm "pour encourager les autres," as Voltaire cynically phrased it.²¹

Two days before Admiral Byng engaged the French fleet besieging Minorca, the British government received the news that France had finally attacked the island. This was the overt act of hostility for which England had been scheming and a formal declaration of war was quickly issued. A new commander-in-chief for the colonies had been appointed earlier

²⁰Lord Mahon, History of England, IV, 95-109.

²¹Quoted in Brian Connell, The Savage Years (New York, 1959), 91.

the same month and two more undermanned British regiments embarked from Cork under the command of General Abercrombie. The attack on Minorca labeled France as the aggressor and England could call on her allies and expect the neutrality of Spain and Holland.²² Lord Loudon was allowed to leave for America to assume his new duties as commander-in-chief and tentative efforts were made to increase the army and navy.

The expansion of the war into Europe after the formal declaration created an intense demand for more troops which could not be met by the usual methods of recruiting. The Duke of Newcastle was no Jason of Argonaut fame and "strong men armed" did not spring up from the earth to fill the ranks of the British regiments. Press gangs scoured the seaports of the British Isles, pushing their activities into areas where they had never before ventured, and recruiting parties were sent even into the remote islands and mountain glens of Wales and Scotland in an effort to satisfy the hunger for more men. The limited success of these efforts led to Orders in Council providing for increased bounties and enlistment bonuses as well as the payment of rewards to informers. Petty malfactors were released from jail on condition of their enlistment in the marching regiments and the peace-time physical requirements were lowered.

²²Sherrard, Lord Chatham, 50.

Appeals were sent to all parts of England to aid in the national effort and such cities as London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh offered supplementary bonuses to encourage volunteers to enlist in the army. Private individuals offered smaller inducements in an effort to further the national cause.

The French reacted to the official declaration of war by dispatching a new commander, the Marquis de Montcalm, and a reinforcement of 1,200 regular troops for service in North America. Montcalm was an experienced soldier and realized two battalions were not enough, but the French government concentrated its resources for the impending conflict in Europe. Twelve hundred was all that could be spared. Although the two battalions were from LaSarre and Royal Roussillon, both crack regiments, the number seems especially insignificant compared with the hundred thousand who would shortly be fighting Maria Theresa's battles against Frederick of Prussia.²³

Montcalm's arrival in Canada brought the number of regular land troops to 3,752. In addition to these, there were present in the colony 1,950 marine troops who were under the control of the Department of the Marine and approximately 14,000 militia.²⁴ These latter were excellent woods fighters but were considered unreliable when forced to fight a

²³Thomas Chapais, Le Marquis de Montcalm (Quebec, 1911), 54-55.

²⁴Ibid., 80-81.

European-style battle. Montcalm was never able to assemble more than 4,000 Canadian militia at one time and was forced to rely heavily upon his regular troops, of which he never had enough. The 1200 men of LaSarre and Royal Roussillon were the last full battalions sent to Canada due to the needs of the European war and the effectiveness of the British blockade, but the force of 20,000 men capable of bearing arms was vastly superior in numbers and firepower to anything available at that time in British North America.²⁵

If the commencement of hostilities in Europe effectively limited the number of troops France could spare for the defense of her colonies, it is readily apparent that Great Britain, with an army less than one-tenth the size of the French army, was in a perilous position. As soon as war was declared continued fear of a French invasion forced the British government to bring over 8,000 troops from Hesse and Hanover to defend the coasts of England. The introduction of foreign troops was regarded as a "blot upon our military history" by the opposition to Newcastle and his Whig ministry, but it allayed the invasion panic and bought the time required for more effective measures.²⁶ Parliament voted large sums of money to provide for increasing the military forces while new laws were enacted providing for the

²⁵Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, Part One, 103.

²⁶Corbett, England in the Seven Years War, I, 139.

the enlistment of indentured servants and felons as well as for increasing enlistment bonuses.²⁷

In the fall of 1756 the ministerial crisis which had been impending since the fall of Minorca came to a head after the news of fresh reverses which were "laid at the door of Newcastle's half-hearted measures...."²⁸ From America the news was less sensational but much more serious; instead of allowing himself to be pushed back by Lord Loudon, the Marquis de Montcalm had captured Fort Oswego, the most important British post on the Great Lakes. The accumulation of misfortunes in 1756 finally put England in a state of angry and sullen despondency almost unparalleled in her history. The popular clamor became so insistent that the Newcastle cabinet was forced to resign.²⁹

On November 15, 1756, William Pitt became the principal Secretary of State in a new cabinet under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Devonshire. Pitt accepted the post on his own terms. He publicly asserted that only he could save England and made it a sine qua non that the House of Commons agree to vote everything he asked even before he agreed to join the ministry. The government was quickly reorganized

²⁷See Scot's Magazine, XVIII (January, 1756), 47, for the text of the Order in Council establishing enlistment bounties, and XVIII (July, 1756), 324, for the text of the Act providing for the enlistment of indentured servants for service in America.

²⁸Corbett, England in the Seven Years War, I, 49.

²⁹N. E. Whitton, Wolfe and North America (Boston, 1929), 188.

according to Pitt's requirements and Parliament voted on appropriation of one million pounds for 1757 as compared to the 200,000 pounds so grudgingly granted for 1756.³⁰

The main lines of the war policy which is Pitt's chief claim to fame were set forth in the speech he prepared for King George II to be delivered from the throne on December 2, 1756.³¹ Before the end of December a new militia bill was passed, increased subsidies were voted to enable Frederick of Prussia to maintain the army of 100,000 men with which he was keeping at bay 500,000 encircling enemies, the Hessian and Hanoverian troops were sent home, and new policies put into operation to increase the military forces.

Long before Pitt came to power it was apparent that the unsystematic hole-and-corner methods of coercion and bribery and the antagonizing tyranny of the press-gangs were inadequate to meet the rapidly increasing demand for troops. Pitt was convinced the manpower needs of the nation could be met by increasing the inducement for voluntary enlistments and by making military life more attractive. By far the most important single measure taken by Pitt to increase the regular army, however, was the recruiting of entire new regiments from among the Highland "Jacobite" clans of Scotland.

³⁰Stanley Fargellis, Lord Loudon in North America (New Haven, 1933), 286.

³¹See Appendix A for an extract of King George's speech.

This was indeed an innovation which Pitt must be given the credit for implementing, although the idea was not new.³²

Pitt had few friends. He had long been bitterly disliked by the King for his antagonistic policy toward Hanover and had no real following of his own. Newcastle, despite his obvious incompetence, retained his majority in both houses and immediately began to intrigue for Pitt's downfall. The machinations of his enemies succeeded in driving him out of the cabinet for a brief period, but before the fall of his first ministry Pitt inaugurated the policies of victory.³³

³²After the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 removed the Stuart dynasty from the British throne there were numerous people, especially in the Scottish Highlands, who continued to recognize James II and his descendants as the legitimate rulers. They are called "Jacobites" from Jacobus, the Latin form of James. Those people who supported the Hanoverian dynasty, the supremacy of Parliament, and the rights of the people, as opposed to Stuart absolutism, were called "Whigs." There were a number of Jacobite rebellions after 1689, the most important of which took place in 1715 and 1745, and the House of Hanover and its adherents viewed the pro-Stuart faction with fear and distrust. See George F. Insh, The Jacobite Movement (Edinburgh, 1952).

³³Corbett, England in the Seven Years War, I, 156.

Chapter Two

The enlightened ministry of William Pitt finally made possible the half-dreaded policy of raising new regiments from among the Jacobite clans of the Scottish Highlands.¹ The idea of raising troops in Scotland and even in the Highlands was no novelty, but never before 1757 had the British government been willing to recruit any Highlanders whose loyalty to the House of Hanover was in doubt. As early as 1743 there were seven Scottish regiments in the British service, six of which fought at Fontenoy. Certain regiments, such as the famous First Regiment of Foot, were raised in Scotland and had been on the establishment for over three quarters of a century when the new Highland regiments were recruited. But all of the Scottish regiments in the British service in 1756, except the illustrious Black Watch, were raised in the Lowlands of Scotland and included others than Scots in their ranks.

The Black Watch was a Highland regiment which could trace its history back at least as far as 1725. There was a great deal of political unrest in the Highlands after the unsuccessful Jacobite rebellion of 1715 in addition to the usual clan feuds and cattle stealing. As a result, the

¹Corbett, England in the Seven Years War, I, 152.

British government passed a Disarming Act in 1725 in an attempt to restore order and prevent another rebellion. The government felt that the Act would be more effective if enforced by men who knew the country and who would be less resented than the hated English soldiers. Six independent companies of Highland constabulary or "watch" were raised in 1725 from among the Whig clans to preserve the peace in the Highlands. Great care was taken to be certain that only men loyal to the government were recruited and the officers were, without a known exception, adherents of the Hanoverian dynasty.²

The Highland constabulary or "Black Watch," as they came to be called because of the predominately dark colors in their different clan tartans, proved to be very effective and were rewarded in 1739 by being regimented into the British army. The original regimental designation of the Black Watch was Forty-three, but it was changed to the Forty-second Regiment of Foot in 1740 after the old regiment bearing that number was reduced. As the Forty-second the regiment served with distinction in Europe until the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought an end to the war. Soon after the cessation of hostilities the Black Watch was reduced to a peace-time footing of approximately 477 men and sent to Ireland as part of the

²R. Mony Barnes, The Uniforms and History of the Scottish Regiments (London, 1956), 50-58.

permanent garrison of that country. It remained in Ireland until 1756 when it was ordered to North America as part of Lord Loudon's command.³

The second occasion for the raising of a Highland regiment came in 1745. The great bravery and fighting ability displayed by the Black Watch at Fontenoy encouraged the British government to raise more Highland troops and, accordingly, authority was given to the Earl of Loudon to raise a regiment. The government insisted upon the requirement that only Highlanders from the Whig clans be recruited and the composition of the new regiment (Lord Loudon's Highlanders) was essentially the same as the Black Watch. The great 'Forty-five' rebellion broke out before it was completely organized and nearly half of the troops were taken prisoner during the Battle of Preston Pans and the remainder put to flight under ignominious circumstances. After the rebellion was crushed the regiment was re-formed and sent to join the army in Flanders where it served without distinction in Europe until the war ended. It was disbanded in 1748.⁴

³Historical Record of the Forty-Second Regiment of Foot (London, 1844), 26-43. See also Charles Dickens (ed.) "Famous British Regiments," All the Year Round, IX, No. 227 (New Series), (April 5, 1873), 492-496, and Charles E. MacDonald "The Highland Regiments and Their Origins," Canadian Magazine, VII (1966), 259-263.

⁴Robert M. Holden, "The First Highland Regiment; The Argyllshire Highlanders," Scottish Historical Review, III, (1906), 27-40, and Frank Adam, The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands (Edinburgh, 1924), 289.

The principal difference between the new regiments which Pitt was instrumental in raising and the other Scottish regiments was that the latter were recruited only from loyal (Whig) Scots and were commanded by officers of undoubted attachment to the House of Hanover. On the other hand, the two new regiments were recruited entirely from among the Jacobite clans and their officers were former supporters of the Stuarts. The largest single contingent in the two regiments was recruited from Clan Fraser which had furnished over 900 men for the Jacobite army--the largest unit in that army at Culloden. As near as can be determined, Archibald Montgomery and his adjutant Hugh Montgomery were the only officers in the two regiments who were not Highlanders.⁵

Pitt is usually given credit for the idea of utilizing the military instincts of the disaffected clans by enrolling their members as soldiers of the British army but that credit really belongs to Lord President Forbes of Culloden. Forbes was a loyal supporter of the Hanoverian dynasty who recommended as early as 1739 that the British government give scope to the military instincts of the Scots while keeping them loyal to the government in the event of another Jacobite rebellion. Sir Robert Walpole, the chief minister, and Lord Islay, the government's manager of Scottish affairs,

⁵James Browne, History of the Highlands (Glasgow, 1838), 327.

warmly approved the idea but it was vetoed by the cabinet.⁶ Six years later the great 'Forty-five' rebellion broke out and Forbe's fears were realized. The rising was quelled only after a year of hard fighting during which George II came close to losing Scotland. Memories of the 'Fifteen' and 'Forty-five' remained fresh in the minds of the king and his Whig ministers and they vigorously opposed the raising of Jacobite Highland regiments when the idea was first mentioned. It was not until January of 1757 that the old fear of Jacobitism was overwhelmed by the desperate need for troops, and even such a bitter foe of the Highlanders as Prince William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland, recognized their superb fighting abilities.⁷ They became "an asset of extra-ordinary value to the state in the time of need, just as the same qualities had made them, as once disaffected subjects, a constant peril."⁸

On January 22, 1757, a notice appeared in the London Gazette, the official organ of the British army, that "The King has been pleased to appoint the following gentlemen to be officers in the two Highland battalions to be forthwith

⁶Adam, Clans, Septs and Regiments, 279-280. The Black Watch companies were formed in 1725 but it must be remembered that they were recruited from among loyal Highland clans.

⁷John Bulloch, Territorial Soldiering in the North East of Scotland during 1759-1814 (Aberdeen, 1914), xxiv.

⁸Gipson, The Victorious Years, 16.

raised...."⁹ The Honorable Simon Fraser was given the honor of raising troops for the government due to Pitt's advice to the king that this would help to conciliate the heads of the powerful Highland Jacobite families. Fraser was the son of Lord Lovat who was executed for his part in the rising of 1745.¹⁰ Although the Lovat estates had been fortified and he possessed no land of his own, Fraser's personal popularity and his influence as Chief of Clan Fraser were so great that in less than two months he was able to muster 1460 men.

Fraser also used his influence with his own clansmen as well as the MacDonalds, Camerons, MacLeans and other Jacobite clans to help Archibald Montgomery complete the other Highland regiment. Montgomery was not a Highlander, but as the heir of the Earl of Eglinton, he had powerful connections in the Highlands despite his Whig antecedents. As soon as the two regiments were completed they were mustered at Glasgow on April 26 and 27, 1757. Montgomery outranked Fraser socially so his commission was dated January 4, 1756, and his regiment received the lower numerical designation of Seventy-seven. Fraser, despite the fact that he had raised most of the men, received his commission as Lieutenant-colonel dated January 5, 1756, and his regiment was

⁹See Appendix B.

¹⁰Bruce G. Seton, (ed), The Prisoners of the Forty-five (3 vols.; Edinburgh, 1928), I, 294.

numbered Seventy-eight. Both regiments were ordered aboard transports and taken to Cork in Ireland to complete their training and await orders.¹¹

The apparent ease and speed with which the Highland regiments were raised has led even such a careful historian as John Bulloch to give currency to the facile theory that

when Great Britain set out on her sixty years of World conquest in 1757, she had only to beckon to her northern people and soldiers sprang to attention like gourds, if only because the spirit of military adventure satisfied the martial hunger of a race that had been reared on fighting, but had been deliberately starved for forty years by reason of its exploits on behalf of Jacobitism.¹²

The impression one receives from George S. Pryde's Scotland is that the noble chiefs and their loyal followers repented their folly of supporting the Stuarts and were waiting eagerly in the wings until the British government deigned to accept their services. Pryde claims that "by mid-century, Jacobitism was a mere sentiment, a far off memory, the theme of many a plaintive song; and even those who were ready to pledge the king over the water knew in their hearts it was best he should stay there."¹³ This may be an accurate summary of the situation in the Lowlands and in the cities of Scotland, but such was not the case in the Highlands.

¹¹Scot's Magazine, XIX (May, 1757), 259.

¹²Bulloch, Territorial Soldiering, xix-xx.

¹³George S. Pryde, Scotland from 1602 to the Present Day (2 vols.; Edinburgh, 1962), I, 66.

Few Highlanders in 1756 were likely to forget the orgy of savagery and bloodshed which took place after the destruction of the Jacobite cause on the battlefield of Culloden in April of 1746. The wounded survivors of the Jacobite army were murdered and those who escaped were hunted like animals by the government troops of 'Butcher Billy' Cumberland. The Highlands were laid waste and those chiefs and leaders who didn't escape to France were taken to London and executed under particularly barbarous circumstances. Far from being content with the bloody suppression of the Jacobite movement, the British government resolved to destroy the very spirit of the Scottish people and the peculiar set of institutions which had made Jacobitism possible.¹⁴

On August 12, 1746, the British Parliament passed another Disarming Act which went much further than the Act of 1725. The Highland dress was forbidden on pain of imprisonment and/or banishment for life, all weapons were to be surrendered on pain of death, and severe penalties were provided for teachers and ministers who failed to pray for King George II by name. Even the bagpipes were outlawed as a weapon of war and those who played them were liable to suffer the extreme penalty. Young boys and old men in the remote Highland glens who had never heard of the Disarming Act were shot

¹⁴Adam, Clans, Sects and Regiments, 275; Audrey Cunningham, The Loyal Clans (Cambridge, 1932), 136.

down by Cumberland's army patrols when found wearing articles of clothing made from tartan cloth.¹⁵

Next came the Heritable Jurisdiction Act of 1747 which was aimed at abolishing the clan system. The hereditary chiefs were forbidden by law to have any followers and were turned into a class of landlords by being recognized as the owners of the former common territory of the clans. The chiefs were encouraged to live in England in order to adopt English ways and a taste for luxury which could only be met by increasing their rent rolls. The first class to suffer by the increased demands were the 'tacksman,' the relatives of the chiefs who stood between them and the clansmen and acted as stewards in time of peace and as officers of the clan array in battle.¹⁶ These men were the class from which most of the recruits for Fraser's and Montgomery's regiments were drawn. By the time of the American Revolution a large proportion of the tacksman class had emigrated to North America.

In 1746 the Highlanders were a nation of warriors and their chiefs were leaders of men. By 1748 they were reduced to a community of peasants, subject to the arbitrary will of their erstwhile chiefs, who now became their landlords.

¹⁵Insh, Jacobite Movement, 128-148; John C. Mackay, "The Disarming Act and Proscription of the Highland Dress," Celtic Magazine, IV, No. 8 (May, 1884), 311.

¹⁶Pryde, Scotland, I, 65, 151.

From 1748 to the declaration of war in 1756 many of the Highlanders emigrated to America, France, Sweden, and even Poland and Russia, to escape the exactions of their landlords and the restrictions of British military occupation of their country. After 1756, the war with France made it nearly impossible to leave the country and many chose to enlist in the British army rather than face slow starvation on tiny Highland crofts.

One of the main attractions of service in the Highland regiments was that the Disarming Act allowed troops in government service to wear Highland dress. It is also true that the Highlanders in many cases were eager to enlist in the new regiments so long as they were serving with their friends and relatives and were commanded by their hereditary chiefs, but they didn't rush to join out of love for the "Sassanach" King George. Fraser had no trouble raising his regiment, but recruiting wasn't so easy for Montgomery and other strangers. In June of 1756 the 700 new recruits for Lord Murray's regiment (Black Watch) included at least sixty pressed men.¹⁷ Mutinies occasionally occurred when men who had enlisted in a certain regiment were separated from their friends and sent to another where they would be deprived of their Highland dress.

The method employed by Fraser for raising his regiment was, with a few minor modifications, used throughout the

¹⁷Edinburgh Review, XVIII (June 7, 1757), 302.

remainder of the eighteenth century for raising Highland regiments.¹⁸ It consisted basically of an important nobleman asking and receiving permission to raise troops on his own estates and on those of his kinsmen and friends. The War Office had no connection with the regiment until it was accepted into the army and, consequently, was not concerned with how it was raised. The men who received the license to raise a regiment were in a sense its proprietors. They subcontracted to others the job of raising companies in return for commissions as captains or lieutenants according to the number of men each could muster.¹⁹ The legal authority to raise a regiment and the conditions attached thereto were embodied in a "letter of service," issued in the King's name by the Secretary of War and the actual recruiting was authorized by a "beating order," also signed by the Secretary.²⁰

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the officers as well as many of the non-commissioned officers and privates of Fraser's and Montgomery's regiments were recruited from the tacksman class and boasted varying degree of kinship with their chief. It was one of the peculiarities of the clan system that the lowest private in the ranks could

¹⁸See Edward M. Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution (New Haven, 1926), 68-70.

¹⁹Adams, Clans, Sects, and Regiments, 281.

²⁰Curtis, Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, 68.

consider himself a gentleman and a swineherd could succeed to the chieftainship if he stood in the line of descent from a chief. This situation fostered a powerful sense of clan loyalty and a devotion to their officers not found in other regiments.²¹ It would not be a great exaggeration to say that the first of the Highland regiments, especially the Frasers, resembled the old clan battle arrays to a greater extent than they resembled British Regiments. The differences were mainly in outward appearance--the former cattle thieves and semi-brigands merely put on the red coats of the "policemen of civilization" over their native dress and accepted the King's shilling.²²

It is not surprising that such men needed very little inducement to enlist in the new regiments. The Jacobite defeat at Culloden put an end to the way of life which fostered a military tradition and the changing economic situation in the Highlands made fighting men superfluous. The choice between slow starvation on a tiny plot of unproductive soil and the comparative security of military service in a regiment composed entirely of fellow clansmen and friends was not a difficult one. The enlistment bonus, in many cases

²¹Wallace Notestein, The Scot in History, A Study of the Interplay of Character and History (New Haven, 1947), 197.

²²A prospective recruit was not legally bound to honor any enlistment agreement unless he actually accepted money from the recruiter. The amount involved varied but the legal act of enlistment came to be called "taking the King's shilling." See Charles M. Clode, The Military Forces of the Crown (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 237.

as much as a pound, was often an irresistible temptation since it represented more money than most Highlanders had ever possessed at one time.

One writer discounts the extent of voluntary enlistment and asserts that the ranks were filled mainly by various types of bribery, pressure, and threats.²³ This may have been true after 1758 when recruits became more scarce, but it was apparently not the case when the Frasers and Montgomerys were raised. Most writers on the history of the Highland regiments follow the lead of General Stewart of Garth and emphatically deny that the early regiments were raised by any such "base" inducements.²⁴ In answer to the charge it can be demonstrated that both the Frasers and the Montgomerys kept recruiting parties in the Highlands throughout the war and experienced no difficulty in securing recruits, while recruiting parties from other regiments, including the Black Watch, had trouble finding replacements.

According to Curtis the Highland regiments followed the same internal organization as other British regiments except that the companies were much larger in the Scottish regiments. A Highland regiment contained eight battalions

²³Bulloch, Territorial Soldiering, xxx.

²⁴David Stewart, Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with Details of the Highland Regiments (2 vols.; Edinburgh, 1825), II, 308.

companies, one company of grenadiers, and one company of light infantry. Each battalion company consisted of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, five sergeants, five corporals, two drummers, and one hundred privates. The flank companies (grenadiers and light infantry) each consisted of one captain, three lieutenants, five sergeants, five corporals, two drummers, two pipers, and one hundred privates. The regiment was commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel and a major, assisted by an adjutant and a quarter-master sergeant. In addition most regiments had a chaplain, a surgeon, and two surgeon's mates. The authorized number of privates was 1,082 and the colonel received levy money, pay, and subsistence for that number. The surplus seems to have been placed in some sort of slush fund for emergency expenses.²⁵

The principal task of a new colonel, once he had recruited his regiment, was to furnish it with food, clothing, and weapons. Unlike the other British regiments, the Highlanders were not subjected to the rigorous discipline and incessant drilling recently imported from Germany, yet there was apparently some attention given to the subject because the existing Scots regiments were required to furnish eighty

²⁵Stewart, Sketches, II, 165-167. The above organization must be viewed with the caveat that it applies to a Highland regiment raised in 1777. The ordinary British regiment throughout the eighteenth century varied from 315 to about 900 but the basic ten company battalion organization was usually followed.

Gaelic speaking non-commissioned officers to the two new regiments. R. Money Barnes, a well-known authority on the Highland regiments, claims that drill was only used as a punishment but that marksmanship training was strongly encouraged.²⁶ It has been observed that the Highlanders were accustomed to the use of their native weapons from infancy, and needed no special training, but the Disarming Act of 1746 must have had some prohibitory effect on such training since the possession of weapons was forbidden on pain of death or imprisonment.

The weapons carried by the Highland soldier consisted of a fusil, a Highland pistol all of steel, a broadsword, a bayonet, a dagger or dirk, and sometimes the ancient Highland round shield known as a targe. The fusil or carbine was a lighter and shorter version of the "Brown Bess," the standard service weapon of the British soldier throughout the eighteenth century.²⁷ The Brown Bess fusil had a barrel of forty-two inches and weighed about nine and a half pounds. It was of .75 caliber and fired a one-ounce leaden ball with accuracy up to about eighty yards in the hands of ordinary troops and could be fired at the rate of five times per minute.²⁸ By the time of the French and

²⁶Barnes, History of the Scottish Regiments, 66.

²⁷Adams, Clans, Septs and Regiments, 280-81; Charles Dickens, "The Brown Bess Gun," All the Year Round, XI (February 13, 1864), 18-24.

²⁸Howard Blackmore, British Military Firearms, 1650-1850 (London, 1961), 78.

Indian War a paper cartridge was in general use, and each soldier carried approximately sixty rounds in a leather cartouche box supported by a wide belt over his left shoulder.²⁹

The favorite weapons of the Highland troops were the huge double-edged broadsword, sometimes called claymores, and the peculiarly shaped all metal Highland pistol.³⁰ The swords were in many cases cherished heirlooms which the owners had managed to retain despite the Disarming Act. Those who did not have swords were provided with one by the government which, along with the musket and bayonet, remained government property. The pistols were furnished by the colonel of each regiment and remained regimental property. They were usually worn on the left side suspended from a special hook on the waist belt. The procurement of a dirk or dagger was usually left to the individual soldier.

The weapons of the officers in the Highland regiments were similar to those of the enlisted men but were of better quality and more ornamental. The non-commissioned officers were distinguished by the long-handled Lochaber axe which they carried instead of the fusil. This weapon was particularly useful in scaling operations and close fighting and was retained even though the officers abandoned

²⁹Edward B. Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, 15.

³⁰Geoffrey Boothroyd, Guns through the Ages (New York, 1961), 44-45. See also Claud Blair, European and American Arms (New York, 1952), 459-467; John M. Gray, "Scottish Arms and Tartans," Scottish Review, XXIII (1874), 269-295; and "Highland Arms and Dress," Antiquary, V, 56-58.

their traditional spontoons, long shafted spears, while serving in America.³¹

Although the standard equipment of a British infantryman in the field consisted of a knapsack with extra clothing and personal belongings, a haversack with four day's provisions, a blanket, a canteen, and a fifth share of the mess gear and equipment belonging to his tent, plus sixty rounds of ammunition--a weight of nearly sixty pounds--the man of Montgomery's and Fraser's regiments travelled much lighter. They carried very little extra clothing and personal belongings besides their weapons, and apparently needed less food than the other soldiers. For many of them the only knapsack was the goat or badgerskin sporran, or pouch, which they wore suspended from their waist belts. The twelve foot length of woollen tartan served as clothing and blanket and was often the only tent the Highlanders needed.

The uniforms of the two new Highland regiments originally consisted of the familiar red coat of the British army and the tartan kilts of the different clans but the Montgomery regiment adopted the government tartan worn by the Black Watch when they arrived in America.³² Not so the Frasers; they resisted every attempt to deprive them of

³¹Curtis, Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, 121. See George C. Stone, A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armor (New York, 1934), 416-417, for a description and several illustrations of the Lochaber Axe and 580-581 for a description of the spontoon.

³²Barnes, History of the Scottish Regiments, 65.

their Highland dress. The commanding general considered the kilt unfit for the severe winters and hot summers but Colonel Fraser explained the Highlanders' strong attachment to their national dress and attempts to change it were temporarily dropped.³³ The Seventy-eighth continued to wear their Fraser tartan kilts and Highland bonnets until the regiment was disbanded in 1763.

³³Adam, Clans, Septs, and Regiments, 291.

Chapter III

Soon after the two Highland regiments had been mustered at Glasgow and accepted into the British service they were sent to Ireland to await disposition.¹ On March 31, 1757, Pitt ordered Colonel Fraser to march his regiment to Cork where they were to board transports for Halifax in Nova Scotia.² Colonel Montgomery was sent orders on the same day to embark at Cork for Charleston in South Carolina.³ Notices were also sent to Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina and Lord Loudon to inform them of the dispatch of the two Highland regiments.⁴

One week later Pitt was turned out of the ministry and from April 5 to the formation of the new Pitt-Newcastle coalition ministry on June 29, 1757, there was no effective leadership. Military and colonial affairs drifted during

¹Edinburgh Review, XIV (May, 1757), 254.

²Pitt to Fraser, March 31, 1757, Gertrude Kimball, (ed), Correspondence of William Pitt When Secretary of State with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America (2 vols.; New York, 1906), I, 27.

³Pitt to Montgomery, March 31, 1757, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 27.

⁴Pitt to Governor Lyttleton, March 31, 1757; Pitt to Lord Loudon, March 31, 1757, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 28, 29.

the ten weeks and the regiments waiting at Cork for their embarkation orders did not sail for America until June 30.⁵ Bad weather made the crossing difficult and the transports carrying Fraser's regiment did not reach Nova Scotia until August 24. Montgomery reached Charleston a week later.⁶

The Highland regiments reached America too late in the season to be of any military value since preparations for the conquest of Louisbourg had ended in dismal failure even before they arrived. Admiral Holburne's fleet was broken in a hurricane and half of his ships were demasted and one was lost. The day after the Frasers arrived in Halifax, Holburne wrote to Loudon, "Thus, Sir, ends our famous expedition to America in the year 1757."⁷ When the news of the failure of the Louisbourg expedition reached London together with the news of loss of Fort William Henry, Loudon was recalled and General Abercromby appointed Commander-in-Chief in America.⁸

The only casualty suffered by the Highlanders at Halifax was the death of a young private who was shot by a

⁵Scot's Magazine, XIX (July, 1757), 375.

⁶Lyttleton to Pitt, Sept. 3, 1757, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 99.

⁷Stanley Fargellis, Lord Loudon in North America.

⁸Pitt to Abercromby, Pitt to Loudon, Dec. 30, 1757, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 133-134.

British sentry when he answered the challenge in a strange language. The victim was returning from his morning bath in the bay and his long hair and the shape of his Highland dress in the thick fog made the sentry mistake him for an Indian. "Culloden and the Jacobite Rebellion were only twelve years gone" and many of the Highlanders spoke only their native Gaelic and understood little English. Shortly afterwards the Highland regiment was moved away from the English to quarters in Dartmouth, across the bay from Halifax.⁹ Finally on October 25 the regiment was embarked on the frigate Scarborough and carried to New York where arrangements were made to quarter them for the winter.¹⁰

Due to a long and involved quarrel which occurred the year before between Lord Loudon and the New York and Massachusetts assemblies, the Frasers went into winter quarters in Connecticut. Pitt requested quarters in Massachusetts in his letter of March 31, 1756, and Governor Pownall had assured him of their availability, but a dispute arose with the Massachusetts legislature as to the application of the Militia Act. The Seventy-eighth was finally billeted in southwestern Connecticut, where they were given ample

⁹Harrison Bird, Battle for a Continent, 166.

¹⁰Admiral Holburne to Pitt, Nov. 4, 1757, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 125.

¹¹Pitt to Pownall, March 31, 1757, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 101. See Pargellis, Lord Loudon in North America. Chapter VII, for an excellent discussion of the quartering problem.

accommodations without fuss or controversy in the towns of Fairfield, Milford, Norwalk, Stanford, and Stalford until they moved out in preparation for the campaign of the spring of 1758.¹²

The Montgomery Highlanders did not fare so well during the winter of 1756-57. They were sent to South Carolina at the request of Charles Pickney, Governor Lyttleton, and other prominent citizens, but no arrangements were made to provide them with winter quarters. The provinces of Georgia and South Carolina enjoyed security with the arrival of Montgomery's regiment but the wealthy planters refused until late in October to begin building barracks for the troops. It was only after serious protests that they were persuaded to provide even the customary cooking utensils, bedding and firewood. Several of the Highlanders died from exposure and many others might have suffered a similar fate if several hundred of the residents of Charleston hadn't taken them voluntarily into their homes.¹³ Indignation over this treatment may have figured in Montgomery's decision to withdraw most of his regiment from South Carolina after the punitive expedition against the Cherokees in June of 1760.

While Fraser's and Montgomery's regiments were settling down for their first American winter in Connecticut and South Carolina, the Black Watch (42nd) was already billeted at Albany

¹²Gipson, The Victorious Years, 141.

¹³Ibid., 141.

for its second winter. The Black Watch was one of the two regiments from the Irish Establishment (the other was the 35th) which had arrived into America with Lord Loudon in June of 1756.¹⁴ It was sent immediately to Albany to guard the Hudson River frontier and was joined by nearly 700 recruits from Scotland a month later.¹⁵ The regiment saw no action during the winter and spring of 1756-57 but spent much time learning the new light infantry tactics of bushfighting and sharp-shooting. In June of 1757 the Black Watch was ordered to New York where it was brigaded with the Seventeenth, Forty-sixth, and a battalion of the Sixteenth, under the command of General Abercromby. After the abortive Louisbourg expedition the regiment returned to Albany where it remained until the spring of 1758.¹⁶

The year 1757 was another one of continued military success for the French in North America. They maintained an aggressive offensive from Georgia to Cape Breton and forced the abandonment of most of the western settlements of the British provinces. A French fleet successfully reinforced Canada with 3500 regulars, thus checkmating the massive British effort at Louisbourg. Fort William Henry had been conquered and destroyed by the Marquis de Montcalm and the French were in undisputed control of Lakes Ontario, George

¹⁴Historical Record of the Forty-second, 45.

¹⁵Scot's Magazine, XVIII (June, 1756), 302.

¹⁶Historical Record of the Forty-second, 46.

and Champlain.¹⁷ The total lack of any results favorable to the British led William Pitt to describe the operations of 1757 as "the last inactive and unhappy campaign" and caused him to assure the colonial governors that Britain was preparing for the "most vigorous and extensive efforts to avert by the blessing of God on His arms, the Dangers impending in North America."¹⁸

Pitt was determined to make a mighty effort in 1758 to redeem the sinking prestige of Great Britain. Appropriations for the conduct of the war in Europe included provisions for 60,000 British seamen and marines as well as 50,000 additional land troops. Increased subsidies were granted to Prussia, Hanover, and Hesse-Cassel and a plan drawn up for the military operation in North America.¹⁹ General James Abercromby held the chief command in America but it quickly became apparent that he was to be no more than an executor of Pitt's orders.

The grand strategy in America was to involve nearly 30,000 regulars and over 25,000 provincials in four separate expeditions. The four-pronged operation was to include simultaneous attack's on Louisbourg, Ticonderoga, Frontenac, and Fort Duquesne, and the respective commanders were General Jeffery

¹⁷Gipson, The Victorious Years, 167.

¹⁸Pitt to Governors of the Northern Colonies, Dec. 30, 1757, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 136.

¹⁹A Complete History of the Late War or Annual Register of its Rise, Progress, and Events in Europe, Asia, Africa and America (Dublin, 1774), 128.

Amherst, General James Abercromby, Colonel John Bradstreet, and General John Forbes.²⁰

Louisbourg was the first and largest operation of the campaign and neither men or supplies were stinted to assure its success. Amherst was recalled from Europe to command the forces and Colonels Lawrence, Whitmore, and Wolfe were promoted to serve as his three brigadiers. Fourteen regiments plus five hundred rangers and a train of artillery--a total of 13,142 men--made the expedition the most ambitious project yet attempted by the British in North America.²¹ The largest contingent present in the army was Fraser's Highland regiment of 1,084 men which was part of James Wolfe's brigade. Wolfe had learned to value Highland soldiers while stationed in Scotland and considered them "very useful serviceable soldiers, and commanded by the most manly crops of officers I ever saw."²²

According to Pitt's timetable the British fleet and the soldiers for Louisbourg were to be assembled at Halifax by the first week in April, but bad weather delayed Admiral Boscawen's arrival and it wasn't until May 28 that the great armada of fifty-seven ships was able to leave Halifax. The unfavorable weather continued and, although the fleet reached

²⁰See map preceding Chapter One.

²¹F. W. Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 209. See John S. McLennan, Louisbourg from Its Foundation to Its Fall (London, 1918), 262, for a complete listing of the forces involved in the expedition. The chart is reproduced as appendix D.

²²McLennan, Louisbourg, 241.

Gabarus Bay immediately west of Louisbourg on June 2, the sea was so rough that it was not until June 6 that a landing was finally attempted. The first effort failed because of the heavy surf and the men were ordered back to their ships. Finally, on Thursday, June 8, the weather cleared and the surf subsided enough to permit another attempt.²³

Although French resistance was stronger than had been anticipated, Amherst did not alter the plan of attack or change the disposition of his forces. The fourteen regiments were divided into three brigades -- Generals Whitmore and Lawrence each commanding six regiments and General Wolfe commanding Fraser's Regiment, the irregulars and and Light Infantry and the Grenadier companies from all thirteen regiments. The two larger brigades were to provide diversions and divide the French forces while Wolfe and his hand-picked men made the real attack at Freshwater Cove, the landing zone furthest from the fortress.²⁴

The landing area was defended by a force of over 2,000 French and Canadians and a battery of eight cannon was placed to control the approaches. As soon as the British boats came within range the French fired on them with grape-shot and muskets to such effect that Wolfe actually gave the signal to retreat. The signal was misunderstood or ignored

²³General Amherst to Pitt, June 11, 1758, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 271-276.

²⁴McLennan, Louisbourg, 251; Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 210; J. Macky Hitsman, "The Assault Landing at Louisbourg," Canadian Historical Review, XXX, No. 4 (December, 1954), 314-336.

by the subalterns and three boats managed to land enabling the Highlanders and Grenadiers to establish a small beach-head. Others followed and the French were forced from their entrenchments to the protection of the fortress.²⁵

Thus, with the loss of less than a hundred men, dead and wounded, what had been given up as impossible was accomplished. The Highland regiment had been in the hottest part of the battle and had suffered accordingly. Seventeen of the thirty-eight dead were from Fraser's regiment as were forty-one of the fifty-one wounded. Two of the three officers killed in the landing were Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert of the Highland regiment.²⁶

The fortress of Louisbourg put up a valiant defense and only surrendered after a siege of fifty-two days. Except for a few minor raids by Canadian militia and Indians on the rear of the beseiging army, no attempt was made to interfere with the siege. There was a small sortie but no assault, the British contenting themselves with blockading the city.²⁷ General Wolfe and his gallant Highlanders earned more glory and a few casualties during the siege by their capture of the Lighthouse Battery which enabled the British to secure

²⁵Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 210; Gipson, The Victorious Years, 214.

²⁶McLennan, Louisbourg, 253-63 includes six journal extracts from British participants and one French version of the battle. See also A Complete History of the Late War, 96-101, for a contemporary account of the landing at Gabarrus Bay and a list of casualties.

²⁷Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 214.

the harbor. The British fleet was then able to enter and pound the fortress into rubble with its heavy cannon and the French commandant was forced to surrender on July 26, 1758.

The victorious soldiers entered the next day. Eleven battle flags were captured, 5,637 prisoners, 120 cannons, 7000 muskets, and 11 ships of war. The total loss to the British army during the siege was about 500 killed and wounded. The Frasers lost sixty-seven killed and wounded. Among the dead were Lieutenants Alexander Fraser and James Murray.²⁸

On the same day the victorious British entered "the Gibraltar of the North," a report arrived that the expedition under General Abercromby had suffered a setback in its attack against Fort Ticonderoga (French Fort Carillon). The report was quickly verified and General Amherst sailed with four of his regiments to New York to try to salvage the situation.

General Abercromby had experienced great difficulties and delays in raising the provincial troops needed for his expedition and had not been able to leave his assembly camp on Lake George until the fifth of July, 1758. The army of 6,000 regulars and 9,000 provincials was embarked in 1200 small boats and the flotilla moved in orderly formation up

²⁸A Complete History of the Late War, June, 1758, 101-104; General Amherst to Pitt, July 27, 1758, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 305-307.

the lake. The water was smooth and the weather so fine that the British force was able to reach the narrow channel leading into Lake Champlain by daybreak of July 6.²⁹ The plan was to move inland along the western bank of the channel and attack Fort Ticonderoga from the rear.

The movement up Lake George was made in such an incredibly short time that the French had no idea the English were in the area. But the British presence became known when their advance guard blundered into a French detachment. Most of the French were killed or captured but Montcalm was warned and drew in his pickets for a siege.³⁰

Instead of continuing his advance, Abercromby ordered his troops back to the landing place when he learned that Lord Howe, his friend and second in command, had been killed in the skirmish in the woods. The French were thus given time to strengthen their defenses and call in all detachments and scouting parties. On the evening of July 7 General DeLevi's returned from an expedition against the Mohawks and added 400 more regulars to the little French garrison. The French troops worked all night felling trees and planting stakes and by mid-morning of July 8 felt ready to face the British assault.³¹

²⁹Gipson, The Victorious Years, 216.

³⁰Historical Record of the Forty-second, 46-27.

³¹Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 216.

The conduct of the attack on the French breastwork at Fort Ticonderoga could be called a comedy of errors except for the incredible bravery displayed by the British and colonial soldiers and the heroic exploits of the Black Watch. General Abercromby remained several miles to the rear, and relying upon the faulty report of a young officer of engineers, decided to attack the entrenchments and tangled abattis of felled trees with infantry alone. The cannon and mortars were left at the landing place and no effort was made to bring them up.³² The assault began in early afternoon and continued until past six o'clock. The British and colonists hurled themselves desperately against the breastwork again and again, only to be spitted on the abattis or shot down at point blank range.³³ Four attacks were made in five hours but were hurled back with great losses.

When the men of Black Watch saw even the Grenadiers and British regulars hurled back for the fourth time, they refused to remain in reserve any longer and rushed forward to join in a last supreme effort. The fury of the Highlanders put new life into the weary troops and the final assault nearly carried the breastwork. The Scots were able to cut their way through the tangled mass of the abattis with their heavy broadswords and the Locaber axes of the sergeants and reached

³²Bird, Battle for a Continent, 183-185, Gipson, The Victorious Years, 216.

³³Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 216.

the breastwork. But such effort as hacking footholds in the logs and climbing on one another's shoulders did not suffice because of the fire of the defenders. No ladders had been provided.³⁴

It soon proved impossible to carry the works although Captain John Campbell and ten men actually managed to get over the palisade where they were promptly bayoneted. The Highlanders kept up their attack for several hours and did not retreat from the breastwork until they received a third order and saw the army already in retreat. The remnants of the regiment fell back in good order and covered the retreat of the others. Alone of the British and American forces they brought off all of their wounded and many of their dead. The British returned to their camp on the south end of Lake George in even less time than they had come, losses preventing the French from pursuing.³⁵

The casualties suffered at Ticonderoga amounted to 1500 wounded and 550 dead. By far the greater proportion of the dead and wounded were British regulars among whom the Highlanders suffered the worst losses, their 297 dead and 306 wounded

³⁴Historical Record of the Forty-second, 47; John P. MacLean, An Historical Account of the Settlements of the Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783 (Glasgow, 1900), 261. See also C. E. Lart (ed.), "An Eyewitness Account of the British Repulse at Ticonderoga," Canadian Historical Review, II, No. 4 (December, 1921), 360-363.

³⁵Charles Dickens, "Famous British Regiments," All the Year Around, IX, No. 227, New Series (April 5, 1873), 492-98.

amounting to over half of the regiment. The French losses were placed at about 400.³⁶ Replacements from Scotland quickly restored the Black Watch to fighting strength.

Despite the fact that he still had over 11,000 effective troops and enough cannon to blast Ticonderoga into the lake, Abercromby put as much distance between himself and Montcalm as he could. He quickly embarked his troops and returned to his fortified camp at the head of Lake George. In justifying his retreat to his superiors he claimed that his command had sustained so "considerable a loss, without any Prospect of Success, that it was no longer prudent to remain before it," (Ticonderoga) and he therefore judged it necessary for the brave men, "not to risk total defeat."³⁷

While Abercromby cowered at Fort George his defeat was partially redeemed by the victory of the subsidiary operation against Fort Frontenac. Lieutenant-Colonel John Bradstreet with a force of 2500 provincial militia, 300 boatsmen, and two hundred regulars, made a nearly bloodless conquest of the important post and captured a great amount of stores. The plunder included most of the provisions intended for the French western posts, especially for Duquense. Most of the two hundred regulars on the expedition were members of the

³⁶Gipson, The Victorious Years, 231.

³⁷Abercromby to Pitt, July 12, 1758, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 273-74.

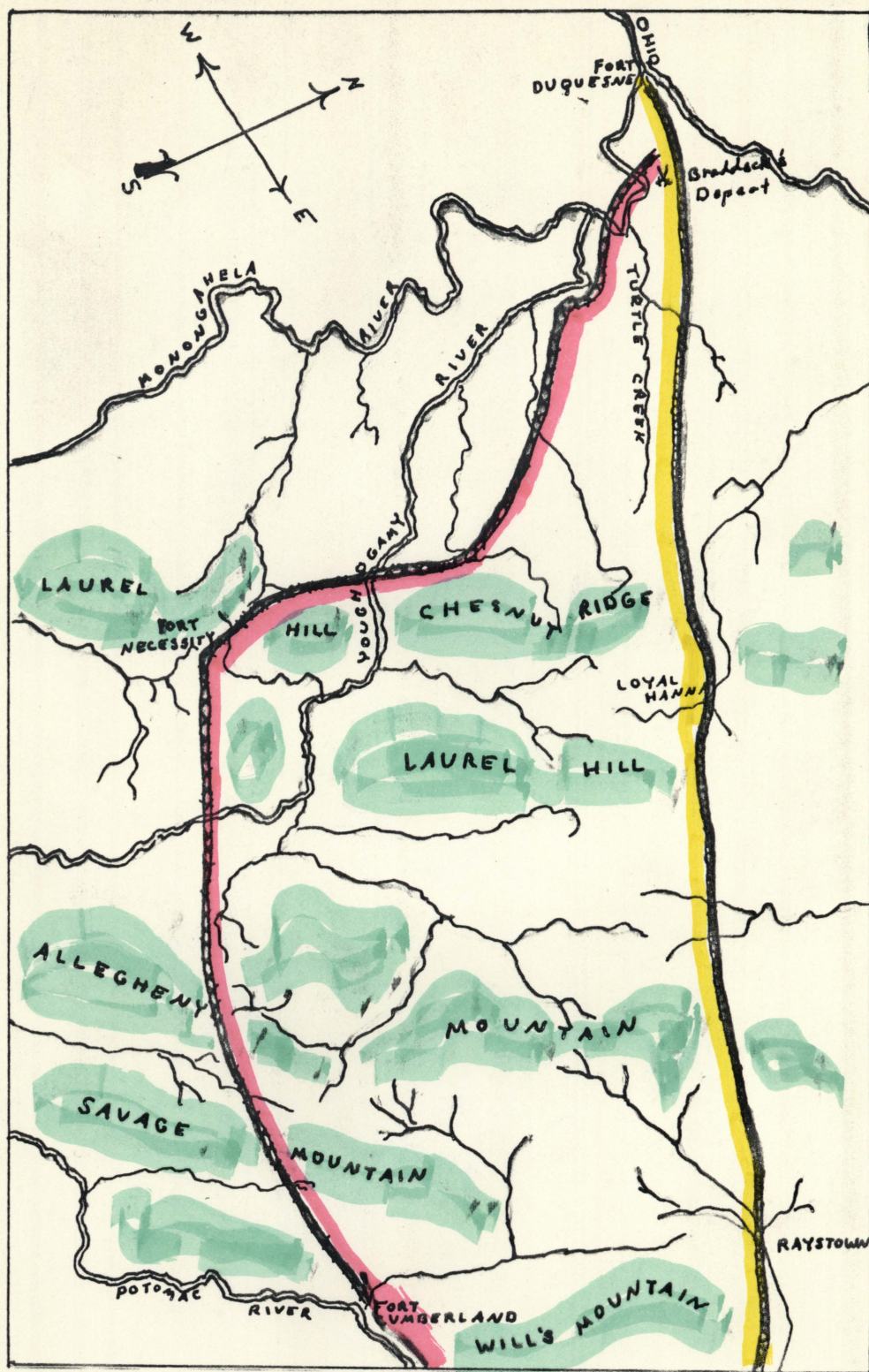
Black Watch detached from their regiment at Bradstreet's request.³⁸

At about the same time General Abercromby was launching his impressive flotilla on Lake George and was marching north with flags flying and bands playing to attack Montcalm at Ticonderoga, the third of the major expeditions was leaving Philadelphia. The objective of the force of 2000 regulars and 5,000 provincial troops was to capture the French Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio. The man chosen to avenge the disaster of Braddock's expedition was General John Forbes, a Scottish doctor turned soldier. His second in command was Lieutenant-colonel Henry Bouquet of the Royal American Regiment. George Washington accompanied the expedition as aide-de-camp to the General.³⁹

Over half of the regular troops assigned to the Forbes expedition were Highlanders of Montgomery's regiment. Ten companies of the regiment had passed the winter of 1758-59 at Charleston, South Carolina. When they arrived in Philadelphia in response to orders from General Forbes the ten companies were united with three newly recruited companies, bringing the strength of the regiment to 1456. The new companies arrived in Philadelphia on March 22, 1759, and many of them were still sick from a rough Atlantic crossing when Colonel Montgomery and the rest of the regiment arrived on

³⁸Historical Record of the Forty-second, 49.

³⁹Gipson, The Victorious Year, 247-54.



Roads to Fort Duquesne

Braddock  1755

Forbes  1758

June 8. Nearly a hundred of the new recruits remained in the hospital when the marching orders arrived and had to be left behind.⁴⁰

On June 30 General Forbes marched out of Philadelphia with the Highlanders and his artillery detachment. Despite the intense summer heat and the bad roads the force reached Carlisle, 120 miles West of Philadelphia on July 4. Forbes planned to rest his men for a day and push on to Raystown where his forces were assembling but he was seized with "a most violent and tormenting Distemper" which left him "as weak as a newborn infant."⁴¹ The illness persisted for three weeks and he was not able to leave Carlisle until August 11. In the meantime the artillery and supplies, guarded by four companies of the Highlanders were sent to Raystown and the preparations went on under the direction of Colonel Bouquet.⁴²

The distance from Raystown to Fort Duquesne was about one hundred miles and Forbes's forces were able to cut their road to within forty miles of the fort before the French discovered them. The French were expecting an attack on Fort Duquesne in the summer of 1758 but felt themselves secure when fortified posts and ambushes were set up along Braddock's Road. Forbes sent out work parties to clear the old

⁴⁰Forbes to Bouquet, Aug 9, 1758, in S. K. Stevens (ed.), The Papers of Henry Bouquet (6 vols.; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1951), II, 344. See Appendix G.

⁴¹Halkett to Bouquet, Aug. 10, 1758, Stevens, Papers of Bouquet, II, 346. Halkett was Forbes's secretary. His brother and father were among those killed in Braddock's defeat.

⁴²Gipson, The Victorious Years, 270.

route and deceived the French into concentrating their defenses to the west while he took a newer and shorter route and established a line of forts from Raystown to Loyal Hanna. Here Bouquet consolidated his forces in preparation for an anticipated assault on Fort Duquesne and awaited General Forbes's arrival.

By September 6, General Forbes had reached Fort Loudon by easy stages in a litter carried between two horses and was able to inform Pitt that his advance forces had taken possession of a strong point within forty miles of Fort Duquesne and were constructing a fortified post. Forbes himself did not reach Raystown until September 15 and was greeted there with a letter from Colonel Bouquet informing him of the disaster which had befallen Major James Grant of the Highlanders and his raiding party.⁴³

Major Grant was Montgomery's second in command, a special favorite of General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet, who was sent out to reconnoiter the positions and strength of the enemy around Duquesne. He was apparently a vainglorious fool judging from his subsequent actions. He split his force of 800 men into parties and sent them in different directions to look for the French and prepare an ambush. A party of fifty men was sent just before daybreak to burn some buildings near the fort to entice the French to come out. Captain

⁴³Forbes to Pitt, Sept. 6, 1758. Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 336-43; Bouquet to Forbes, Sept. 17, 1758, Stevens, Bouquet Papers, II, 513-17.

MacDonald and a force of about 100 Highlanders were to act as bait.⁴⁴

As they neared the fort, Grant thought to taunt the enemy by advancing with drums beating and the pipes playing reveille. The French did not wait to be attacked. They and their Indian allies issued from the fort "like a nest of angry hornets" and in numbers greatly superior to the British.⁴⁵ The Highlanders threw off their coats and charged sword in hand and drove them back, but reinforcements from the fort forced the Scots to retreat. The Highlanders bore the brunt of the fighting and most of their officers were killed. When Major Grant was captured the survivors retreated in wild disorder, partially covered by the bravery of a detachment of Virginia militia. Of the 800 men who left Loyal Hanna, 525 finally managed to make their way back while the French lost only eight killed and eight wounded.⁴⁶

As was the case at Louisbourg and Ticonderoga, the chief losses of the second British defeat near Fort Duquesne fell upon the Highlanders. Of the 313 British casualties suffered, the Highlanders lost 197 men and officers killed and some thirty wounded. Only 162 of the 400 Highlanders who followed Major Grant returned to Loyal Hanna unscathed. A number of

⁴⁴MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 266.

⁴⁵Gipson, The Victorious Years, 269.

⁴⁶Ibid., 270.

Highlanders were taken prisoner by the Indians who quickly set about killing them with more than their usual relish since the Scots had inflicted great losses upon them. Five of the prisoners were brought into the fort and tortured and burned at the stake on the parade ground in full view of the French garrison.⁴⁷

Major Grant sent Colonel Bouquet his version of the battle from his captivity in Fort Duquesne and ended his letter with the hope that "my being a prisoner will be no detriment to my promotion in case vacancies should happen in the army" and "it's to be hoped that the proper steps will be taken to get me exchanged as soon as possible."⁴⁸

Colonel Bouquet at least learned from Grant's fiasco that the French had a strong force in Fort Duquesne and that they had large numbers of Indian allies in the vicinity. Fearing an attack, he ordered the engineers to strengthen the post at Loyal Hanna (Fort Ligonier) to enable it to withstand a siege. Meanwhile road building and scouting activities in the direction of Fort Duquesne ceased and on November 12, 1758, the expected attack materialized. Although the French were beaten off, they managed to beseige the garrison of 1500 men and to carry off most of the British livestock.

⁴⁷Peter Ross, The Scot in America (New York, 1896), 30; Gipson, The Victorious Years, 283.

⁴⁸Grant to Forbes, Sept. 14, 1758, Stevens, Papers of Bouquet, II, 499-04.

General Forbes, somewhat recovered from his illness, finally arrived at Loyal Hanna on November 2 and called a council of war to decide whether the expedition should retreat to Raystown before the winter set in or proceed to Fort Duquesne. After carefully balancing the risks it was determined that Fort Ligonier was to be abandoned and the army moved back over the mountains.⁴⁹ The capture of some prisoners by Washington on the next day gave the British intelligence that the Canadians and Indians had left Fort Duquesne and returned home for the winter and that the fort was dangerously low on supplies as a result of the capture of the supply depot at Fort Frontenac by Bradstreet during the preceeding July. Suspecting that the fort was weakly defended, Forbes decided to make one more effort and sent Washington ahead with his Virginia Regiment and a detachment of Highlanders. The rest of the troops and the artillery followed close behind.⁵⁰

The army encountered no resistance, and on November 24 found the Fort abandoned and almost destroyed by the retreating French, the last of whom were disappearing down the river as the British neared the fort. The grisly sight that confronted the advance guard took most of the jubilation out of

⁴⁹See Bouquet's Minutes of the Council of War, Nov. 11, 1758, Stevens, Papers of Bouquet, II, 598-99, for a statement of the situation and the arguments for and against advancing to Fort Duquesne.

⁵⁰Gipson, The Victorious Years, 283.

the bloodless victory, however. Before they retreated, the Indians had set up long rows of peeled saplings on both sides of the path leading to the fort. Atop each pole was the scalped and partially decomposed head of a Highlander, complete with gay blue Highland bonnets. Below each one hung his bloody kilt. The Highlanders of the advance force viewed the scene in stunned silence which quickly changed to murderous fury and a desire for revenge. Breaking ranks, they threw down their muskets, and charged toward the fort with their broadswords "foaming with rage."⁵¹ The whole army followed but when they arrived, the deserted fort and outbuildings were in flames and no enemy was in sight on whom they could wreak vengeance.

The British flag was soon raised and the fort was formally claimed as a possession of the British crown. The newly rebuilt fortifications were named Fort Pitt in honor of the chief minister. The French forts at Venago, LeBoeuf, and Presque Isle were spared for another season but it was obvious (at least with the benefit of hindsight) that the days of French dominion in the Ohio Valley were ended. General Forbes left a small garrison at Fort Pitt, including two companies from Montgomery's Regiment, and made his way painfully back to Philadelphia to die.

⁵¹ MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783, 267-68; Bouquet to Stanwix, Nov. 25, 1758, Stevens, Papers of Bouquet, II, 609.

Chapter IV

Professor Lawrence Gipson aptly summarized the military situation at the end of 1758 as the ebbing of the French tide in North America.¹ The atmosphere of despair and gloom which had resulted from the loss of Minorca, the disaster of Braddock's expedition and the abortive Louisbourg expedition was swept away by reports of a succession of victories. Heartening successes in India, Europe, and Africa were climaxed by the capture of Louisbourg and "all England went wild with joy."² Even the news of Abercromby's bloody repulse from Ticonderoga did not dampen the general enthusiasm. Pitt's 'system' was vindicated and he was the man of the hour and "the Darling of the Public."³

The Parliament that met on November 23 of 1758 readily approved an appropriation of unprecedented size to carry out Pitt's plans for the conduct of the war during 1759. The object of the strategy in America was still the conquest of Canada but now with an important change. By that time even George II was ambitious for empire and Canada was intended

¹Gipson, The Victorious Years, 167.

²O. A. Sherrard, Lord Chatham, 272.

³Gipson, The Victorious Years, 289.

to be a permanent acquisition rather than a pawn to exchange for European territory during the course of the peace negotiations.⁴ Pitt chose Major General Jeffrey Amherst to be Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces in North America, "the King having judged proper that Major General Abercromby should return to England."⁵

Pitt's instructions to Amherst for the conduct of the campaign were received at New York on March 14 and the acknowledgement contained the distribution of troops of the coming campaign. The immediate objectives were similiar to those of the previous year; a four pronged attack against Canada, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Oswego and Niagara, and the Ohio Valley.⁶ The four separate expeditions were to maintain contact and coordinate their movements so that all the forces could unite for a final drive on Montreal. The commanders appointed by Pitt to lead the four armies were Generals Wolfe, Prideaux and Amherst and Colonel Stanivix.⁷

Amherst himself was assigned to attack the Champlain forts with a force of some 8,000 men, nearly half British regulars. The army included both Montgomery's Highlanders (77th), who had been ordered from their winter quarters in Philadelphia,

⁴Gipson, The Victorious Years, 289.

⁵Pitt to Governors in North America, Sept. 18, 1758, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, I, 354.

⁶General Amherst to Pitt, March 29, 1759, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 78-80.

⁷Edward P. Hamilton, The French and Indian Wars (New York, 1962), 261.

and the First Battalion of the Royal Highlanders, who had wintered on Long Island.⁸ The expedition left the assembly point at Fort Edward on June 19 and went into camp at Lake George three days later. The second attack on Fort Ticonderoga was to follow the same route that General Abercromby's force had taken the previous year.

It was not until mid-July that Amherst felt that his army was ready to attack Ticonderoga. While the force was waiting at Lake George the Second Battalion of the Black Watch reached New York fresh from the conquest of Guadaloupe and was ordered to proceed to Oswego on Lake Ontario.⁹ The army finally left the camp at Lake George on July 21 and rowed up the lake toward Ticonderoga with the Black Watch in the leading boats. After overcoming slight resistance at the landing place they reached Ticonderoga and took up positions around the fort. The French, having orders not to defend the post in the face of a serious attack, blew up the fort's magazine and one bastion and withdrew in the darkness to a stronger position at Isle-Aux-Noix. The British entered the blazing post and saved what they could.¹⁰

⁸MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 269. The Royal Highlanders was the name given to the Forty-second (Black Watch) Regiment in recognition of their valor at Ticonderoga and "meritorious conduct on all occasions."

⁹Historical Record of the Forty-Second, 55. A second battalion was raised for the Forty-second (Black Watch) Regiment in July of 1758 in time for the first expedition against Martinique failed despite the valor of the Highlanders but Guadaloupe was captured.

¹⁰Amherst to Pitt, July 27, 1759, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 143.

As soon as Ticonderoga had been secured Amherst sent an advance force of Highlanders and Grenadiers to besiege Fort Crown Point, but when the small garrison there learned that Ticonderoga had been abandoned, they, too, withdrew and the British entered the fort without losing a man.¹¹

Amherst immediately set his troops to repairing the two forts and building boats in an effort to offset the naval superiority of the French on Lake Champlain. Upon hearing of the death of General Prideaux during the capture of Fort Niagara, Amherst sent word to the Second Battalion of the Black Watch at Oswego to move to reinforce the army around Niagara and dispatched General Gage to assume command. A messenger arrived on August 4 with news from Colonel William Johnson that Niagara had surrendered.

General Amherst was a cautious and methodical man and it was not until the second week in October that he felt strong enough to challenge the four small French warships on Lake Champlain. In addition, the French had a strongly garrisoned fort at Isle-Aux-Noix which had to be taken before the British could advance to the St. Lawrence. Amherst had orders from Pitt to strengthen Ticonderoga and Crown Point in case a failure by Wolfe at Quebec might allow the French to attack Niagara and Oswego. Since control of the lakes was essential for an advance to the St. Lawrence (as well as to protect the

¹¹Amherst to Pitt, Aug. 5, 1759, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 146-48.

gains already made), Amherst did not continue his expedition until he built a brigantine and a floating battery to protect his whaleboats and bateaux on the trip up Lake Champlain.¹²

By the time Amherst was able to move north the weather had turned col and high winds made movement of troops on the lake extremely hazardous. Although the French had lost three of their larger vessels and the way was open, Amherst decided not to advance further when he learned of Wolfe's victory at Quebec. Since it was too late in the season to attempt to take Montreal he decided to go into winter quarters. The provincials were released first and sent home and Amherst himself soon departed for New York with most of his troops, leaving strong garrisons at Ticonderoga and Crown Point.¹³

Five companies of the Black Watch (2nd Battalion) were left at Fort Edward and a detachment at Oswego while the Royal Highlanders were marched to winter quarters in Albany. Montgomery's regiment was sent to New York for the winter, except for three companies who were part of the permanent garrison at Fort Pitt.¹⁴ Losses among Montgomery's regiment and the two battalions of the Black Watch were extremely light during the campaign. The Royal Highlanders lost only

¹²Gipson, The Victorious Years, 262.

¹³Hamilton, The French and Indian Wars, 263.

¹⁴Amherst to Pitt, Dec. 16, 1759, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 219-25, gives a detailed account of the distribution of all the British forces for the winter of 1759-60.

three dead and four wounded at Ticonderoga and the lakes and Montgomery's Highlanders had three men killed and eight wounded on the campaign and two killed and scalped by Indians outside Fort Pitt.¹⁵

Despite the fact that Amherst wasn't able to take Isle-aux-Noix and join Wolfe for a march on Quebec, the military operations in the Ohio Valley and on the lakes were a great success. The French were forced to abandon Forts Venango, LeBoeuf, and Presqui Isle and to fall back on Fort D'Eetroit, Montreal, Trois Rivieres and the St. Lawrence settlements. British power was consolidated by the construction of Forts Pitt, Oswego, and Crown Point and the western settlements were at last relieved of the constant threat of Indian raids.¹⁶

By far the most important of the campaigns for 1759 was Wolfe's successful conquest of Quebec. According to Pitt's timetable the forces earmarked for the Quebec expedition were to have been concentrated at Louisbourg by April 20, but it was not until May 13 that the troops assembled at Halifax. It took two days more to reach Louisbourg and it was June 4 before the "finest squadron of his Majesty's Ships that had ever yet appeared in North America" was able to sail into the Gulf of Saint Lawrence.¹⁷

¹⁵MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783, 283-88; Amherst to Pitt, October 22, 1759, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 186.

¹⁶Gipson, The Victorious Years, 366; Governor Denny to Pitt, Aug. 18, 1759, 148, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 148.

The force consisted of 152 vessels, twenty-two of which were ships of the line carrying ten regiments, slightly over 8,500 men in all. The troops were all regulars except six companies of tough American Rangers, "the worst soldiers in the universe" according to Wolfe. In addition, each company of seventy-five men was permitted to take three women and companies of a hundred were allowed four. Most of the men assigned to the expedition were veterans of service in America and were eager to win new laurels. The largest of the ten regiments was the Seventy-eighth, or Fraser's Highlanders, which was fresh from winter quarters in New York.¹⁸

On the morning of June 26 the British fleet anchored off St. Laurent on the Isle of Orleans and Wolfe immediately landed his army. Never before had such a large battle fleet sailed up the St. Lawrence, and the French pilots who had been pressed into service were almost as surprised as Montcalm. No attempt was made to oppose the landing, the French having concentrated their strength on the north (Beauport) bank of the river. Montcalm had apparently neglected no possible landing place.¹⁹

Two days after their arrival Wolfe sent General Monckton with the Frasers and three other battalions to secure Pointe

¹⁸Christopher Hibbert, Wolfe at Quebec (Cleveland, 1959), 41; See Appendix I for a table of troop strength for the Quebec expedition.

¹⁹Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 248; C. F. Stacey, Quebec, 1759: The Siege and the Battle, (New York, 1959), 51.

Levi opposite Quebec. The French militia attempted to resist but were quickly routed when the Highlanders appeared with their broadswords. Batteries were then constructed at Pointe Levi and on the tip of the Isle d' Orleans from which the British began a steady and destructive bombardment of the city. Wolfe kept his forces deployed around the city for a month in the hopes that Montcalm would come out to attack, but the French general was too wise to be drawn out and took comfort from the thought of the approach of the bitterly severe Canadian winter.²⁰

Apparently Wolfe was becoming desperate by the end of July because he decided to force a landing at Montmorency River while General Monckton led his brigade, which included a detachment of Fraser's regiment, across the tidal flats from his camp at Pointe Levi on the south bank of the river. The plan miscarried because the thirteen Grenadier companies and the 200 Royal Americans who were to lead the assault failed to heed Wolfe's signal. Instead, they charged the French positions, and although they succeeded in carrying the enemy's first line of defense, they were trapped below the bluff. Here they were exposed to a murderous fire from above and were finally forced to withdraw. Wolfe sent three companies of Fraser's Highlanders to cover their retreat.²¹

²⁰General Wolfe to Pitt, Sept. 2, 1759, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 149-58; William Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 242-50.

²¹Stacey, Quebec, 79.

When the bulk of the Grenadiers had withdrawn carrying their wounded, the Frasers refused to retreat across the ford until they received assurance that none of their regiment had been left on the enemy side. As the tide rose the Highlanders carried off all of their own dead and wounded as well as many of the Grenadiers. Wolfe lost 210 killed and 230 wounded in the battle and disaster was prevented only by the coolness and discipline of the Frasers under fire. In the General Order issued the next day they were given Wolfe's praise while the Grenadiers were severely criticized. Of the 400 Frasers who participated in the battle, eighteen were killed and eighty-five wounded.²²

After the repulse at Montmorency Wolfe was in such a dispondent mood that he did not know which way to turn, as he candidly admitted in a dispatch to Pitt dated September 2.²³ Soon after the battle he was incapacitated by a fever and gall bladder attack. As soon as he was partially recovered he held a council of war with his three brigadiers and it was finally determined to risk an attack at some point several miles upriver from Quebec, although the exact landing place was not divulged. The effort was eventually

²²Gipson, The Victorious Years, 399; A Complete History of the Late War, 203; A. Doughty and G. W. Farmalee (eds.) The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham (Quebec, 1901), IV, 287.

²³General Wolfe to Pitt, Sept. 2, 1759, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 158.

scheduled for September 13 and the remaining time was spent creating diversions by sending out small parties to devastate the surrounding countryside.

The Frasers took part in this grim work but took no pleasure in it. Perhaps memories of the harrying of the Fraser country after the unsuccessful Jacobite rebellion of 1745 were too fresh in their memories. Ensign Malcolm Fraser of the Fraser Highlanders kept a journal of the entire campaign and his entry for August 23 expressed disapproval of such tactics. Fraser was with a small detachment under Captain Montgomery which destroyed the village of St. Joachim and captured a number of prisoners "all of whom the barbarous Captain Montgomery, who commanded us, ordered to be butchered in a most unhuman and cruel manner." Ensign Fraser had just granted quarter to several of the men to induce them to surrender.²⁴ The order for the Highlanders to march to Pointe Levi to prepare for the attack on Quebec came as a relief from such uncongenial, unpleasant employment. The time had come either to attack the city or give up the attempt until spring.²⁵

²⁴Malcolm Fraser, Extract from a Manuscript Journal of the Siege of Quebec, quoted in MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 274. There are a number of accounts of the siege printed in Doughty, Siege of Quebec, V.

²⁵Admiral Saunders was concerned for the safety of his ships (his forces comprised over a quarter of the total strength of the British navy) and had informed Wolfe that he would have to move out of the river within the week. See Saunders to Pitt, Sept. 5, 1759, in Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 159-163.

Under cover of increased bombardments by the batteries on Pointe Levi and Isle d' Orleans and a diversionary movement by the navy, Wolfe moved part of his army to Gorham's Post several miles upriver. Here they were embarked in boats which had been sent upriver earlier for that purpose. Several days were spent moving up and down the river to tire Colonel Bougainville's strong defensive force. Bad weather forced the boats to land and after a day's rest on the south bank of the river the troops were reembarked. They then moved downriver to the Anse de Foulon, later renamed Wolfe's Cove, where the landing attempt was to be made. The story of the events which led to the victory on the Plains of Abraham is too well known to repeat in detail in this paper, but the contribution of the Highland regiment has not received the attention it deserves.²⁶

The force chosen to make the landing consisted of about 3800 men and included Colonel Howe and his Light Infantry, the regiments of Bragg, Kennedy, Lascelle, and Anstruther, and a detachment of Frasers. The little army moved rapidly downstream with the tide in the darkness. General Howe's men were in the lead. The second detachment followed an hour later. The boats continued down the river unchallenged for several hours until they reached a point just north of

²⁶See Gipson, The Victorious Years, 413 et. seq.; Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 263-84; and Stacey, Quebec, 122-54.

their proposed landing place. Here they were sharply challenged by an alert sentry and the entire expedition could have failed but for much luck and some quick thinking by an officer in one of the leading boats--a member of Fraser's Highlanders.²⁷

There is much confusion among historians concerning this incident and even Doughty and Gipson content themselves with remarking that a challenge was answered by one of the English officers who knew French.²⁸ The confusion is possibly due to the fact that the boats were challenged not once, but at least four times before they reached the Anse de Foulon.²⁹ According to General Townshend the Frasers are secure in their honor of having answered the first and most crucial challenge.

When ye first corps for embarkation was passing down
ye N: side of ye River & ye French centires on ye
banks challeng'd our boats, Cap'n Frazer who had
been in ye Dutch Service & spoke French answered--
la france & vive le Roy, on which ye French Centiuel
ran along ye Shore in ye dark crying laissez les
passer its sont nos Gens avec le provisions....³⁰

Several sources mention a similar case of a Fraser captain replying to a French sentry's challenge in French but attribute

²⁷Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 273.

²⁸Doughty, Siege of Quebec, III, 22-25, and Gipson, The Victorious Years, 414.

²⁹Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 273.

³⁰Ibid., 275.

it to a Captain Donald MacDonald. It is known that he was one of the captains of the Light Infantry and that he was in one of the leading boats. The incident took place at Samos Point just before the boats reached the intended landing place.³¹ The first boats were carried past the landing place and actually went ashore below the path where the ascent was to be made. While Wolfe's twenty-four volunteers were ascending the path, a detachment of Fraser Light Infantry under Captain MacDonald was working its way up a wooded precipice by clinging to bushes and trees. MacDonald was the first man up and the Frasers of his Light Company were close behind.³²

There was a French post manned by a captain and sixty soldiers at the top of the bluff but the resourceful Fraser captain succeeded in confusing them long enough for more men to come up. By the time the French discovered MacDonald was not the French officer he purported to be, it was too late and the post was overrun. The French fled and Captain Fraser and his company, who were among the first to reach the top, were sent to flush the French out of the cornfield behind the camp.³³ Meanwhile General Wolfe came up and ordered Captain MacDonald to take possession of a group of houses

³¹A Complete History of the Late War, 1759, 218; Christopher Lloyd, The Capture of Quebec (New York, 1959), 122-25.

³²Ibid., 125; Doughty, Siege of Quebec, III, 205.

³³Hibbert, Wolfe at Quebec, 137; Harrison Bird, Battle for a Continent, 296.

from which the French were firing on the British troops. This was quickly done and the Frasers held the building in the face of several determined French counter-attacks. The British continued to come up the cliff and by dawn they were drawn up in battle order with their backs to the river facing the St. Foy road leading to Quebec.³⁴

Wolfe expected an attack from the north and when it did not materialize he wheeled his line to oppose the French forces which were taking up positions in front of the city. The British forces were divided into three divisions under General Murray, Townshend, and Monckton, commanding the center, left and right of the line, respectively.³⁵

The Frasers were given the position of honor in the center of the line facing the veteran regiments of LaSarre and Languedoc. According to official returns the British forces marshalled on the plains numbered 4,828 and the 662 Frasers present were the strongest British regimental unit on the field. The French forces consisted of five under-strength regular battalions and the militia drawn from Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivieres--less than 4,500 troops.³⁶

³⁴Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 274; and Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 276.

³⁵Stacey, Quebec, 138. See Doughty, Siege of Quebec, V, 52, for a map of the troop dispositions on the Plains of Abraham.

³⁶A Complete History of the Late War, 224. See Appendix H for official return of troops at battle before Quebec.

The battle began with an exchange of sniper fire between the French sharp shooters and Wolfe's skirmishers and soon was followed by an artillery duel between Montcalm's three field pieces and Wolfe's lone six pounder on the Sillery Road. Wolfe permitted his troops to lie down as soon as they were in position and they were partially refreshed when the French began their advance about ten o'clock.³⁷ The British stood their ground and held their fire as the French advanced while firing ineffectively and irregularly even before they came within range. Wolfe had given "positive orders, not to fire a shot until the Enemy should be within Forty yards of the Point of our Bayonets," so the troops waited.³⁸

The British began their orderly firing by platoons until the French were within thirty yards of their line. By this time the French formations had broken down and split to the left and right of the center to avoid the Highlanders. The final "general" volley delivered at close range was so effective that a total rout of the enemy immediately ensued.³⁹ The French advance was halted and their line broke and fled, some towards the safety of the fortress and the rest in the

³⁷Stacey, Quebec, 37.

³⁸The Sergeant-Majors Journal, as quoted in Doughty, Siege of Quebec, V, 10.

³⁹The Journal of Major Moncrief in Doughty, Siege of Quebec, V, 53.

direction of the St. Charles entrenchments. Wolfe then charged at the head of his Louisbourg Grenadiers and the French army was reduced to a "panic stricken mob flying in terror from the bayonets and claymores of the pursurers!"⁴⁰

The battle was not yet over. Even while the French were in wild flight before the bayonets of the Grenadiers and the terrible claymores of the Highlanders, the Canadians and Indians on the British left were making a stand in the woods on the right of the British line. After the Highlanders outdistanced the rest of the army and pursued the French "to the very gates of the town" they were ordered to re-form fronting the town until the rest of the army caught up. General Murray then joined them and led them north toward the General Hospital to clear the woods of skulkers. Near the St. Charles River the Highlanders were finally halted by some Canadians hiding in a thicket and suffered numerous casualties. It was not until they received reinforcements from the Fifty-eighth and Sixtieth regiments that they were able to drive the enemy back to their river line. Other small pockets of resistance were wiped out by the charging Highlanders as quickly as they could form, but not without more losses.⁴¹

⁴⁰Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 277.

⁴¹Malcolm Fraser, Extracts from a Journal of the Siege of Quebec, in MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 274-76.

Forty-seven men died with General Wolfe at Quebec and 506 were wounded. The Frasers' loss was eighteen killed and 131 wounded, three times the casualties of any other regiment.⁴² Four of the dead were officers, including Simon Fraser, a close kinsman of Colonel Fraser. The regiment was commanded by Captain John Campbell during the battle because Colonel Fraser was still recovering from a thigh wound which he had received on July 25. The second-in-command, Major Clephane, had been left in the hospital in New York. One company of the Regiment (the light infantry) was with Colonel Howe defending the left flank and other detachments were apparently left at different posts on the south bank of the river.

Of the many stories and legends that have grown up around the death General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, several of the more persistent involve members of Fraser's Highlanders. One of the four men believed to have been with Wolfe during his last minutes was a Fraser sergeant named Donald (or Daniel) MacLeod.⁴³ According to a well known historian of the British Army, General Wolfe was carried off the field in the Fraser plaid supplied by Sergeant MacLeod.⁴⁴ Some credence can be given to the story because

⁴²A Complete History of the Late War, 230. See Appendix J.

⁴³Lloyd, The Capture of Quebec, 147; Doughty, Siege of Quebec, III, 225.

⁴⁴Barnes, The Uniforms and History of the Scottish Regiments, 60.

of the fact that the same Donald MacLeod was chosen to accompany Wolfe's body back to England despite the fact that there were others of superior rank who might have been given the honor. MacLeod was seventy-one years old when he received his wound at Quebec.

The drill sergeant of the Seventy-eighth was apparently not the only hard fighting ancient in the Highland regiment. When General Townshend returned to England in the winter of 1759 he took with him another seventy year old sergeant, Malcolm MacPherson. MacPherson had distinguished himself by severing the heads of several Frenchmen during the fighting at Quebec and attracted General Townshend's notice. The general was greatly impressed by the old Scot and, when they reached England, presented him to Pitt and later to King George. The King was also impressed and granted MacPherson a commission. According to the Scot's Magazine MacPherson's most cherished possession was his sword, a 300 year old heirloom, which he reportedly took to bed with him every night.⁴⁵

On the day after the battle the Highlanders set up a camp and positions on the battlefield and settled down with the rest of the army to begin seige operations. When the city surrendered several days later they were among the first troops to enter and take up quarters, and they were subsequently one of the regiments assigned to the winter garrison.

⁴⁵Scot's Magazine, XXI (December, 1759), 663.

The bitter cold and scurvy caused by the unrelieved diet of salted meat reduced the regiment to an effective strength of 314 between September 18 and March 30, 1760. One hundred and six Highlanders died and 580 were unfit for duty.⁴⁶ Nor were cold and scurvy the only enemies; the Canadians and Indians outside the city were only kept at bay by the exertion of the Rangers and light infantry, and the garrison lived in constant expectation of an attack. On February 13, 1760, Lieutenant McNeil and several soldiers were killed in a skirmish at Pointe Levi. Even the tough Highlanders, their knees covered by stockings knitted by the nuns of the Ursuline convent, came to dread the tours of duty in the fortified outposts and longed to be sent to the relative comfort of the General Hospital.⁴⁷

Throughout the winter the garrison received news of an impending attack which finally came on April 27. General Murray mustered his troops and, electing to meet the enemy outside the walls, marched out and formed his army on the heights of Abraham. The honor of leading the attack was given to Captain Donald MacDonald of the Frasers and one hundred picked men who were to precede the Light Infantry while the lines were forming. The entire force was quickly

⁴⁶MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 276.

⁴⁷Lloyd, The Capture of Quebec, 153.

surrounded and all but five were killed before reinforcements could arrive.⁴⁸ The battle that was fought is called the Battle of St. Foy or Sillery to distinguish it from the earlier one.

The left wing of General Murray's little army was under the command of Colonel Fraser and consisted of the Highlanders, the Forty-third, and Twenty-third (Welsh Fusilliers). The Frasers numbered about 400, many of whom had voluntarily left the hospital to be with the regiment. When Murray's men were forced to withdraw into the city after a fierce but short fight the Highlanders were assigned to cover the retreat.⁴⁹ The British casualties were nearly double those of the previous year's battle and fifty-seven of the two hundred-fifty-seven were from Fraser's Regiment. Besides Captain MacDonald, the regiment lost Lieutenant Cosimo Gordon. Among the twenty-seven officers and one-hundred-twenty-one enlisted men who were wounded were the Colonel, four of the captains, fifteen lieutenants and six ensigns.⁵⁰

As soon as the British had retreated behind the walls of Quebec DeLevis established his trenches within 600 yards of the city and prepared for a siege. Murray was well supplied

⁴⁸Doughty, Siege of Quebec, V, 127. See Appendix K.

⁴⁹A Complete History of the Late War, 296; Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 368-69.

⁵⁰MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 277. See Appendix K for Murray's official report to Pitt on the state of his Garrison and a list of dead and wounded.

with arms and ammunition and was able to repulse the French attack on the walls. The final determination rested upon whether the British or the French supply ships reached Quebec first. On May 17 ships flying the Union Jack appeared in the river and the French abandoned their entrenchments and retreated to Montreal. Murray and his army pursued but were unable to overtake them. The attempt to retake Quebec was the last important offensive effort of the French in Canada.

During the spring of 1760, while he was engrossed in his plans for the conquest of Canada, General Amherst received a letter from Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina urgently requesting troops. A peace had been signed with the Cherokees in late December of the preceding year but "the Indians had renewed their hostilities, and slain a very considerable number of his Majesty's Subjects...."⁵¹ Amherst immediately dispatched Colonel Montgomery with six companies of his Highlanders and an equal number from the Second Battalion of the Royal Americans to march to South Carolina, strike a blow, and return. Major Grant, the author of the defeat near Duquesne in 1759, went along as second in command.⁵²

The troops embarked from their winter quarters at New York, reached Charleston on April 1, and then marched inland to Fort Ninety-six to await reinforcements. On June 1 the army crossed

⁵¹General Amherst to Pitt, March 8, 1760, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 263.

⁵²Ibid.; Hamilton, The French and Indian Wars, 336.

the Twelve-mile River and moved against the Cherokee town of Little Keowee. The Indians were taken by surprise and Montgomery ordered every man put to the sword. Early the next morning they reached Estados and, finding the Indians had fled, reduced the town to ashes. The other villages of the Lower Nation were also destroyed and pillaged and the Indians fled to the mountains. Montgomery then dispatched a letter to General Amherst telling of his success against the Indians.⁵³

Meanwhile the aroused Cherokees surrounded Fort Prince George and Montgomery marched to its relief, forcing the Indians to withdraw. From Fort Prince George he opened communication with Fort Loudon and sent offers of peace to the Indian towns. When these were rejected he decided to march across the mountains and punish the Cherokees living there, the fierce Overhills. The march began on June 24 and the Indians deserted their towns as the British approached. On the afternoon of June 27 the army was within five miles of the Cherokee town of Etchowee when they were ambushed.⁵⁴

The Rangers leading the column walked into the trap and most of them were killed or wounded. The Highlanders were then ordered up and their charge forced the Indians to retreat

⁵³General Amherst to Pitt, April 28, 1760, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 279-83.

⁵⁴MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 285.

but they continued to snipe at the army until it reached Etchowee. The British loss in the fight was twenty killed and seventy-six wounded. Of these the Highlanders had one sergeant and six privates killed and twenty-nine wounded. After resting for a day at Etchowee the British abandoned the town in the darkness and retreated from the mountains, not resting until they reached War Woman's Creek twenty-five miles to the east. By July 1 they had reached the safety of Fort Prince George.⁵⁵

Montgomery apparently believed he had fulfilled the letter of General Amherst's instructions and determined to withdraw his forces. Fearing certain reprisals by the Cherokees, the General Assembly of South Carolina persuaded him to leave a garrison of 400 men at Fort Loudon under Captain Paul Demere. Leaving the province to its fate, Montgomery left Charleston with his troops and sailed to Halifax by way of New York.

At about the same time Montgomery was preparing to march to the relief of Fort Prince George in South Carolina, General Amherst was leaving his supply base at Albany and moving toward Oswego. His supply depots at Crown Point and Oswego had been ready by the end of May but he was forced to delay until the Provincial troops arrived. In order to speed up the operation Amherst had previously sent two regiments from

⁵⁵MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 287; See also Samuel C. William (ed.), Lieutenant Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765 (Marietta, Ga., 1948), for a good contemporary account of the war against the Cherokees in South Carolina.

Louisbourg to strengthen General Murray at Quebec and had started four regular regiments and the provincial troops of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island under command of Colonel William Haviland to Crown Point. For the operations on Lake Ontario he allotted four regiments, both battalions of the Black Watch, the six companies of Montgomery's Highlanders, and the Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey provincials.⁵⁶

Amherst finally left Albany on June 19 and reached Oswego on July 9. He was again forced to wait and it was not until August 9 that all of his forces were ready to move toward the St. Lawrence. On August 10, according to plan, Amherst and Colonel Haviland left their posts at Oswego and Crown Point and moved northward. General Murray was already on his way up the river by boat, pacifying and disarming the inhabitants on the way. Haviland succeeded in destroying the French vessels in the Richelieu River on the 23rd of August and all that stood between his army and that of General Murray was the Fort of Isle-Aux-Bois and the post at St. Jean.⁵⁷

Isle-aux-Bois capitulated at noon on August 28, Colonel Bougainville and most of the garrison having escaped the night

⁵⁶General Amherst to Pitt, May 19, 1760, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 287-80. See Appendix L for official return of Amherst's forces.

⁵⁷Gipson, The Victorious Years, 451.

before. All that remained of French power in Canada was concentrated at Montreal. The entire country was suffering because of several bad harvests and the devastation of the British armies. The disheartened, starving peasantry were no longer willing to serve in the militia and had deserted in large numbers, no longer held by fear of the Indians. The only effective military force left to General de Levis was about 2,000 troops, the pitiful remnants of ten proud French battalions.⁵⁸

By the end of August the three British armies were converging on the Island of Montreal and by September 6 had taken up positions around the city. The overwhelming British forces of 17,000 made the fall of the city only a matter of negotiation and Colonel Bougainville was sent to ask the terms of surrender. On the morning of September 8 Governor Vaudreuil signed the articles of capitulation which ended the war in North America and turned over Canada to the possession of the British crown.⁵⁹

De Levis ordered his troops to burn their colors, "to spare them the hard conditions of handing them over to the enemy." The French battalions then **stacked** their weapons in the Place d'Armes and the British troops marched into the city on September 9, 1760.

⁵⁸Kingsford, History of Canada. IV, 401

⁵⁹Ibid., 417-33, for a complete text of the articles of capitulation.

Chapter V

The fall of Montreal marked the end of the fight for Canada but the final fate of the country was yet to be determined on the battlefields of Germany, India, the West Indies, and on the high seas. General Amherst's army went into winter quarters early in 1760 but for them the war was not yet over. The Second Battalion of the Black Watch remained at Montreal while the First Battalion accompanied General Amherst as far as their old quarters at Albany. Montgomery's Regiment, less the two companies in the garrison at Fort Pitt, wintered in Nova Scotia while the Frasers remained in Quebec.¹

In January of 1760 Pitt sent General Amherst a letter in which he included instructions for a campaign against the French island of Martinique, "not to be made until after the Hurricane Months," or about the end of September.² The preparations for the final assault on Canada absorbed all of Amherst's available resources and he was unable to follow Pitt's instructions in the fall of 1760. The instructions were repeated in January of 1761 and Amherst was ordered to provide

¹Gipson, The Victorious Years, 467.

²Pitt to General Amherst, January, 1760, Kimball, Correspondence of Pitt, II, 246-50.

2,000 troops from the garrisons at Albany and Halifax.³

Amherst received the instructions on February 26 and immediately sent orders to General Whitmore and Colonel Montgomery at Halifax to move his 349 men to New York to await transport to Guadaloupe. A detachment of about 500 of Montgomery's regiment which had already received orders to accompany an expedition against the Cherokees was ordered to rejoin the regiment in New York.⁴ Montgomery's men were ready to embark by the first of April but due to bad weather the fleet was not able to sail until April 26. The transports carrying the detachment of Montgomerys from South Carolina met the fleet at sea and "all was well."⁵

On May 14 Amherst received orders to increase the size of the expedition against Martinique and orders were issued for five more regiments from Montreal, Quebec and Nova Scotia to assemble at New York. The Second Battalion of the Black Watch was instructed to proceed from its quarters at Montreal to Crown Point to await orders. Meanwhile the first expedition reached Guadaloupe and a force of 700 men, including the detachment of Montgomery's Highlanders from South Carolina, was

³Pitt to General Amherst, January 7, 1760, Kimball, Cor--
respondence of Pitt, II, 384-387.

⁴General Amherst to Pitt, February 27, 1761, Kimball, Ibid. 403-406.

⁵Ibid., May 15, 1761, Kimball, Ibid., 435.

ordered to Dominica to conquer the island before the main expedition arrived. The force under Lord Rollo reached the island on June 6 and within a month succeeded in pacifying it.⁶

The main force for the expedition against Martinique left Sandy Hook on November 19 and reached Barbadoes late in December. The men assigned to the expedition included eight regular regiments as well as both battalions of the Black Watch chosen for the task because of the "sobriety, abstemious habits, great activity, and capability of bearing the vicissitudes of climate, of the Highland soldiers...."⁷ It wasn't until January of 1762 that the combined forces left Carlisle Bay on Barbadoes and sailed toward Martinique, reaching there on January 15. The landing was made at Cas des Novieres Bay and after some severe fighting the fortress of Marne Tortasson was captured. Three days later the French attack from the difficult height of Marne Garnier was repulsed with great losses and the enemy was pursued to their own lines.⁸

⁶John Fortescue, A History of the British Army (13 vols;; London, 1910), II, 112.

⁷Historical Record of the Forty-second, 46.

⁸Lawrence H. Gipson, The Great War for the Empire: The Culmination, 1761-1763, Vol. VIII, The British Empire Before the American Revolution (13 vols.; New York, 1949), 189-93. (Hereafter cited as Gipson, The Culmination).

The Highlanders drew their swords, rushed forward like furies, and being supported by the Grenadiers under Colonel Grant, and a party of Lord Rollo's brigade, the hills were mounted, the batteries seized, and numbers of the enemy unable to escape from the rapidity of the attack were taken.⁹

The French troops retreated and the militia fled, as they had at Guadaloupe in 1759, rather than face the broadswords of the Scots.¹⁰ The French governor was obliged to surrender early in February.

The combined losses of the two battalions of the Black Watch amounted to two officers and thirteen enlisted men killed and ten officers and seventy-six men wounded. The losses of Montgomery's Regiment were also light, amounting to only five killed and twenty-eight wounded.¹¹

The final objective of the British forces in the West Indies was the conquest of Havana and the remainder of Cuba. Spain had recently been induced by France to declare war on England. Under the command of the Earl of Albemarle, who had arrived from England with reinforcements, the army left Martinique and landed in Cuba on June 7. The city of Havana was protected by the imposing Moro Castle and the British forces suffered great hardships before it could be taken by

⁹Historical Record of the Forty-Second, 57.

¹⁰Scot's Magazine, XXI, (June, 1759), 322, for an account of the conquest of Guadaloupe.

¹¹MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 283-88.

assault. But the loss of the fortress forced the city to surrender on the same day.¹²

The Black Watch lost only six men killed and four wounded in the siege and the assault, but the losses caused by the climate were severe. Eighty-three men died from fever and tropical diseases. The two battalions combined lost almost 200 men in the West Indies and it was decided that the able men from the Second Battalion be transferred to the First and the surplus men, together with the sick and wounded, be taken to England where many were discharged and the remainder of the battalion disbanded a year later.¹³

As soon as the island of Cuba had been secured the bulk of the troops were ordered to return to New York. Arriving late in October, the Black Watch then consisting of a single battalion, was ordered to proceed to Albany for the remainder of the winter. Montgomery's Highlanders were billeted on Long Island. Here they joined two companies of their regiment which had been sent with a detachment of Fraser's Highlanders and some other troops to retake St. John's, Newfoundland, from the French. The reconquest of St. John's proved to be the last military enterprize undertaken against the French in North America.¹⁴

¹²Gipson, The Culmination, 265-68.

¹³Historical Record of the Forty-second, 57-59.

¹⁴Kingsford, History of Canada. IV, 294.

The preliminaries of peace were signed on November 3, 1762, at Fontainebleau and the peace itself at Paris on February 10, 1763. By the terms of the treaty Great Britain obtained Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton as well as the West Indian islands of Dominica, Tobago, St. Vincent, and Granada. Minorca was restored to England and the British conquest of Senegal was ratified; and France agreed to maintain no troops and raise no fortification in Bengal. From Spain Britain received West Florida in return for Havana.¹⁵

France lost all of North America except the fisheries of St Pierre and Miquelon, having ceded Louisiana to Spain as compensation for the loss of West Florida. Guadaloupe, Martinique and Saint Lucia were returned, however, and the French in Canada guaranteed free exercise of their religion. In Europe the territorial situation was to be returned to what it was after the Treaty of Utrecht.¹⁶

There was great opposition in England to the favorable treatment of France but the new ministry of the Earl of Bute used bribery and intimidation with such success that the treaty passed Parliament by an overwhelming majority. One of the first actions of the Bute ministry was to revert to the old policy of immediate reduction of the army and navy.

¹⁵Gipson, The Culmination, 309-10.

¹⁶Ibid..

It was decided that all regiments numbered above seventy were to be disbanded as quickly as possible to avoid unnecessary expense.

By the end of 1763 there were eleven Highland Regiments in the British service besides the Black Watch, but only two of the others, Fraser's and Montgomery's, served in North America. Four of the Highland Regiments were raised and disbanded in 1763 and saw no active service while the other five served in Europe and India. All of the Highland regiments except the Forty-second bore numbers higher than seventy and were disbanded as soon as the treaty of peace was signed.¹⁷ The Forty-second suffered the fate of most other British regiments and was reduced to peacetime strength.

The soldiers in the regiments serving in America were given the choice of returning to Scotland for discharge or remaining in America.¹⁸ There is no indication of any mustering-out pay or bonus for the rank and file of the disbanded regiments, but the commissioned officers were retired on half pay for life. Those men and officers who chose to remain in America were granted land according to their military rank and settled in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces

¹⁷Adam, Clans, Septs. and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, 288.

¹⁸MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 289,

of Canada.¹⁹ There are no figures available for Montgomery's Regiment but it has been asserted that well over three hundred men from Fraser's Regiment remained in Canada.²⁰

It has been estimated that 65,000 Scots enlisted in the British army between 1740 and 1763 and that the majority of those were Highlanders.²¹ The value of their services is well known. Less well known, however, is the cynically dishonest, and often unjust, treatment that the British government accorded the eleven Highland regiments when their services were no longer needed. Soon after the regiments were disbanded the editor of the Edinburgh Advertiser observed:

Were not the Highlanders put upon every hazardous enterprise, where nothing was to be got but broken bones, and are not all these regiments discarded now but the 42nd? The Scots Colonel who entered the Moro Castle (Lieutenant-Colonel James Stuart) is now reduced to half pay, while an English General, whose service was the occasion of the death of many thousands of brave men (Lieutenant-General the Earl of Abermarle), is not only on full pay, but in possession of one-fifth of the whole money gained at Havannah.²²

¹⁹W. S. Rattray, The Scot in British North America (Toronto, 1880), 254. Lieutenant Colonels were entitled to 1200 acres, majors 1000, captains 800, subalterns 500, sergeant majors and quartermasters 300, sergeants 200, and privates 100. See Robert England, "Disbanded and Discharged Soldiers in Canada prior to 1914," Canadian Historical Review, XXVII, No. 1 (March, 1949), 10.

²⁰W. S. Wallace, "Some Notes on Frasers Highlanders," Canadian Historical Review, XVIII, No. 2 (June, 1937), 134.

²¹Adam, Clans, Septs, and Regiments of the Scottish Highlanders, 281.

²²Ibid.

He might have added that a soldier's pay amounted to eight cents per day, most of which he never say, and that many Scots were discharged without a shilling in their pockets.²³

In 1766 in one of his most famous speeches, Pitt, reflecting the changed public attitude, extolled the service of the Highlanders and reminded Parliament that it was he who

sought for merit wherever it was to be found, it is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who when left by your jealousy became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state.... These men ... served with fidelity as they fought with valor, and conquered for you in every part of the World.²⁴

In 1756 he had privately justified the raising of Highland regiments on the ground that "they would do well in North America, and it would be a drain and not many would return." Pitt was also inclined to think the measure would "gain the Scotch."²⁵ King George II, or "wee Geordie" as he was derisively called in the Highlands, also disliked and distrusted the Highlanders as did King George's son, William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland. One of the conditions they imposed upon the raising

²³Edward E. Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, 22-3. See also "An Address in Favor of Disbanded Soldiers," Scot's Magazine, XX (May, 1763), 245-50.

²⁴This quote appears in many works. The version used here is from MacLean's, Scotch Highlanders in America, 308.

²⁵Julian Corbett, Pitt and the Seven Years War, I, 152.

of Jacobite troops was that the regiments be sent to America as quickly as possible.²⁶ Cumberland had on several occasions in 1746 been in a position to appreciate their fighting abilities and gravely disapproved of allowing them to assemble in large numbers under former Jacobite officers.

General Wolfe was also a veteran of the Jacobite Rebellion and was stationed in the Highlands for several years. He had at that time no use for the Scots and wrote to his father in 1749 about the "villanous nature of the inhabitants and the brutality of the people in the neighborhood."²⁷ However, he maintained a healthy respect for the soldierly abilities of the Highlanders. Writing a friend stationed in Nova Scotia in 1751 he set forth his views.

I should imagine that two or three independent Highland companies might be of use.... They are hardy, intrepid, accustomed to rough country, and if they fall, how can you better employ a secret enemy than by making his end conducive of the common good?²⁸

Wolfe never learned to like the Highlanders but six years later he was leading them to victory and praising their steadiness and courage.

²⁶Barrington to Cumberland, July, Stanley Pargellis, Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765, (New York 1936), 381. See also the postscript to Barrington's letter to Cumberland of August 16, 1757, ibid., 395.

²⁷Whitton, Wolfe and North America, 143.

²⁸Ibid., 142. Also quoted in Brian Connell, The Savage Years, 146.

The British policy of disposing of the unwanted Scottish soldiers by settling them in North America eventually proved to be more farsighted than generous.²⁹ The majority of the Scottish Highlanders who came to America remained loyal to the British crown during the American Revolution and served as a buffer to protect Canada. This was particularly true of the former members of the disbanded Highland Regiments. Wallace Notestein would attribute this loyalty to the "medieval" outlook of the Highlanders.³⁰ Most of the disbanded soldiers clung together in compact settlements which included their former officers and social superiors. The leaders found it possible to extract concessions from the British government in return for promoting loyalty among their clansmen.

When the American Revolution broke out the Scots in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Lower Canada formed a regiment of two battalions of 740 men and offered it to the British government. The officers and men of the regiment, known as the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrants, were recruited chiefly from among the ex-soldiers of the Black Watch, Fraser's and Montgomery's regiments. To the Royal Highland Emigrants must go the credit for maintaining British control of Canada.³¹

²⁹Adam, The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, 281.

³⁰Wallace Notestein, The Scot in History, 187.

³¹Rattray, The Scot in British North America, 254-56. See also chapter XIII of MacLean's, Scotch Highlanders in America, 309-76.

After the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the British government reduced the army to 48,000 by disbanding all regiments numbered above seventy and reducing the remaining regiments to 477 men each. The land forces were kept at 48,000 until 1775 when the exigencies of the American War necessitated an expansion. Between 1775 and 1786 the British army was increased to 110,000, of which nearly 56,000 served in America and the West Indies.³² Due to the unpopularity of the war both in England and Ireland the government experienced greater difficulties in securing recruits and replacements in 1776 than it had in 1756. Again Scotland became the most fertile field for recruits.

Soon after the outbreak of hostilities in America in 1775 the British government decided to re-raise Fraser's Highlanders. Since Fraser's popularity among the Highlanders had enabled him to raise a regiment (the 78th) in 1757 it was felt that, since his estates had been restored in 1772, he could raise even more troops in 1775. Within ten weeks Colonel Fraser was able to raise a regiment of two battalions each numbering 1700 men. The regiment reached America in June of 1776 and served with distinction under General Cornwallis until his surrender in 1781.³³

Besides Fraser's Seventy-first Highlanders and the Royal Highland Emigrants (84th) three other Highland regiments

³²Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, 50.

³³Adam, The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands, 293-95.

served in America during the American Revolution -- the Black Watch or Royal Highlanders (42nd), the Argyle Highlanders (74th), and MacDonald's Highlanders (76th). When the war was over the regiments numbered about seventy were again disbanded.³⁴

From the French and Indian War until the present day the Scottish Highlander Regiments have constituted the flower of the British army. The list of their battle honors includes nearly every British victory from 1756 to the Korean War. Whenever Britain has gone to war the Highlanders have flocked to the colors "ready to fight the battles of England in every clime."³⁵ The distinguished service rendered by the three Highland Regiments in the French and Indian War has been described in this paper.

In the garb of old Gaul, with the fires of Old Rome,
From the heath covered mountains of Scotia we come;
Where the Romans endeavoured our county to gain,
But our ancestors fought and they fought not in vain.

Quebec and Cape Breton, the pride of old France,
In their troops fondly boasted till we did advance,
But when our claymores they saw us produce,
their courage did fail, and they sued for a truce....³⁶

The gallant bravery of the other troops, both regular and colonial, who served in the war is freely acknowledged, but

³⁴Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, 72-74. Thirty-five new regiments were added to the British Army, between 1775 and 1781. Over half were raised in Scotland and at least ten in the Highlands.

³⁵MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America, 254.

³⁶Ibid., 157.

it is not unfair to claim that the lion's share of the glory was reaped by the Highlanders. The Highland regiments participated in every major battle after 1756 and were the boldest in attack, the fiercest in close combat and the last to retreat. Consequently, they suffered much greater casualties than the other regiments, both numerically and in proportion to numbers engaged. Pitt's "half-dreaded" policy of raising entire regiments from among the formerly disaffected Highland clans paid magnificent dividends.

Appendix A

Extract of Speech by King George II
in Parliament on December 2, 1756*

The succor and preservation of America cannot but constitute a main object of my attention and solicitude; and the growing danger to which our colonies may stand exposed from the late losses in these parts, demand resolutions of vigor and dispatch.... An adequate and firm defense at home must have the chief place in my thoughts.... To this end...I recommend the forming of a militia to the care and diligence of my Parliament.... The calamities it threatens the Franco-Austria Alliance must sensibly affect the minds of this new and dangerous crisis.... The body of my Electoral troops which I ordered hither at the desire of my Parliament, I have directed to return to my dominion in Germany, returning with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of my people in defense of my person and realm. Gentlemen of the House of Commons...I rely on your wisdom that you will prefer more vigorous efforts to a less effectual and therefore less frugal plan of war.

*Corbett, England in the Seven Years War, I, 152.

Appendix B

Clipping from London Gazett, January 22, 1756*

"The King has been pleased to appoint the following gentlemen to be officers in the two Highland Battalions to be forthwith raised:

First Battalion	77th	Second Battalion	78th
Lt. Col.	Archibald Montgomery	Lt. Col.	Simon Fraser
Majors	James Grant	Major	James Clephane
	Alexander Campbell		John Campbell
Captains	Hugh Mackenzie	Captains	Thomas Fraser
	Alexander Mackenzie		John MacPherson
	Roderick Mackenzie		John Campbell
	William MacDonald		Simon Fraser
	John Gordon		Donald MacDonald
	George Munro		John MacDonald
Capt. Lt.	Alexander Macintosh	Capt. Lt.	Charles Baillie
Lieutenant	Alexander MacDonnell	Lieutenant	John Fraser
	James Grant		John Fraser
	Robert Grant		Archibald MacDonald
	Colin Campbell		Simon Fraser
	_____Macnab		Ronald MacDonald
	Duncan Bayn		John MacDougal
	Nicholas Sutherland		Charles MacDonnell
	Hugh Gordon		Alexander MacDonnell
	Charles Farquarson		Simon Fraser
	Cosimo Macmartin		Hector Macdonald
	Donald Campbell		Hugh Cameron
	Alexander Mackenzie		Simon Fraser
	James Duff		Wm. Macdonald
	William Mackenzie		Wm. Mactavish

[illegible]

Lieutenant (cont.)	Roderick Mackenzie Macdonald
	Henry Munro
	Archibald Robertson
Ensign	William Haggart
	Alexander Grant
	Ronald Mackenzie
	James Grant
	William Maclean
	Macnab
	Lewis Houston
	Macdonald
	George Munro
Chaplain	Allan Stewart
Surgeon	Donald Stewart
Adjutant	Alexander Montgomery
Quartermaster	

Second Battalion

Lieutenant (cont.)	John Murray Ray Macniel Alexander Fraser Donald Maclean James Fraser Alexander MacLeod
Ensign	Simon Fraser Archibald Macallister William Fraser James Fraser Allan Stuart Evan Cameron Lachlan MacLachlan Lachlan Chisholm John Fraser
Chaplain	Robert Macpherson
Surgeon	John Maclean
Quartermaster	John Fraser

Appendix C

Officers of the Forty-Second (Black Watch) at
Greenock before embarking for America, June, 1756*

RANK	NAME	DATE OF COMMISSION
Colonel	Lord John Murray	Apr. 25, 1745
Lt. Col.	Frances Grant	Dec. 17, 1755
Major	Duncan Campbell	Dec. 17, 1755
Captain	Gordon Graham	June 3, 1752
	John Riad	June 3, 1752
	John McNeile	Dec. 16, 1752
	Allan Campbell	March 15, 1755
	Thomas Graeme	Feb. 16, 1756
	James Abercromby	Feb. 16, 1756
	John Campbell	Apr. 9, 1756
Capt. Lt.	John Campbell	Feb. 16, 1756
Lieutenant	William Grant	May 22, 1746
	Robert Gray	Aug. 7, 1746
	John Campbell	May 16, 1748
	George Farguharson	Mar. 29, 1750
	Colin Campbell	Feb. 9, 1751
	James Campbell	June 3, 1752
	Sir James Cockburn	Mar. 15, 1755
	Kenneth Tolme	Jan. 23, 1756
	James Grant	Jan. 24, 1756
	James Graham	Jan. 25, 1756
	Hugh McPherson	Jan. 26, 1756
	Alexander Turnball	Jan. 27, 1756
	Alexander Campbell	Jan. 28, 1756
	Alexander McIntosh	Jan. 29, 1756
	James Gray	Jan. 30, 1756
	William Baillie	Jan. 31, 1756
	Hugh Arnott	Apr. 9, 1756
	John Sutherland	Apr. 10, 1756
	John Small	Apr. 11, 1756
	Archibald Campbell	May 5, 1756
Ensign	James Campbell	Jan. 24, 1756
	Archibald Lamont	Jan. 25, 1756
	Duncan Campbell	Jan. 26, 1756
	George McLogan	Jan. 27, 1756
	Patrick Balneaves	Jan. 28, 1756
	Patrick Stuart	Jan. 29, 1756
	Norman McLeod	Jan. 30, 1756
	George Campbell	Jan. 31, 1756
	Donald Campbell	May 5, 1756
Chaplain	Adam Ferguson	Apr. 30, 1746
Adjutant	James Grant	June 26, 1751
Quartermaster	John Graham	Feb. 19, 1756
Surgeon	David Hepburn	June 26, 1751

*MacLean, Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783, 47.

Appendix D

LIST OF FORCE FOR LOUISBOURG EXPEDITION 1758

Major-General Jeffry Amherst, Commander-in-chief
 Brigadier-General Edward Whitmore
 Brigadier-General Charles Lawrence Brigade Commanders
 Brigadier-General James Wolfe

NO.	REGIMENTS NAME	Colonels	Lt. Colonels	Majors	Captains	Lieu- tenants	Ensigns	Chaplains	Adjutant	Quarter- Master	Surgeon	Surgeon's Mate	Sergeants	Drummers	Rank & File (Actual)
1	Royals	0	1	1	7	20	9	1	1	1	1	2	38	18	854
15	Amherst's	1	1	1	8	18	7	1	1	1	1	2	35	19	763
17	Forbes'	0	1	1	7	10	9	-	1	1	1	1	29	29	660
22	Whitmore's	1	1	0	8	17	8	-	1	1	1	2	37	37	910
28	Bragg's	0	1	1	7	9	8	1	1	1	1	1	30	20	627
35	Otway's	0	1	0	5	12	5	-	1	1	1	1	20	14	566
40	Hopson's	0	1	0	7	16	6	-	1	1	1	2	30	16	550
45	Warburton's	0	1	1	6	17	6	-	1	1	1	1	38	19	864
47	Lascelle's	0	1	1	5	15	9	-	1	1	1	2	38	18	857
48	Webb's	0	1	1	7	16	8	1	1	1	1	2	38	20	932
58	Anstruther's	0	1	0	8	8	7	1	1	1	1	1	26	15	615
60*	2nd Monckton's	1	0	1	6	26	7	-	1	1	1	2	39	20	925
60*	3rd Lawrence's	1	0	1	6	16	7	-	-	1	1	2	35	17	814
78	Fraser's	1	0	1	10	22	10	1	1	1	1	2	43	22	1084
Effective Total		4	11	10	97	216	106	6	13	14	14	23	476	258	11021

Artillery	267
Rangers	499
	768
Total Rank & File	11787
Officers & NCO'S	1355
TOTAL	13142

Appendix E

Official Report of British Killed and Wounded at Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758.*

<u>Regulars</u>		Officers		Rank & File		Total
		<u>Killed</u>	<u>Wounded</u>	<u>Killed</u>	<u>& Missing Wounded</u>	
27th	Blakeney's		6	21	3	125
42nd	Black Watch	7	20	196	0	501
44th	Abercrombie's	1	12	42	9	205
46th	Thomas Murray	8	4	60	12	221
55th	Lord Howe's	5	5	36	3	169
60th	1st Battalion	2	11	21	0	120
60th	4th Battalion	2	7	25	0	160
	Light Infantry	1	1	3	0	20
	Rangers	2	1	17	0	38
	Bateau men	0	1	17	0	50
	Engineer	1	0	0	0	1
Total Regulars		<u>26</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>438</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>1611</u>
Provincials						
Colonel Prebles'		0	5	7	1	27
Colonel Ruggle's		0	0	0	0	2
Colonel Bagley's		2	1	4	0	17
Colonel Williams'		0	0	4	0	17
New York regiment		2	4	26	0	89
New Jersey regiment		1	1	10	2	60
Colonel Babcock's		0	4	18	0	70
Colonel Fitch's		1	1	4	3	14
Colonel Wooster's		0	1	3	0	19
Colonel Partridge's		<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>14</u>
Total Provincials		8	18	79	8	334
Grand Total		34	87	517	35	1945

*Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 173

Appendix F

Return of forces under General Abercrombie
on June 29, 1758, at Camp on Lake George*

Regulars

27th	Blakeney's	664
42nd	Lord John Murray's (Black Watch)	1,000
44th	Abercrombie's	970
46th	Thomas Murray's	665
55th	Lord Howe's	683
60th	First Battalion Royal Americans	568
60th	Fourth Battalion Royal Americans	932
Gage's	Light Infantry	403
	Rangers	<u>520</u>
		6,405

Provincials

Massachusetts	Colonel Ruggles	449
Massachusetts	Colonel Doty	869
Massachusetts	Colonel Puebles	525
Massachusetts	Colonel Williams	563
Massachusetts	Colonel Partridge (Lt. Inf)	442
New York	Colonel De Lancey	1,715
New Jersey		922
Connecticut		<u>475</u>
		5,960

Total	12,365
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*Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 158.

Appendix G

Return of Forces under General John Forbes on the Expedition to Fort Duquesne in 1758.*

Regulars

60th,	1st Battalion Royal Americans	All Ranks 366
77th	Montgomery's Highlanders	<u>1,267</u>
		1,633

Provincials

1st	Virginia Regiment	782
2nd	Virginia Regiment	702
3rd	North Carolina Companies	141
4th	Maryland Companies	270
1st	Battalion, Pennsylvania	755
2nd	Battalion, Pennsylvania	666
3rd	Battalion, Pennsylvania	771
The three lower counties (Delaware)		<u>263</u>
		4,350

Total	5,983
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*Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 193.

Appendix H

Return of Forces under Major-General Amherst at Fort George, 20 June, 1759*

1st	Battalion Royal American	974
17th	(Lake Forbes)	734
27th	Inniskillings	744
42nd	Royal Highlanders	1,023
53rd	Prideaux'	728
87th	Montgomery's	960
	Gage's Light Infantry	534
	Rangers	724
	Artillery	<u>116</u>
		6,537

Provincials

Massachusetts		1,202
New Jersey		991
Connecticut:		
Lyman's		661
Whiting's		736
Fitch's		636
Babcock's		<u>613</u>
		4,839

Total		11,376
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*Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 331.

Appendix I

Embarkation Return of Wolfe's Forces at Louisbourg, June, 1759

<u>Regiment</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Offices</u>	<u>NCO:</u>	<u>Rank & File</u>	<u>Total</u>
15th	Amherst's	34	36	524	594
28th	Bragg's	26	27	538	591
35th	Otway's	36	40	823	899
43rd	Kennedy's	29	30	656	715
47th	Lascelles'	36	40	603	679
48th	Wolfe's	36	39	777	852
58th	Anstruther's	27	28	561	616
60th	2nd Battalion	27	34	520	581
78th	Fraser High-landers	50	51	1,168	1,269
3 Companies	Louisbourg Grenadiers	13	13	300	326
Rangers,	Capt. Gorham	7	5	85	95
	Capt. Stark	3	4	88	95
	Capt. Brewer	3	4	78	85
	Capt. Hazzans	3	4	82	89
	Capt. Rogers	4	4	104	112
Royal Artillery,	Capt. Williams	<u>26</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>291</u>	<u>330</u>
		384	416	7,740	8,535

Appendix J

Official Report of British Losses at the Battle on the Plains of Abraha, Sept. 13, 1759*

	Killed		
Officers (Wolfe)	1		
Royal Artillery	1		
Captains	6		
Lieutenants	1		
Ensigns	<u>1</u>	9	
Sergeants	3		
Rank and File	<u>45</u>	48	58 Killed
	Wounded		
Staff	6		
Captains	13		
Lieutenants	26		
Ensigns	<u>10</u>	49	
Sergeants	25		
Drummers	4		
Rank and File	<u>506</u>	535	
Artillery	7		
			<u>597</u> Wounded
Total killed and wounded			<u>655</u>

*Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 280.

Appendix K

Return of Forces before Battle of Stc. Foye (or Sillery), 28 April, 1760*

	<u>Regiment</u>	<u>Officers</u>	<u>NCO's</u>	<u>Rank & File</u>	<u>Total</u>
15th	Amherst's	25	37	325	386
28th	Townshend's	16	29	274	320
35th	Otway's	24	32	285	343
43rd	Kennedy's	19	25	169	214
47th	Lascelles'	19	30	264	313
48th	Webb's	23	43	307	373
58th	Anstruther's	16	32	277	326
60th	2nd Bn. Murray's	20	23	191	236
60th	3rd Bn. Lawrence's	21	29	232	284
78th	Fraser's	36	44	370	453
Light Infantry		28	38	339	405
Rangers	Capt. Hay	2	4	78	84
		258	365	3,111	3,737
Royal Artillery		13	8	108	129
	Total	271	373	3,219	3,866

Return of Killed and Wounded on April 29, 1780

Killed			Wounded			
<u>Officers</u>	<u>NCO's</u>	<u>Rank & File</u>	<u>Officers</u>	<u>NCO's</u>	<u>Rank & File</u>	
Amherst's	1	4	23	12	9	84
Bragg's	0	1	14	10	7	100
Otway's	0	0	21	3	4	45
Kennedy's	0	0	5	2	0	18
Lascelles'	1	1	10	8	4	43
Webb's	0	0	24	9	0	66
Anstruther's	1	1	8	0	3	46
Monckton's	0	1	2	2	0	10
Lawrence's	0	1	10	9	0	32
Fraser's	1	4	61	26	10	121
Light						
Infantry	0	8	78	1	8	124
Rangers	0	0	2	0	0	9
Engineers &						
Artillery	0	0	0	5	0	11
	4	21	258	87	45	709

*Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 270.

Appendix L

Embarkation Return of Forces under Major-General Amherst at Fort Ontario, 9th August, 1760*

		<u>Offices</u>	<u>Rank & File</u>	<u>Total</u>
	Royal Artillery	13	124	137
42nd	1st Battalion (Royal High-landers)	30	462	492
42nd	2nd Battalion (Black Watch)	29	391	420
44th	Abercrombie's	27	599	626
46th	Murray's	25	499	524
55th	Oughton's	23	505	528
60th	4th Battalion (Royal Americans)	31	439	470
77th	Montgomery's	33	506	539
80th	Gage's	21	454	475
	Grenadiers	24	568	592
	Light Infantry	24	568	592
	Rangers	<u>7</u>	<u>184</u>	<u>191</u>
		287	5,299	5,586
Provincials				
	New York, LeRous	25	471	496
	New York, Corsa	30	567	597
	New York, Woodhull	27	458	485
	New Jersey, Schuyler's	26	496	522
	Connecticut, Lyman	44	594	638
	Connecticut, Whiting	45	549	594
	Connecticut, Wooster	45	538	583
	Connecticut, Fitch	<u>45</u>	<u>519</u>	<u>564</u>
		287	4,192	4,479
Grand Total				10,065
Two Armed Snows:				
	Onondaga	100		
	Mohawk	<u>90</u>		190
Indians				<u>706</u>
				10,961

*Kingsford, History of Canada, IV, 384.

Appendix M

Officers of the 78th Regiment or Fraser's Highlanders*

ABERCROMBIE, James, was a captain in the 42nd Regiment in 1756, and in 1759 was appointed aide-de-camp of General Amherst. He was transferred to the 78th Regiment, and gazetted a major on July 25, 1760. He retired on half-pay in 1763; in 1770 he was appointed to command the 22nd Regiment; and he was killed at the battle of Bunker's Hill on June 17, 1775.

BAILLIE, Charles, was gazetted a captain in the 78th on January 10, 1757. He was killed in the landing of the British at Louisbourg on June 8, 1758.

BAILLIE, David, was gazetted a lieutenant on July 26, 1757, and retired on half-pay in 1763.

BURNETT, Charles, was gazetted an ensign on May 8, 1760, and retired on half-pay as an ensign in 1763.

CAMERON, Alexander of Dungallon was gazetted a captain in the 78th on July 21, 1757. On September 3, 1759, he died of a fever, and he was buried at Levis on September 4; later his body was removed and reinterred at Quebec, and a monument to his memory was erected by John Nairne and Malcolm Fraser, who were officers of his company.

CAMERON, Donald, was gazetted a lieutenant in the 78th on September 30, 1758; he was wounded at Ste. Foy, and retired on half-pay in 1763. Major-General Stewart says he died a lieutenant on half-pay in 1817.

CAMERON, Duncan, was gazetted an ensign in the 78th on September 25, 1759, and was wounded at Ste. Foy. He does not appear in the list of officers on half-pay after 1763.

CAMERON, Evan, was gazetted an ensign on January 5, 1757, and a lieutenant on June 9, 1758. He was wounded at the attack on the Beauport shore and retired on half-pay in 1763.

CAMERON, Hugh, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 12, 1757, and a captain on September 25, 1759. He was reported wounded in Wolfe's dispatch of September 2, 1759; but recovered from his wounds, and retired on half-pay in 1763.

*Extracted from W. S. Wallace, "Some Notes on Fraser's Highlanders, Scottish Historical Review, XVIII, No. 2 (June, 1937), 131-46, and Worthington C. Ford, British Officers Serving in America, 1754-1774 (New York, 1894).

M (2)

- CAMPBELL, Alexander, (I) of Aros, was gazetted a lieutenant on May 7, 1757, and a captain on October 5, 1760. He was wounded at Louisbourg and at the Plains of Abraham; and he was taken prisoner at Ste. Foy. He retired on half-pay in 1763; and he must have died before 1773.
- CAMPBELL, Alexander (II), was gazetted an ensign on July 23, 1760, and retired on half-pay in 1763.
- CAMPBELL, Archibald, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 23, 1757, and a captain on April 29, 1759; and he was wounded both at the Plains of Abraham and at Ste. Foy. He died in Scotland in 1780.
- CAMPBELL, John (I), of Dunoon, and later of Barbreck, was gazetted a major of the 78th on January 6, 1757, but "never joyned" the regiment. He was afterwards commandant of the Argyll Highlanders of Germany.
- CAMPBELL, John (II), of Baltimore was gazetted a captain on January 9, 1757, and was promoted to be major on October 5, 1760. He was wounded at Ste. Foy; and he retired on half-pay in 1763.
- CAMPBELL, John (III), was gazetted a lieutenant on December 13, 1759. General Stewart lists him as an ensign in 1757; but he does not so appear in the Army lists. He was on the strength of the regiment in 1761; but he does not appear as drawing half-pay after 1763.
- CHISHOLM, John, was gazetted an ensign on January 17, 1757, and was promoted to be lieutenant on September 4, 1758. He was wounded at Ste. Foy, and in 1763 he retired on half-pay.
- CLEPHANE, James, on January 4, 1757, was gazetted a major in the 78th or Fraser's Highlanders. He was present at the capture of Louisbourg in September, 1758, but was "left sick at New York" and did not accompany the regiment on the expedition to Quebec. By 1761 he appears to have been struck off the strength.
- CUTHBERT, John, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 18, 1757, and was killed at Louisbourg on June 8, 1758.
- DOUGLAS, John, was gazetted a lieutenant on June 18, 1757. He was wounded at the Plains of Abraham, and the monthly return of October 24, 1759, describes him as "gone to the continent for recovery of his wounds." Malcolm Fraser says in his Journal that he "died of his wound soon afterwards."

FRASER, Alexander (I), of Culduthel, commanded a fourteenth company of the 78th, which arrived before Quebec on September 4, 1759. He was gazetted a captain on September 15, 1758. He was wounded at the battle of Ste. Foy, returned to Scotland, and died at Beaulieside, near Inverness, on November 17, 1778.

FRASER, Alexander (II), was gazetted a lieutenant on February 12, 1757. He was wounded at the Plains of Abraham and at Ste. Foy, but recovered, and in the Army list of 1761 he appears as the second senior lieutenant in the regiment.

FRASER, Alexander (III), was gazetted a lieutenant on July 22, 1757, and appears as the fifth senior lieutenant in the Army list for 1761. He was wounded at Ste. Foy, and was usually known as "Lieut. Alexander Fraser, junior," to distinguish him from Alexander Fraser (II).

FRASER, Alexander (IV), was gazetted an ensign on January 15, 1757, and a lieutenant on September 27, 1758. He was wounded at Ste. Foy, but was still on the strength of of the regiment in 1763, when he retired on half-pay. He would appear to be the Lieutenant Alexander Fraser who remained in Canada, who acquired the siegniory of La Martiniere of Beauchamp in 1763, the seigniory of Vitre or Montapeine in 1775, and the seigniory of St. Gilles or Beaurivage in 1782; who served as a captain in the 84th Regiment (Royal Highland Emigrants) during the early years of the American Revolutionary War; and who died at St. Charles, Lower Canada, on April 19, 1822, aged about Seventy years.

FRASER, Alexander (V), was gazetted an ensign on December 13, 1759, and was retired on half-pay as an ensign in 1763.

FRASER, Alexander (VI), was gazetted an ensign on October 4, 1760, and was retired on half-pay in 1763.

FRASER, Archibald of Culbokie and Guisachan, was the ninth son of William Fraser of Culbokie, and a younger brother of John Fraser (II). He was gazetted an ensign on April 7, 1760, but was promoted to be a lieutenant before he was retired on half-pay in 1763. He was subsequently a major in the Glengarry Fencibles served in Ireland during the rebellion of 1798, and died at Guisachan, Invernesshire, unmarried.

FRASER, Hugh (I), probably of the Foyers family, was gazetted adjutant of the 78th on January 12, 1757, and continued as adjutant until shortly before the regiment was disbanded, when he was promoted to a captaincy.

FRASER, Hugh (II), probably of the Foyers family, was probably gazetted an ensign in 1758, since he appears in Major-General Stewart's list of officers, but not in the Army list for 1757. He was promoted to be a lieutenant on April 29, 1760, and he retired on half-pay in 1763.

FRASER, James (I), was gazetted quartermaster on January 12, 1757, but seems to have been succeeded by another quartermaster, John Fraser, on September 27, 1758, and he by George Gordon in 1760. In the half-pay list of 1764, however, the quartermaster is described as "J. Fraser."

FRASER, James (II), of Belladrum, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 4, 1757, and a captain shortly afterwards. He was wounded at the Plains of Abraham, and the monthly return of October 24, 1759, shows him as gone "to continent for recovery of his wounds."

FRASER, John (I), was gazetted a lieutenant on January 24, 1757, and a captain on April 15, 1760. He retired in 1763 on half-pay.

FRASER, John (II), of Culbokie, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 30, 1757, and was promoted to be a captain about 1761. In 1763 he was appointed paymaster of the troops in Montreal; and in 1764 he was made a judge of the court of common pleas at Montreal. In 1775 he became a member of the legislative council of Quebec, and in 1792 a member of the legislative council of Lower Canada. He died in December, 1795.

FRASER, John (III), of Erroglie, was gazetted an ensign on January 19, 1757, and was promoted a lieutenant on April 22, 1759. He retired on half-pay in 1763. He was the nephew of General Simon Fraser, who was killed at the battle of Saratoga.

FRASER, John (IV), was gazetted quartermaster on September 27, 1758, and was succeeded by George Gordon on April 15, 1760.

FRASER, John (V), must have been gazetted an ensign after 1761, for "Ensign John Fraser" (according to the Fraser papers in the Canadian Archives) died at Murray Bay on June 22, 1774.

FRASER, Malcolm (I), was gazetted an ensign on July 18, 1757, and a lieutenant on September 25, 1758. He was wounded at the Plains of Abraham and at Ste. Foy. He retired on half-pay in 1763, and settled at Murray Bay. Here he died on July 17, 1815.

FRASER, Malcolm (II), was gazetted an ensign on June 18, 1758, and died of wounds received at Ste. Foy.

FRASER, Malcolm (III), was gazetted an ensign on July 9, 1760, and retired on half-pay in 1763.

FRASER, Simon (I), eldest son of the thirteenth Lord Lovat, was gazetted lieutenant-colonel commandant of the 78th on January 5, 1757. He was wounded at the attack on the Beauport shore, and was not in command of his regiment at the battle of the Plains. He was present at Ste. Foy, however, and was here wounded a second time. He retired on half-pay in 1763; but in 1775 he raised and commanded the 71st Regiment, of which he became the colonel. He died in London on February 8, 1782, having reached the rank of lieutenant general in the British army.

FRASER, Simon (II), of Inverallochy, was gazetted a captain on January 11, 1757. He was wounded at the Plains of Abraham, and died soon after, on October 15, 1759, unmarried.

FRASER, Simon (III), was gazetted a lieutenant on January 8, 1757, captain-lieutenant on September 27, 1758, and captain on April 22, 1759. He was wounded at Ste. Foy on April 28, 1760; and in 1763 he retired on half pay. In 1775 he raised and commanded a company in the 71st Regiment; and he became major in this regiment, with which he served in America from 1778 to 1781. In 1793 he raised another Highland regiment, the 133rd Foot. He became a major-general in 1795, a lieutenant-general in 1802, and for a time second-in-command of the forces in Scotland. He died in Scotland on March 21, 1813.

FRASER, Simon (IV), of Balnain, was gazetted a lieutenant on February 8, 1757. He had been an officer in the Scots Brigade in Holland, and had been wounded at Bergen-op-Zoom. It is said that it was he who answered in French the challenge of the sentry the night before the battle of the Plains, and made him believe that the Highlanders were the Regiment de la Reine. He was known as "Lieut Simon Fraser, junior," to distinguish him from Fraser (III). He became a brigadier-general and died on October 8, 1777, from wounds received when in command of the right wing of Burgoyne's army at the battle of Saratoga.

M (6)

FRASER, Simon (V), was gazetted an ensign on January 9, 1757, and a lieutenant on June 10, 1758. He does not appear in Army list for 1761.

FRASER, Simon (VI), was gazetted an ensign on January 9, 1757, and a lieutenant on September 25, 1750. He does not appear in the Army list for 1761.

FRASER, Thomas, of Struy, was gazetted a captain on January 16, 1757, but his name disappears in subsequent lists, and there is no evidence that he proceeded with the regiment on active service.

GILCHRIST, Alexander, was gazetted an ensign on September 25, 1759, and a lieutenant on October 4, 1760. He retired on half-pay in 1763.

GORDON, Cosmo, was gazetted a lieutenant on July 24, 1757. He was killed at Ste. Foy on April 28, 1760, when in command of the light infantry company.

GORDON, George was gazetted quartermaster on April 15, 1760.

GREGORSON, Alexander of Ardtornish, was gazetted an ensign on June 10, 1758, and was promoted lieutenant on April 29, 1760. He was wounded at the Plains of Abraham and at Ste. Foy he was slightly wounded and was taken prisoner. His narrow escape from death at the hands of the Indians is described in the Journal of Malcolm Fraser (q.v.). In 1763 he retired on half-pay.

HENDERSON, James was gazetted an ensign on July 23, 1758, and a lieutenant on May 8, 1760. He retired on half pay in 1763.

MCALISTER, Archibald, of the family of Loup, was gazetted an ensign on January 13, 1757, and a lieutenant on July 23, 1758. He was wounded at Ste. Foy; and he retired on half pay in 1763.

MCBEAN, Donald, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 28, 1757, was promoted to be captain-lieutenant on April 27, 1760, and retired on half-pay with the rank of captain-lieutenant in 1763. He was wounded at Ste. Foy.

MC CULLOCH, Kenneth, was gazetted an ensign on July 9, 1760. He was still carried on the strength in 1761, but does not appear in the half-pay list after 1763.

MACDONELL, Alexander, with his father and elder brother, was "out in the '45'"; and his brother was still in prison in 1757. He was gazetted a lieutenant in the 78th on February 2, 1757; and he was killed at the battle of the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759.

MACDONELL, Charles of Glengarry, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 19, 1757, and a Captain on December 13, 1759. He was wounded at Ste. Foy, and was killed at St. John's Newfoundland, in 1762.

MACDONELL, Donald, was an officer in the French army before 1745 but he took part in the rebellion, and served as a captain in the army of Prince Charlie. He was imprisoned, but afterwards liberated; and on January 12, 1757, he was gazetted a captain in the 78th. He seems to have been an exceptionally able officer, and was on several occasions singled out by Wolfe and Murray for special duties. He was killed at Ste. Foy in 1760.

MACDONELL, Hector, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 27, 1757, was wounded in the attack on the Beauport shore, and died from wounds received at Ste. Foy in 1760.

MACDONELL, John (I), had been an officer in the French Royal, Scots, and had been promoted captain in 1756, but he was gazetted a captain in the 78th on January 13, 1757. He was wounded at the Plains of Abraham and the monthly return for October, 1759, describes him as having gone "to continent for recovery of his wounds." He was carried on the strength, however, and in 1763 he retired on half-pay. When the 71st Regiment was raised in 1775, he was gazetted a major in the first battalion; and in 1777 he was gazetted lieutenant-colonel commandant of the 76th Regiment. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-general in the army; and he died at London in October, 1790, unmarried.

MACDONELL, John (II), of Leek was gazetted a lieutenant on July 23, 1757, and was wounded at Louisbourg. He was still carried on strength in 1761, but does not appear in the half-pay lists after 1763. He is said to have commanded a Veteran Corps in Newfoundland, and he died at Berwick in 1813, while a captain of invalids.

MACDONELL, Ranald, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 14, 1757, and a captain on October 17, 1759. He was wounded through the knee at the Plains of Abraham; and the monthly return of October 24, 1759, describes him as having gone "to continent for recovery of his wounds". He retired on half-pay in 1763, but later became a major in the 74th Regiment. He died at Keppoch in 1788.

M (8)

MACDONELL, William, was a younger brother of Captain Donald MacDonnel (q.v.), and was gazetted a lieutenant on January 20, 1757. The monthly return of November 1759, lists him as having gone "to continent for recovery".

MACKENZIE, James, was gazetted an ensign on May 7, 1757, and a lieutenant on September 25, 1758. He was wounded slightly at the Plains of Abraham; and he retired on half-pay in 1763.

MCLEAN, John, was gazetted the regimental surgeon on January 12, 1757, and he continued as such until his retirement on half-pay in 1763.

MCLEOD, Alexander, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 11, 1757, and a captain on September 4, 1759. He was wounded at Ste. Foy, and he retired on half-pay in 1763.

MCLEOD, Norman, was gazetted an ensign on July 24, 1760, and retired on half-pay in 1763.

MCNEILL, Donald, was gazetted an ensign on July 20, 1757, and a lieutenant on October 17, 1758. He was wounded at Ste. Foy, and is in the Army list for 1761, but does not appear in the list of half-pay officers after 1763.

MACNEILL, Roderick, of Barra, was gazetted a lieutenant on January 20, 1757, and was killed at the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759. He was the eldest son of the chief of the clan Macneil, also named Roderick, on whose island of Barra Bonnie Prince Charlie landed in 1745.

MACPHERSON, John (I), was a younger brother of the Cluny Macpherson who headed the Macpherson clan in the rebellion of 1745. He was gazetted a captain on January 5, 1757; and he was wounded in the thigh below Beaumont, opposite Quebec, on July 26, 1759. His name appears in the Army list for 1760, but not for 1761.

MACPHERSON, John (II), was gazetted an ensign on October 5, 1760, and retired on half-pay in 1763.

MACPHERSON, Lachlan, was gazetted a lieutenant on July 9, 1760, and retired on half-pay in 1763.

MACPHERSON, Malcolm, was gazetted an ensign on September 4, 1759; but the monthly return of October 24, 1759, describes him as "gone to Scotland by Gen. Monckton's leave".

M (9)

MCQUEEN, James was gazetted an ensign on April 29, 1760, and retired on half-pay in 1763.

MCTAVISH, John, does not appear in the Army lists, but the monthly return of October 24, 1759, shows him as a lieutenant "left at Louisbourg with the sick", and he appears as the senior lieutenant of the battalion in the list of officers on half-pay after 1763.

MENZIES, Robert, was gazetted an ensign on September 15, 1758, and a lieutenant on August 23, 1760. He was wounded at Ste. Foy, and he retired on half-pay in 1763. He would appear to be the Robert Menzies who was later a major in the 84th Regiment (Royal Highland Emigrants), and was killed in Boston harbour in 1776.

MUNRO, Henry, was gazetted an ensign on July 23, 1757, and a lieutenant on December 12, 1759. He was wounded at Ste. Foy; and he was retired on half-pay in 1763.

MURRAY, James, was gazetted a lieutenant on September 15, 1758, and was retired on half-pay as a lieutenant in 1763.

MURRAY, John, the son of Glencarnock, was gazetted a lieutenant on February 6, 1757, and was killed at Louisbourg.

NAIRNE, John, was gazetted a lieutenant on July 16, 1757, and was wounded at Ste. Foy. He was promoted captain in 1762, and retired on half-pay in 1763. He had formerly been an officer in the Scots Brigade in Holland. In 1761 he purchased from General Murray the seigniorty of Murray Bay; and he spent the rest of his life in Canada. During the American Revolutionary War, he was a major in the 84th Regiment (Royal Highland Emigrants). He died at Quebec on July 14, 1802.

ROBERTSON, William, was gazetted an ensign on October 17, 1759, and a lieutenant on October 5, 1760. He was wounded at Ste. Foy. Though his name appears in the Army list for 1761, it does not appear in the list of half-pay officers after 1763.

ROSE, Arthur, of Kilravock, was gazetted a lieutenant on July 17, 1757, was wounded at Ste. Foy, and retired on half-pay in 1763. He had been a lieutenant in the Scots Brigade in Holland, but obtained a lieutenantancy in the 78th through the influence of Major Clephane, whose sister had married Hugh Rose of Kilravock, Arthur Rose's nephew.

ROSS, Thomas, of Culrossie, was gazetted a captain on July 23, 1757, and was killed at the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759.

SETON, Sir Henry, Bart, of Abercorn and Culbeg, was gazetted a captain on July 17, 1757, but I can find no evidence that he ever joined the regiment. His name is in the Army list for 1759, but not in that for 1760.

SINCLAIR, Charles, was gazetted an ensign on July 23, 1760, and retired on half-pay in 1763.

STEWART, Allan, was gazetted an ensign on January 7, 1757, and a lieutenant on June 10, 1758; and he retired on half-pay in 1763.

STEWART, Charles, was the son of Colonel John Roy Stewart, the commandant of one of the regiments in Bonnie Prince Charlie's army at Culloden. He himself had been present at Culloden and had been wounded. He was gazetted an ensign on September 25, 1759, and a lieutenant on July 23, 1760. He was wounded at Ste. Foy; and he retired on half-pay in 1763.

STEWART, Kenneth, was gazetted an ensign on April 29, 1760, and retired on half-pay, in 1763.

WALKINSHAW, J. Craufurd, was gazetted captain-lieutenant on January 5, 1757, and captain on June 9, 1758. The monthly return of October 24, 1759, describes him as gone "to continent for recovery of his health". He does not appear in the list of half-pay officers after 1763.

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