

Colonial American Troops 1610–1774 (3)



CONTENTS

SOUTH CAROLINA	3
NORTH CAROLINA	7
PENNSYLVANIA	9
DELAWARE	15
GEORGIA	15
NOVA SCOTIA	17
HUDSON'S BAY	19
QUEBEC PROVINCE	20
RANGERS	21
COLORS & STANDARDS	36
CONCLUSION	39
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	40
THE PLATES	42
INDEX	48



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Colonial American Troops 1610–1774 (3)



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Series editor Martin Windrow

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Author's Note

The history and development of the North American colonies was most varied. Some were not initially British; some were founded by different religious groups, while others attracted men who sought land and riches. The evolution of their military institutions was therefore quite varied, reflecting the fact that some were under constant threat from American Indian, French or Spanish enemies while others were not. Few royal troops were posted to or raised in the colonies before the mid-18th century; consequently the colonists had to organize their own defense if they were to survive.

The first in this series of books, MAA 366, includes a general chronology; reviews the royal troops stationed or raised in all the colonies; gives a general assessment of the systems of militia and provincial troops; and begins a colony-by-colony examination of militia and provincial troops in a loose chronological order, starting with the oldest colony, Virginia, followed by New Netherlands and New Sweden which it absorbed.

The second, MAA 372, continues with the militias and provincial troops of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, New York and New Jersey.

In all volumes, special attention is given to organization, weapons and dress; and it is hoped that the three volumes will together form the most complete reference to date on all these aspects.

Abbreviations used in this text:

Colonies/states: CT, Connecticut; DE, Delaware; GA, Georgia; NC, North Carolina; NFLD, Newfoundland; NJ, New Jersey; NH, New Hampshire; NS, Nova Scotia; NY, New York; MA, Massachusetts; MD, Maryland; ME, Maine; PA, Pennsylvania; RI, Rhode Island; SC, South Carolina; VA, Virginia.

Archives: BL, British Library; NAC, National Archives of Canada; PRO, Public Records Office, Kew, UK, within which PRO/AO, Audit Office; PRO/CO, Colonial Office; PRO/T, Treasury, & PRO/WO, War Office.

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Artist's Note

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COLONIAL AMERICAN TROOPS 1610-1774 (3)

SOUTH CAROLINA

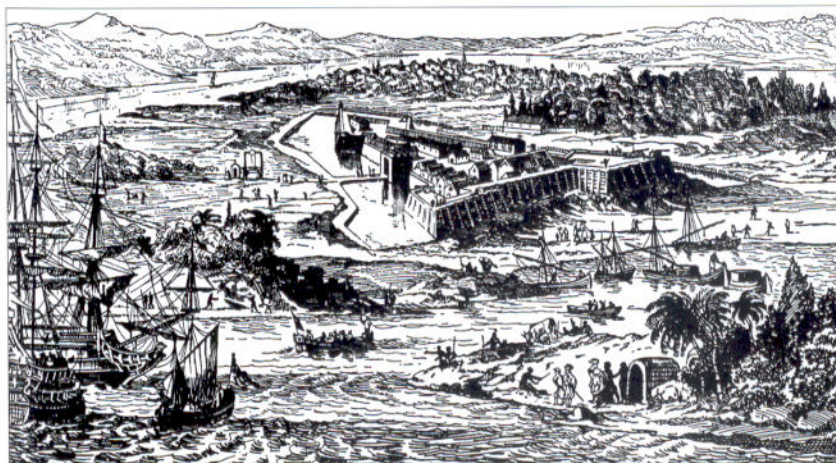
Militia

THE FUTURE COLONIES of South and North Carolina and Georgia were originally granted as a single 'Carolina' colony in 1629 and in subsequent grants. The 1663 charter even provided for a militia but, except for a few settlers overlapping southwards from Virginia, there was as yet no real colony in the area (although it had already been theroretically divided into the counties of Albermare, Clarendon and Craven). The 1669 'Constitution' provided that all men from 17 to 60 years old were to bear arms and could be embodied to 'serve as soldiers' when necessary.

The first English settlers who actually arrived in April 1670 were well armed with 200 flintlock muskets, 200 bandoleers, 58 swords and 200 spearheads for making pikes, as well as artillery pieces, and were formed into two militia companies. This martial preparation was needed, as relations with the Indians were not always harmonious. These first settlements were in Craven County, but the new colony developed quickly. By 1685 there were two militia regiments, the Northward and Southward, and a troop of Governor's Life Guards. An independent company of Huguenots who fled France to settle on the banks of the Santee River was later added. The 1696 Militia Act specified that every able-bodied man aged between 16 and 60 years was to have a good musket, a cartridge box holding 16 or more cartridges, a belt, a sword and a bayonet or hatchet. Companies were to drill at least every two months and regiments were to assemble once a year.

The militia in South Carolina had about 1,500 men when the Spanish and French attack on Charleston was repulsed in 1706. The city's garrison consisted of two companies in the city and seven companies from the countryside in the Northward Regiment, plus a company from the Southward Regiment. John Lawson, a traveler who visited Charleston in 1700, admired the good discipline of the militia, adding that 'Their officers, both infantry and cavalry, generally appear in

Charleston, South Carolina, in 1673. The early site built from 1670 was well fortified and laid out in a triangular plan with large bastions at the angles. Badly situated, the town was moved slightly further north in 1680 to its present site, where it thrived.





Map of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, with to the south the Spanish colony of Florida.

scarlet mountings, and as rich as in most regiments belonging to the crown.'

As there were no regulars in the colony, a few men were detached in turn from militia companies to serve full time for two weeks, keeping watch at strategic points. From November 1685 the colonial legislation provided for a sergeant and four privates to be on duty at each of the three lookout stations between Sullivan's Island and Port Royal. By 1707 there were eight lookout stations, and each had an old gun which was to be fired to sound the alarm. In 1704 a 'Patrol Act' provided for ten men from each militia company to serve mounted, patrolling their district on the lookout for enemy incursions or slave uprisings. Each of these troopers had to own a good horse and was armed with a pair of pistols, a carbine, a sword and a cartridge box.

Following the division of Carolina into the colonies of South Carolina and North Carolina (see below) in 1710, the organization of South Carolina's 1,500 militiamen remained largely unchanged. In April 1715 the Yamasee with the Creek and other hostile Indians made a devastating attack, destroying many settlements south of Charleston; some 400 settlers perished, and the colony's militia mobilized. The Cherokee Indians, at first neutral, later joined in the defense. By August, some 1,400 men divided into three temporary regiments held a line of forts south of Charleston. Also present were two companies of African-American militiamen led by white officers, one of which remained with the friendly Cherokee Indians; half of the other company garrisoned Fort Moore on the Savannah River. A series of counter-attacks scattered the Yamasees and finally the Creeks in November 1715, after which most of the embodied militiamen were sent home. Skirmishes continued and, in December 1716, two companies of mounted Rangers were authorized for a year's service to patrol the western frontier.

Up to that time the militia theoretically enlisted men of European stock only, although it is obvious that many blacks were brought along to assist; about 200 were mobilized and armed during the Yamasee War. This was recognized in 1719 when selected trusted black slaves were officially allowed to form part of the militia and could be armed with muskets, hatchets or pikes. Their number was not to exceed the number of white men in a company. The act of 1739 further specified that up to one-third of the companies outside Charleston and half of the Charleston companies could be made up of trusted black slaves. Any who killed or captured an enemy in battle or captured a color was to be granted his freedom. Lesser acts of bravery were rewarded by the slave receiving every year thereafter a livery coat of red faced with blue, red breeches, a black pair of shoes and a black hat. However, in September 1739 a slave revolt broke out at Stono only 18 miles from Charleston, and although this was put down, it was followed by the discovery of a conspiracy for a large slave uprising in Charleston itself during June 1740. Thereafter the alarmed South Carolina legislature ended the experiment of arming slaves in the militia.

By the 1740s South Carolina had five regiments of militia mustering about 4,000 men and, as the colony developed rapidly, by 1757 these figures had risen to seven regiments gathering some 6,123 men in 92 companies. The Craven County Regiment was the most numerous, with 1,870 men in 30 companies; the other regiments were the Charleston, Berkeley County, Colleton County, Granville County, Welsh Track and Upper Berkeley. The St Marks (later Camden) Regiment was added in 1758, the Saluda Regiment in 1764, the Ninety Six Regiment in 1767, the New District Regiment in 1773 and the Upper Saluda Regiment in 1774. The militiamen were rarely called out but, in October 1759, the Charleston Regiment was put on guard duty replacing provincials and regulars marching against the Creeks, while some 500 men were mobilized from the seven other regiments to join the expedition; some of the back country men carried rifles. In February 1760, seven companies each of 75 mounted Rangers were drafted from volunteer militiamen and performed the duties of light cavalry against the Cherokees, especially in 1761, until July 1762 when the last two companies were discharged.

The militia had no fixed uniforms but scarlet coats were favored by officers. In 1765–66 the Charleston Regiment had short-lived grenadier and light infantry companies dressed in scarlet; a new light infantry company formed in 1773 had scarlet coatees with black velvet facings, white waistcoats and breeches, and black beaver felt caps with a silver crescent engraved 'Pro Patria' and black feathers. In about 1770, a field officer of the Craven Regiment wore scarlet with black facings, gold buttons and hat lace. The 1760–62 mounted Rangers possibly had hunting shirts and hats.

The great majority of the South Carolina militia were infantry, but there were cavalrymen as early as 1673 when the Governor's Horse Guard or Life Guards were mentioned. This troop was noted for decades thereafter, its members obviously being men of some means as they had to provide their own arms, accoutrements, horses and saddlery. In the early 18th century the troop had a uniform of scarlet faced with blue and trimmed with silver buttons and lace. In 1736 the troopers added carbines to their swords and pistols and, in April 1739, a second troop was raised. The uniform was described at that time as a 'Mazarine Blue Broad Cloath Cloak & Coat and Coat lin'd with Scarlet, with a white Plate Button about the size of an English Shilling & Slasht Sleeve. A Scarlet Wastecoat & Breeches, a Broad Sword with a half Basket-Hilt, close Silver lac'd Hats, not less than an Inch wide on the out side, Cockades, Top Gloves & Queue Wigs. Blue Broad-Cloth Housings & Holster-Caps with a blue Fringe, a full Curb-Bridle trim'd with White, and Shoe-Boots' (*South Carolina Gazette*, 16 February 1739/40). A third troop was raised in Craven County in February 1740 and seemingly existed until the end of the war, and a fourth troop was organized in St George Parish in March 1743. These troops formed what was now known as the South Carolina Regiment of Horse. *Uniform*: see Plate A.

Relations between the early settlers of South Carolina and the Indians quickly soured; the planters were compelled to work their fields bearing arms, as shown in this print after F.Darley.



In 1750 the 'Regiment of Horse Militia' had three troops which numbered 115 officers and men. From 1750 until 1756, it had a double-breasted blue coat with slash cuffs and red lining, red waistcoat, blue breeches, gilt buttons, gold-laced hat, buckskin gloves, blue saddlery housings, and was armed with a broadsword, a pair of pistols and a carbine for each trooper. In 1756, the coat and breeches remained blue but facings changed to buff lapels, lining and waistcoats. In October 1759, the regiment joined the expedition against the Cherokees; there was no fighting before a peace treaty was signed, and the gentlemen troopers were back in Charleston in January 1760 after a two-month, 500-mile tour of duty which gave them a sense of real soldiering. In June, a fourth troop was added. In July 1761, the uniform facings changed again to crimson cuffs, lapels, lining and waistcoat. The officers wore the same dress as the troopers except for the addition of gold lace on their waistcoats. The regiment disappeared from the rolls in 1775.

A distinct artillery company was formed by some 60 gentlemen volunteers in Charleston in the fall of 1756 and was officially approved from January 1757. It drilled with ordnance and small arms twice a month. In October 1759, 20 gunners were part of the expedition to impose a new treaty on the Cherokees and, back in Charleston, the whole company was drilled by Royal Artillery instructors for three months in early 1760. When the instructors departed in April, their apprentices were considered quite proficient gunners. In June, half of the company was mobilized to march against the Creek Indians but this proved to be a false alarm. Nevertheless, in July its establishment was raised to seven officers, four sergeants and up to 100 gunners, bombardiers and matrosses. A detachment serving two field guns and four Coehorn mortars marched with Col. Grant's expedition against the Creeks in 1761 but did not get past Fort Prince George (250 miles from Charleston), as artillery could not be taken over the mountain trails. It appears that the field pieces and ammunition carts were driven by blacks attached to the company. In the following years, the company often paraded and fired guns on ceremonial occasions. It amalgamated into the American forces during the War of Independence. *Uniform:* see Plate D.

A peculiar constabulary unit was authorized on 25 July 1761 by the legislative assembly, with four officers and 49 men. This 'Watch-Company' was to serve in Charleston to preserve good order and enforce regulations; the watchmen were to have arms like militiamen and were to drill with the city's militia regiment.

South Carolina Provincials

A small group of 19 mounted men from South Carolina under Capt. Charles McPherson went to guard the area of Savannah in 1733, remaining until 1738. They were dressed in civilian coats, waistcoats, leather breeches, canvas leggings and shoes or boots, and carried muskets, pistols and hatchets. General Oglethorpe in Georgia called on South Carolina to provide men to attack the Spanish and, on 5 April 1740, South Carolina authorized the raising of Col. Vander Dussen's Provincial Regiment of South Carolina. It had eight companies including one of grenadiers, each company having three officers and 50 men, who would serve for four months. The attack failed and the regiment disbanded in July. Its dress is unknown.

On 6 July 1757, Col. Howarth's South Carolina Regiment was authorized to have 30 officers and 770 NCOs and privates divided into seven companies, but it recruited only about 500 by 1758 including some 'iddle, lewd, disorderly men... and all sturdy beggars' pressed in. It participated in the construction of forts Loudoun and Lyttelton. Reduced to three companies of 100 men each in 1759, the provincials provided garrisons for forts and about 100 took part in the expedition against the Cherokees in the late fall. Four officers and 100 men were blockaded into Fort Loudoun for over eight months by the Indians, and surrendered on 7 August 1760. Promised a safe passage, they were set upon after a day's march, 20 to 30 being slain and the rest carried off by the Indians. The remainder were ordered incorporated into a new provincial regiment. *Uniform*: see Plate D.

Colonel Middleton's South Carolina Regiment was authorized in February 1760 and again in August due to recruiting problems. It was to have 40 officers and 1,100 NCOs and men in ten companies, and incorporated the remaining men of the previous unit. It recruited nearly 700 men, who were well trained and eager to see action by May 1761 when they set out against the Cherokees as part of Col. Grant's army. They fought off an Indian attack in defense of the supply train before hostilities ceased in September. The regiment was disbanded in October. *Uniform*: see Plate D.

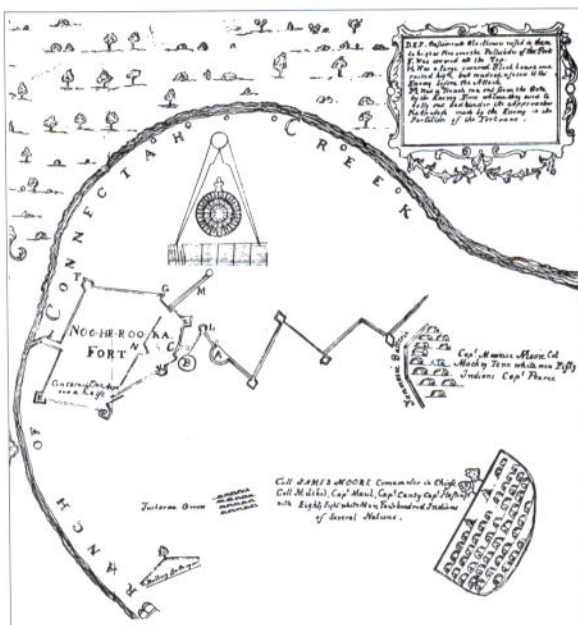
Plan of Col. Moore's 1713 siege of Fort Nohucke (spelt Nooherooka on the plan), stronghold of the Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina. The militiamen from North and South Carolina, supported by allied Indians, conducted a skilful siege along European lines, featuring trenches, batteries and blockhouses built on a height sufficient for the besiegers to fire down into the Indian fortress.

NORTH CAROLINA

Militia

The northern part of Carolina was sparsely settled in the late 17th century. Most settlers had come from Virginia to what was known as Albermarle County of Carolina colony. In terms of militia service and bearing arms, they were theoretically subject to the same obligations as outlined above for South Carolina before 1710.

There were no large towns in this northern area, and its 5,000 inhabitants were widely dispersed when North Carolina became a distinct colony in 1710. There had been hardly any militia organization or musters until that time. The Tuscarora Indian war in 1711–13 might have devastated the colony but for the volunteers sent from South Carolina, who defeated the Indians. In 1715 some North Carolina volunteers went south to fight the Yamasees, and in the same year North Carolina's first militia law was passed. This specified that every man between 16 and 60 years of age was to have a good gun, a sword and at least six charges of powder and ball. With no further menace apparent, the militia remained in a lethargic state and there was even a proposal to abolish it in 1726. King George's War in the 1740s sparked some concern over defense and, in 1746, a more detailed Militia Act provided for infantry companies of 50 men, allowed cavalry companies to



PENNSYLVANIA

Militia

The area which became the colony of Pennsylvania in 1681 was originally included in parts of Delaware, and had some English settlers from the late 1660s. In 1669 there was a militia of sorts in its few small settlements, which came under the New York militia law in 1676. From March 1681, however, the colony was chartered to William Penn for the Society of Friends, a religious group in England commonly known as the Quakers. Besides their frugality and industry, the Quakers were pacifists who believed that no man should fight or kill another. This was at variance with the laws of the British realm and the Quakers were persecuted. To solve the problem, the colony of Pennsylvania was granted for the Quakers to settle in and live according to their beliefs. Militarily, therefore, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania assumed a unique position compared to all the other colonies in that its legislature would not pass militia laws. Settlers in Pennsylvania were not under any obligation to bear arms, muster and train.

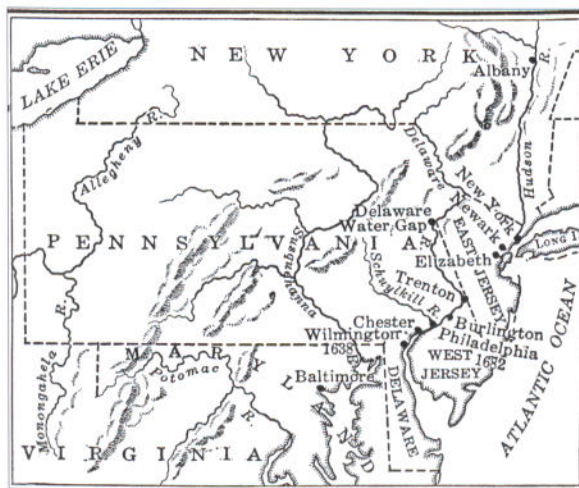
Although there was no official militia, not everyone in Pennsylvania was a Quaker and there were settlers who felt that they had the right to protect themselves by force of arms as well as by prayer. The successive royal governors of the colony supported these endeavours. However, as the legislative assembly was dominated by Quakers until 1756, there was no military legislation for the first 75 years of the colony's existence. Attempts to raise volunteer units during Queen Anne's War met with little interest, as the colony was not under any threat. The first serious problem came in 1736 when some 300 armed Marylanders chased settlers out of a part of Lancaster County claimed by Maryland. King George's War increased the pressure on the colony – with its rapidly growing population and prosperity – to contribute to the common defense. With Britain and France at war, and French privateers lurking off the coast, it was feared that Philadelphia, now one of the British colonies' most important seaports, could be attacked. The city had no fortifications and no regular troops nor militia to defend it.

Faced with demands from its royal governor and the growing non-

Quaker population, the legislature came to a compromise. The governor would commission gentlemen wishing to organize units made up of volunteers; the legislature could then be asked to pay for weapons and certain other expenses. In 1744, some officers including a colonel were appointed for the 'Red Regiment of Militia of Foot' in Chester County, which seems to have had only two or three companies of volunteers. Its name was probably a reference to its colors rather than to uniforms. The next year, some food was contributed for the Louisbourg expedition. In 1746, money and four companies of provincials were sent to Albany for the proposed invasion of Canada.

In late November and early December 1747, following the publication of Benjamin Franklin's pamphlet *Plain Truth* which called for a military

Map of colonial Pennsylvania, also showing the other 'Middle Colonies' of New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware.





William Penn negotiating a treaty with the Indians in 1682. Penn's respectful dealings with the seaboard Indian nations resulted in long-lasting peaceful relations between them and the pacifist Quaker settlers of Pennsylvania.

A crude engraving of the young Benjamin Franklin (1706–90). Franklin mobilized many non-Quakers by his writings pointing out the perils of leaving Philadelphia and the frontiers of Pennsylvania unprotected. As a result, thousands of volunteers formed 'Associator' units in 1747 and the energetic young Franklin became a sort of *de facto* general.

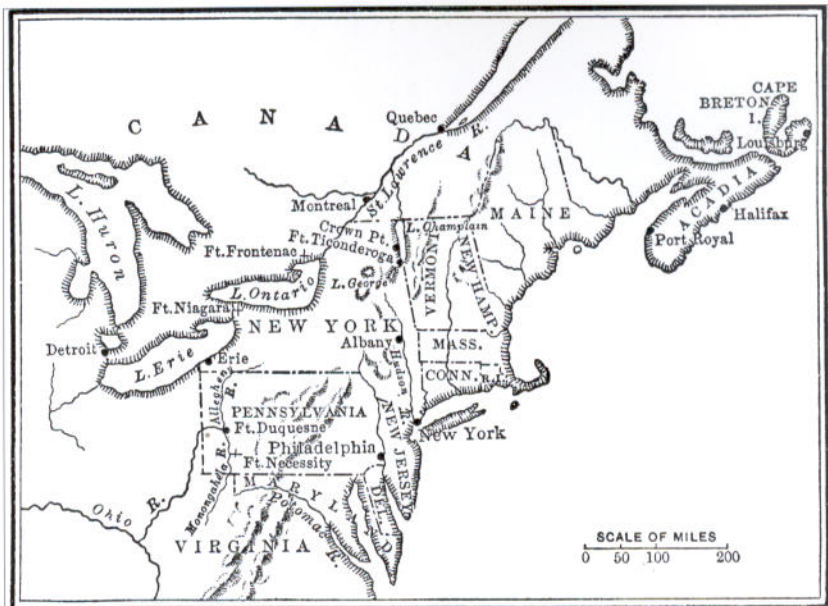


organization to defend Philadelphia and the colony, many men formed a volunteer militia called 'The Associators', organized into companies of 50 to 100 men each. Each associate was to supply himself with a gun, a cartridge box with some ammunition and a sword or cutlass. Within a few weeks, there were over 600 associates divided into 11 companies formed into an Associated Regiment of Philadelphia, and another nine-company Regiment of Philadelphia County in its outskirts. An Associator Regiment of 33 companies appeared in Lancaster County, 26 companies in Chester County and 18 in Buck's County. The Associators had no uniforms but they were well armed and well equipped. The ladies of Philadelphia raised money to provide half-pikes and spontoons for the officers, halberds for sergeants, and drums. The 20 Philadelphia city and county companies also carried distinctive colors provided by the city's ladies (see below). By May 1748 over 100 companies of Associators had been formed numbering at least 5,000 men.

Philadelphia had no fortifications at all, so lotteries were held to defray expenses for building batteries on the Delaware River. The lotteries provided the money for buying guns and building two batteries, one at Society Hill and a 'grand battery' at Wicaco, which were built in 1748. The Wicaco Battery initially had 14 guns, but only two years later it had increased to 50 including some massive 32-pounders. Consequently the Philadelphia regiment had artillery companies, formed from 29 December 1747.

Although the end of hostilities considerably diminished the Associator movement after September 1748, it did not totally disappear and many men continued to serve voluntarily, especially in Philadelphia, where they manned and trained at the batteries during peacetime. They were the only military units in Pennsylvania until the eve of the Seven Years' War, when Indian raids struck several settlements in western Pennsylvania. Informal volunteer units were formed, blockhouses built and Associator companies reraised. Benjamin Franklin was once again very active in leading those who were trying to organize themselves. They assembled whatever arms they could, some 900 muskets with ammunition being sent to the frontier in the fall of 1755. These were not all of the highest quality, since we read of Franklin's hope that those guns that could not take single balls would nevertheless 'provide good service with swan or buck shot.' He also made a simple design for building frontier forts, four being erected.

As more settlers were killed by Indian raids the pressure on the Quaker legislature became intense. Hundreds of angry farmers, many of them Germans, marched to Philadelphia demanding military protection. Franklin then tabled a Militia Bill; some moderate Quakers abstained rather than voting against it, and on 25 November 1755 the legislature at last passed Pennsylvania's first militia law. This did not make militia service compulsory as in other colonies, but it encouraged volunteers to form units which would be officially sanctioned military organizations rather than armed groups of men tolerated by unsympathetic legislators. Military supply and mutiny acts were further passed in early 1756. An 'Independent' infantry company and an artillery company, having four field guns and two ammunition carts, had been formed to serve in Philadelphia by January 1756. By March these had been joined by another infantry company and Capt. Edward Jones' Troop



Map of north-eastern North America showing the locations of the 1755-60 campaigns in western Pennsylvania, northern New York and Canada.

Early during the 1755 campaign Captain Jack, a leader of volunteer woodsmen in western Pennsylvania, warned General Braddock about the surprise tactics of the French and Indians. George Washington, then Braddock's colonial ADC, concurred with his advice, but it seems to have made little impression on the general. H.Ogden illustrated the incident in this 1890s print.



of Horse. In August 1756 the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that Jones' Troop and the officers of Capt. Vander-speigles' Independent Company 'being all dressed in their uniforms, made a genteel appearance' escorting the governor. Their dress is not described, and it seems that very few other Pennsylvania militiamen had uniforms.

Meanwhile, the Militia Act had gone to England for ratification, but was vetoed by the king on the grounds that it seemed more designed to exempt

people from serving in the militia than to encourage them. The royal message was clear; the Society of Friends relented while losing its legislative majority and, on 29 March 1757, a new militia law was passed. Except for Quakers and Catholics, all able-bodied men were obliged to enroll in the militia and each was to have a 'good musket, fuzee or other firelock well fixed, a cutlass, bayonet or tomahawk, a cartouch box, filled with twelve or more cartridges' with balls, powder and three flints. These legislative somersaults did not create a province-wide militia overnight, however, and in practice volunteers remained the bulwark of defense, Associator companies becoming militia; many of these on the frontier were transformed into full-time provincial troops (see below).

The militia law lapsed with the end of the Seven Years' War, so that when Pontiac's uprising broke out from May 1763, much of it in Pennsylvania, the colony was once again without a framework of defense. This created much apprehension and resentment in the western areas, whose settlers had only recently returned after having evacuated their homes during the war. In the Conococheague Valley the settlers decided to make a stand rather than be evacuated again; they raised money to 'pay a company of riflemen for several months', and appointed James Smith, a former Indian captive, as captain of 'this company of rangers'. He taught his men 'the Indian discipline', as he 'knew no other at that time.' It proved very efficient, and the Rangers countered the Indians with their own tactics on the frontier, to the delight of the settlers. The company appears to have served into the fall of 1763. It was dressed in the Indian style (see Plate G).

The lack of action on the part of the legislature aroused a reaction from the 'Paxton Boys', who were irregular frontier volunteers raised in the Paxton area. They were described as 'a set of fellows in blanket coats and mocasins, like our Indian traders or back country wagoners, all armed with rifles and tomahawks, and some with pistols stuck in their belts.' Regrettably, they put into practice the American adage stating that the only good Indian is a dead Indian. After



A model at Fort Ligonier Museum shows 'Forbes' Road' through the wilderness during that general's advance in the 1758 campaigning season. Driving forward this route for supplies and artillery involved much hardship for his soldiers, but its methodical construction ensured that his strong Anglo-American force would prevail against the much weaker French at Fort Duquesne, even though the latter were past masters of wilderness warfare.

a massacre of friendly Indians at Conestoga in December 1763, some 200 Paxton Boys marched on Philadelphia intending to dispose in a similar manner of 127 friendly Indians who had been granted protection there. Fearing the worse, Benjamin Franklin called on the Associators to reform their units; within days over 1,000 had joined, and were divided into six companies of infantry, two of cavalry and the artillery battery. All mustered in early February 1764. Franklin, accompanied by a delegation, then met the Paxton leaders at Germantown and convinced them to turn back rather than create civil strife.

In the years that followed there were practically no volunteers except for the Artillery Association but, by 1774, growing discontent with British colonial legislation saw the assembly of a number of armed groups in Lancaster and other counties. In Philadelphia, the newly raised 'Philadelphia Greens' and the 'Quaker Blues' were joined by the brown-clad Troop of Light Horse in November. In the spring of 1775 Associator units were once again raised and, joined with many other Pennsylvania volunteers, formed a substantial part of George Washington's Continental Army.

Pennsylvania Provincials

Answering the royal call for troops for the 'reduction of Canada' in 1746, Pennsylvania agreed to raise four companies (including one from the Three Lower Counties or Delaware, see below) of 100 men each from June. By September some 427 men had been enlisted; they were assembled the following month at Albany (NY), where they remained until disbanded on 31 October 1747.

Following Indian attacks on its frontier settlements, Pennsylvania legislators finally passed a militia bill on 25 November 1755 which authorized and subsidized the mobilization of volunteers, most of whom had already been informally raised by worried frontiersmen into companies of about 50 men. In March 1756, companies along the banks of the Susquehanna River were formed into two battalions and those at the town of Augusta formed another. These were soon organized into



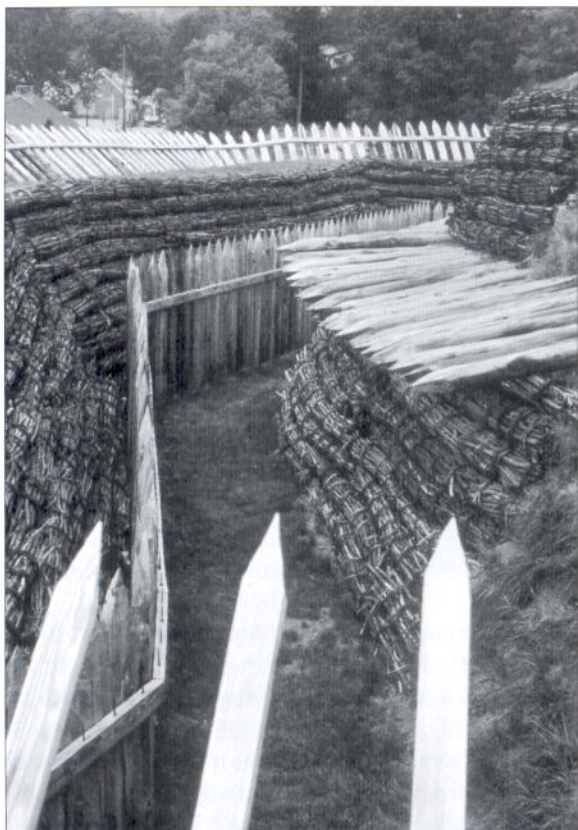
Model of Fort Ligonier, which Pennsylvania volunteers began building on Forbes' Road in 1758; in matters of basic design European military engineers made no concessions to the wilderness setting. Fort Ligonier consisted of a bastioned fort of earth and logs with an outer retrenchment of three and a half acres surrounded by a log wall. It was raided twice by the French during the fall, but served as the staging point for up to 6,200 British and American troops. (Fort Ligonier Museum)

the Augusta Regiment of one battalion having eight companies, and the Pennsylvania Regiment of two battalions of ten and eight companies respectively. In December 1757 the three battalions were regrouped into a two-battalion Pennsylvania Regiment with a third battalion raised in May 1758. The number of companies per battalion was surprisingly high, the 1st having 12, the 2nd having 13 and the 3rd having 17 companies; but General Forbes reorganized each of the three battalions to have 16 companies of 53 men each in May 1758. Also raised that month were troops of light horse for the 1st and 2nd Battalions, under Capts. William Thompson and John Hambright respectively.

The Pennsylvania provincials were mostly used to garrison and patrol the frontier but, in 1757, Col. John Armstrong led some 250 men of his 1st Battalion in a daring raid which destroyed Delaware Indian villages on 7 September. In 1758, the three battalions formed part of General Forbes' army advancing relentlessly towards the French stronghold of Fort Duquesne. This was a methodical advance involving the building of 'Forbes' Road'; in September, Pennsylvanians under Col. James Burd started the construction of Fort Ligonier to prevent the sort of French and Indian attacks that had destroyed General Braddock's army in 1755. Nevertheless, about 300 Pennsylvania troops were with Maj. Grant's advanced column when it was routed by the French on 13 September, the Pennsylvanians escaping serious losses thanks to a timely withdrawal. There were serious French raids on Ligonier on 12 October and 12



View of a reconstructed bastion at Fort Ligonier armed with, at left, an 8in howitzer and, at right, a 12pdr field piece. Pennsylvania, Delaware and North Carolina troops were among the garrison when the French attacked in the fall of 1758. (Fort Ligonier Museum)



This view of the reconstructed picket defenses surrounding Fort Ligonier shows that it would have been very difficult to storm without prior bombardment. In the fall of 1758, French and Indian raiders led by Capt. Aubry penetrated the outer retrenchment but got no further. During Pontiac's Rising in 1763, Ligonier was one of three forts that resisted the Indian attacks, the other two being forts Pitt and Detroit. (Fort Ligonier Museum)

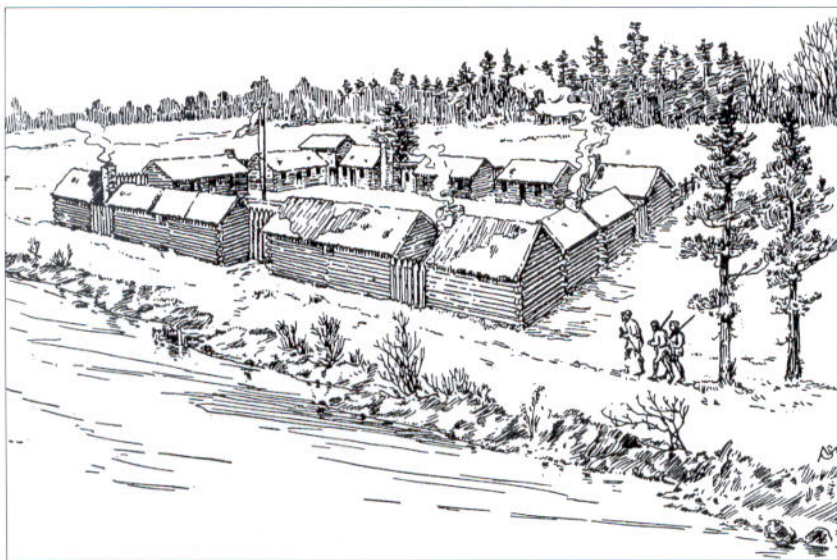
A typical pioneer settlement close to water in the western border areas of Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas and the fringes of what became the states of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. The hamlet's log houses are built close together and linked by palisading to form a fortified perimeter – a necessary precaution against the occasional Indian attacks from the middle of the 18th century.

November, but the garrison, which included the 1st and 2nd Battalions, managed to resist in spite of much destruction. In 1759 and 1760, the regiment was raised with two battalions and stationed at Fort Pitt and other frontier forts. *Uniforms:* see Plates B and C.

In May 1756, Capt. Jehu Eyre's artillery company of the Philadelphia Associators was mustered into service of the city's batteries. In May 1760, Eyre with his men – who were also shipwrights – went to Fort Pitt to construct river boats, and then went on to Fort Presqu'Isle (Erie, PA) to build bateaux for Rogers' Rangers (see below).

Although Pontiac's Rising occurred partly in western Pennsylvania, the colony's legislature responded slowly to General Amherst's call to mobilize 1,000 men to march on the Indians. It voted a 700-man provincial force to be used as garrisons only, much to Amherst's disappointment and anger. The result was that various provincial companies were posted on the frontier from November 1763 to June 1764, three companies at the northern frontier serving as late as October 1764. However, for Col. Bouquet's expedition in the fall of 1764, the British regulars of the 42nd and 60th Foot were joined by two battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment (reraised to 1,000 men

since May 1764), a troop of light horse, and a body of 'Pennsylvania Volunteers' acting as light infantry, as well as a body of Virginia volunteers in the pay of Pennsylvania. The Indians knew the uprising had failed, and peace was concluded in October; the troops were back in Fort Pitt by 28 November, the provincials and volunteers being released from service in December. Documentation on the dress of these troops is





'The Indians delivering up the English Captives to Colonel Bouquet' in November 1764. At first Pennsylvania was slow to respond to Pontiac's Rising, although the colony later provided a strong contingent for Bouquet's successful fall 1764 campaign. In the meantime the settlers of Pennsylvania's Conococheague Valley raised a company of Ranger riflemen, dressed and trained in Indian style by Captain James Smith, himself a former Indian captive – see Plate G1. (Print after Benjamin West)

vague but Bouquet later recommended that light troops might have 'a short coat of brown cloth, lapelled, and without plaits; a strong tanned shirt, short trowsers, leggins, mowkawsons or shoe packs, a sailor's hat, a blanket, a knapsack for provisions, and an oiled surtout against the rain.'

DELAWARE

Militia

Settled from 1638 by Swedes, taken by the Dutch in 1655 and the British in 1664, the modest settlements on Delaware Bay came under several jurisdictions but nevertheless gradually became distinct. From 1664 to 1681 the settlements on the Delaware River were included in the colony of New York. A few militia companies under the command of captains were organized at that time, the first being John Carr's in 1669. From 1682, Delaware was included in the Pennsylvania royal grant. William Penn immediately allowed the area its own legislative assembly, which made it an autonomous colony although it became known as the 'Three Lower Counties' of Pennsylvania. Its

English, Swedish and Finnish settlers followed different faiths and values from the Quakers arriving to settle Pennsylvania further north, and Delaware thus continued to have its own militia.

Delaware Provincials

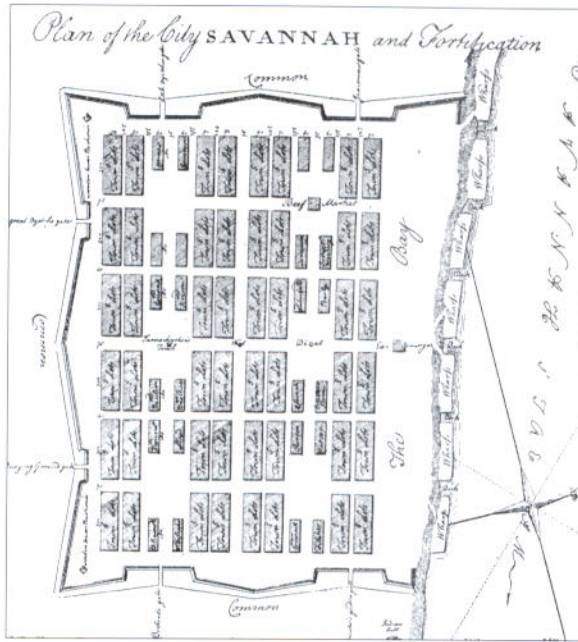
Captain John Shannon's company of 'Pennsylvania' provincial troops numbering 100 men was actually raised in the Three Lower Counties of Delaware from 25 June 1746. Like the three other companies, it went to Albany (NY), wintered there and was finally disbanded on 31 October 1747.

During the Seven Years' War, in 1758 and 1759, the Three Lower Counties raised a company each of 100 provincials. In 1758, some 300 officers and men of the 'Lower County Companies' marched to Lancaster (PA) in May and were part of Forbes' army marching on Fort Duquesne. They helped defend Fort Mifflin when the French and Indians attacked on 12 October. *Uniforms*: see Plate C.

GEORGIA

Militia

Created in 1733, the colony of Georgia as outlined by its founder, General James Oglethorpe, was to be a place where debtors could make a new start and there would be no slaves. The original concept was quickly overtaken as other types of immigrants arrived from Britain and the Carolinas, and slavery was soon established as in other southern colonies. In geo-strategic terms, this new British colony was meant to be



Plan of Savannah, Georgia, in 1770, making an impression not unlike that of an ancient Roman legionary encampment. Note the fortifications built around three sides and taken down to the waterfront on the fourth. (Print after De Brahm)

attack, according to a report to Col. Bouquet. This is not surprising, as some 200 miles separated Savannah and Frederica, the main settlements.

Georgia Provincials

Georgia had, from its early days, a number of 'provincial' units, of which the first, raised in May 1734, was Capt. Patrick Mackay's Independent Company of Rangers; this company built and garrisoned Fort Okfuskee on the Tallapoosa River (in present-day Alabama). It especially watched the Upper Creek Indians, who had contacts with the French at Fort Toulouse and the Spanish in Florida. The company was mounted on horseback when not in forts, and divided into two sections in 1736; it seems to have withered away by 1740. Like other, later 'Ranger' units in the colony and in the South generally, this was more of a mounted constabulary than a woods-running foot unit such as Goreham's or Rogers' Rangers. *Uniform*: see Plate A.

From 1739, when war was declared with Spain, a number of provincial units were raised; this proved a wise precaution, as all saw action against the Spanish in Florida in the following years. The Troop of English Rangers was raised from 18 September 1739 from English and Austrian settlers at the township of Ebenezer, and divided into several parties to perform its patrols on horseback. The Troop of Highland Rangers, also raised from 18 September 1739, was based in Darien, a Highland settlement on the Alabama River, and also patrolled its area on horseback. It was joined by the Highland Independent Company of Foot also raised in Darien from 2 May 1740. The Marine Company of Boatmen was also formed in the spring of 1740 to patrol the hinterland waterways. The English Rangers, Highland Rangers and Highland Independent Company of Foot participated in the unsuccessful expedition against Florida in the summer of 1740. Two years later, joined by the Marine Company, they repulsed a Spanish invasion. In March 1743, some 300 provincials of the 'Highlanders',

a buffer between Spanish Florida and South Carolina; consequently Georgia had, from its early days, a number of local 'provincial' units (see below) as well as a militia. The early Scots settlers at Darien had a militia dressed and armed in Highland fashion; they also contributed many men to the provincial companies. It was following the disbandment of the provincial companies and Oglethorpe's Regiment (see MAA 366) that the militia assumed a more important role.

On 18 April 1751, the Savannah militia was divided into four independent volunteer companies, three of infantry and one of artillery. At the end of 1755 the colony's militia was estimated at 756 men able to bear arms, divided into eight companies, who were trained by their officers six times a year. The men were 'very badly armed, many being unable to purchase arms.' However, they were 'rather better than Militia usually are', since many had 'been Soldiers.' Most were scattered and could be of little help to each other in case of

'Marine Company' and 'Rangers and their Horses', plus 200 men from Oglethorpe's Regiment and 75 allied Indian warriors, took part in the unsuccessful expedition against the Spanish to 'the Gates of St Augustine.' 'Everyone carried his own Provisions (in his Knap-sack, or Haver-Sack, on his Back, Officers and Gentlemen not excepted)'.¹ All the provincial companies were disbanded on 24 June 1747 when British subsidies ended. *Uniforms*: see Plate A.

Three 'Troops of Rangers' were organized to patrol the frontier from December 1756. These were mounted militiamen who were to be embodied, but they could not be kept in service for lack of money. There was no serious Spanish menace at the time, although the Creek Indians were always a worry. In September 1773 a mounted troop of 'Georgia Rangers' was raised with about 60 officers and men. It was both a constabulary unit and intended to protect settlers in the newly ceded lands above the Settlo River. From January 1774, with local militiamen, the Rangers fought an insurrection by a renegade group of Lower Creeks which proved difficult to contain, and part of the settlements had to be abandoned. Neither the colony of Georgia nor the chiefs of the Lower Creeks wanted a full-scale war, and the chiefs finally caught and executed the renegade leaders, bringing the disturbance to an end by June. The Georgia Rangers continued to serve, with a fine record of discipline, until disbanded in March 1776 as a result of the American Revolution.

The men of this little known unit had 'a Blue Coat faced with Red and a Red Jacket and Blue Cloth Boots on spatterdashes made to fit the Leg edged with Red and Gartered with Black strap and Buckle to wear occasionally and Breeches either Blue Cloth or Buckskin also a good Fussee, a Putteau, a Black Leather shot Pouch and Belt of the same Edged with Red also a good Powder horn.' Every member was also to have a good horse and always served mounted (T.W. Braisted, *MC&H*, XLV, Spring 1993).

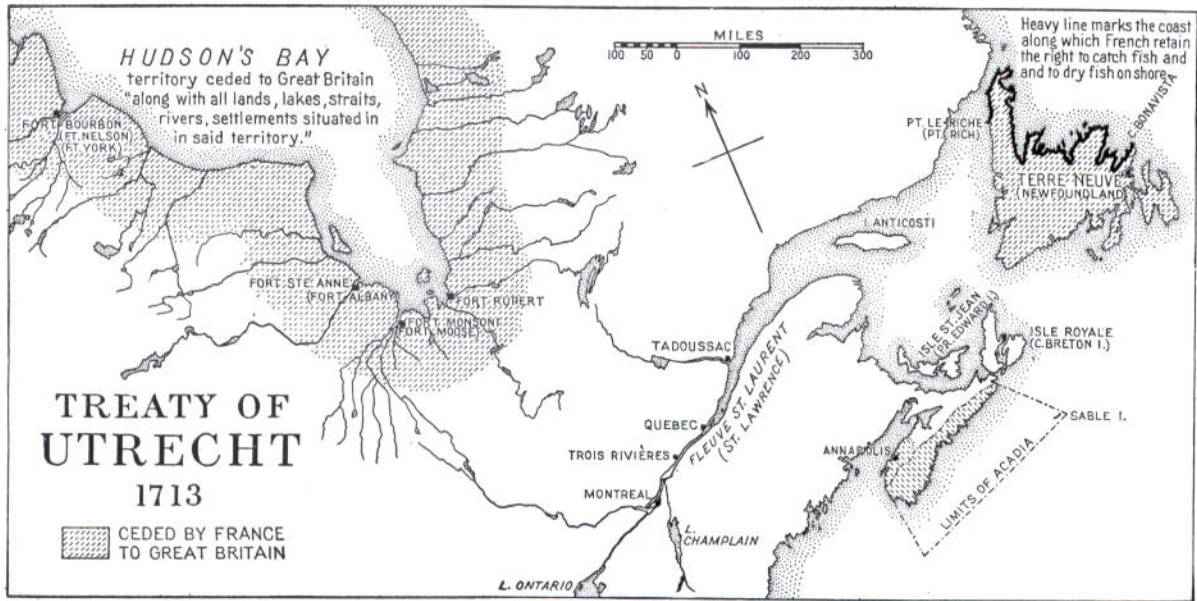
The founding of Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the summer of 1749. As suggested in this print after C.W. Jefferys, Halifax was designed from the first to be a major military and naval base, which role it was still performing in World War II.



NOVA SCOTIA

There were more or less permanent British settlements in Nova Scotia from the early 17th century, but the area was only recognized as a colony from 1713 when France ceded its claims to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht. In the early 17th century the first Anglo-Scottish settlements had developed a sort of militia, but this disappeared when the French captured Fort Rosemar on Cape Breton Island in 1629. There they found 15 men armed with harquebuses and wearing burgonet helmets and cuirasses with arm-guards and thigh-pieces; other defenders were armed with muskets and pikes. After 1713 no militia was organized, as the great majority of the population were of French origin. Only

¹ After *A Relation or Journal of the late Expedition to the Gates of St Augustine, on Florida* (London, 1744). This also mentions 'Swords and Partisans' for officers, but these last were probably the half-pikes or spontoons of the regular officers of Oglethorpe's Regiment rather than for provincial officers.

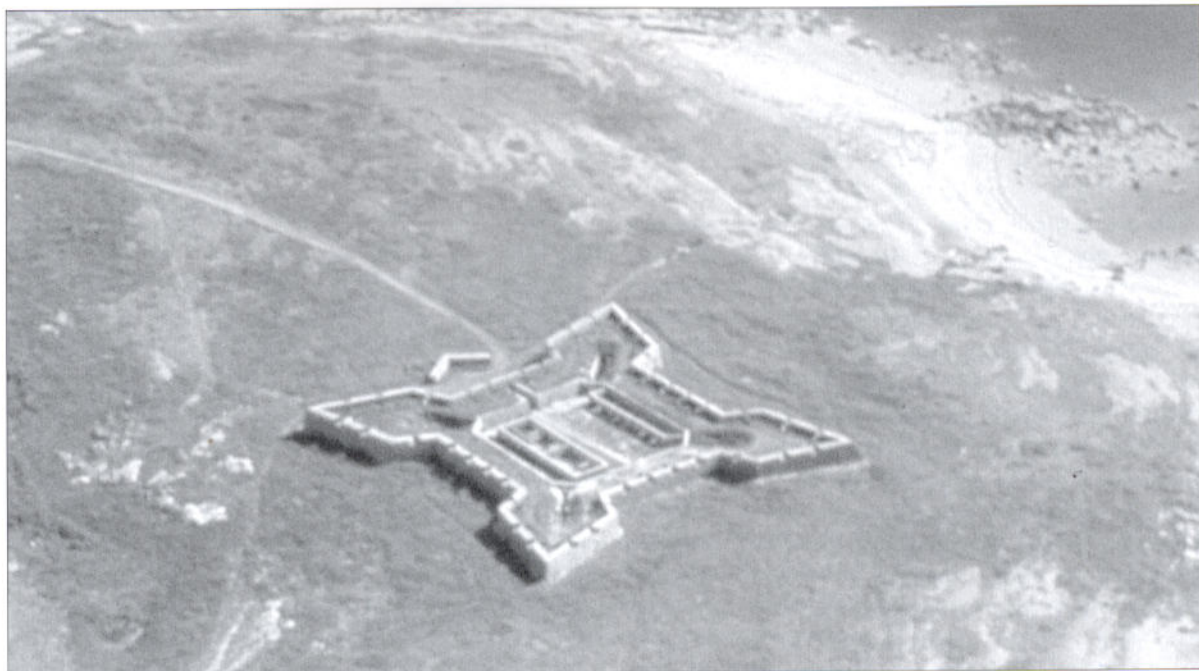


By the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, France confirmed Britain's title to Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland as well as ceding much of Acadia, which now became the province of Nova Scotia.

in 1720 did the governor issue two militia captains' commissions to British merchants at Canso, but this force never appears to have seen much service.

The arrival of more than 1,300 British colonists at Halifax in 1749 soon led to the establishment of a militia. On 10 December that year, all men in the city from 16 to 60 years of age and fit to bear arms assembled on the parade ground, where officers were appointed. Ten infantry companies were formed, each commanded by two officers and consisting of 70 to 80 men, including a distinct company of artificers to assist the regular army engineers. These militia companies were to drill every week; men who were absent paid a fine and could even be imprisoned. Discipline was strict, and a sergeant was once punished with 20 lashes for insulting his captain. Duties consisted of helping in the construction of fortifications and standing guard; a detachment of 150 militiamen were assigned to the watch each night. These men were armed, but did not have uniforms. Toward the end of 1750 another militia company was formed in Dartmouth, and in June 1751 two others in the outlying areas of Halifax.

On 22 March 1753, Governor Peregrine Hopson, also colonel of the 29th Foot, required all British subjects throughout the province to form militias, including the new German colonists who formed the Lunenburg battalion. On 10 May, Nova Scotia's first Militia Act was passed confirming previous requirements; this specified that each militiaman was to have 'a Musket, Gun or Fuzil, no less than Three Foot long in the Barrel, two spare Flints, and Twelve Charges and Powder and Ball.' As the population expanded the militia was divided into two battalions, the 1st of 12 companies and the 2nd of ten companies with another company at Dartmouth (*Nova Scotia Gazette*, 7 July 1753). By the early 1770s the newly settled counties of King, Windsor, Queen's, Annapolis, Cumberland and Lunenburg all had their militia regiments. Halifax had its city regiment, and also a company of 'Cadets' which gathered the wealthier citizens, as in other American cities.



Aerial view of Fort Prince of Wales near present day Churchill, Manitoba. Its wooden forts having been taken easily by the French in the 1680s and 1690s, the Hudson's Bay Company ordered the building of a large bastioned stone fort according to the best principles of military engineering – the only such fortification on the Arctic Ocean. The foundations were laid out from 1731, and by 1746 the walls seem to have been completed. Construction was slow as the warm season only lasted four months and laborers were scarce, but the fort was finished in 1771. The ramparts were restored in the 1950s. (Parks Canada).

There seem to have been few militia uniforms. That of the Cadets is unknown; otherwise there is only a tradition which names the militiamen of Queen's County the 'Queen's Buffs', probably alluding to their uniform facings.

HUDSON'S BAY

British traders were present in Hudson's Bay in 1668 and, in 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company was chartered and its British merchants established fortified trading posts on the shores of the bay. A militia of sorts was organized from the company's 'servants'; in 1684 they had muskets with a few 'cartouch' boxes, swords, hangers, drums and a 'union flag'. Servants wore grey suits in their remote forts; but these were not so remote that a party of French colonial soldiers and Canadian volunteers could not travel overland from Montreal and capture several forts in 1686. More raids by sea followed; and in March 1693 officers' commissions were granted for a regular independent company of infantry with a small artillery detachment to garrison the bay forts. Actually, only four officers – apparently without previous military experience – were sent to organize and drill the employees in the bay forts. This ridiculous arrangement came to an end with the arrival of Iberville's French squadron in September 1694, resulting in the surrender of forts York and Albany.

With the bay definitely ceded to Britain from 1713, the Hudson's Bay Company set about building Fort Prince of Wales from 1731 (see photograph). Once again the company's 'servants' were to stand guard and drill once a week, assisted by Indian home guards as in its other forts. With no further threats from the French or the Indians for many decades thereafter, military activity disappeared from the bay.

QUEBEC PROVINCE

On 8 September 1760, after countless battles and numerous British and American forces brought against them, the remaining French troops in Montreal burned their colors and surrendered to the three armies that surrounded the city. Two weeks later the French regulars were sailing for Europe and the Canadian militiamen had been disarmed and sent home. Faced with ruling a large French colony, General Amherst soon called on the only local authority left to insure order: the Canadian militia. From 22 September, he appointed officers of the former enemy militia in the Montreal District parishes, and this was followed in the districts of Trois-Rivières and Québec. By 1762, at least 464 officers had been commissioned, the vast majority having been militia officers before the British occupation. In effect, the militia organization of New France was kept in the new British Canada for many years to come. These men had to be re-armed and, in 1761, the officers and NCOs were allowed to carry their hunting muskets. These were usually the solid and trusty guns made at Tulle in France, favoured in Canada for their light weight. Canadians were at this time renowned for target shooting, their accuracy compensating for the muskets' smaller caliber. As during the French regime, no uniforms were assigned to the militia and the officers now did not even have gorgets.²

Pontiac's Indian uprising brought a request from General Gage in New York to Governor James Murray at Quebec to raise a battalion of 300 Canadians organized into five companies of 60 men each. Murray's proclamation of 6 March 1764 amazed Canadians: they were to be paid, armed, fed, furnished with Canadian-style clothing consisting of a 'capot', Indian stockings (mitasses) and moccasins. These were far better terms than they had known under the French crown and, ironically, brought about a rumor that the men would be enlisted in the British regular army. This was denied successfully and the battalion was raised. The five companies went to Fort Niagara and spent part of the summer building a new fort at the eastern end of Lake Erie – Fort Erie. In August, 179 militiamen went on to Detroit with Bradstreet's relief expedition. The Indians had by then ceased hostilities and the Canadians returned home in the late fall without seeing action, but it was acknowledged that their mere presence was discouraging to the Indians. The five companies were uniformly dressed when reviewed in Montreal during April but no description is known. A small red and green rectangle showing these troops on a period map implies that the Canadian style clothing furnished was in those colors.

During the siege of Detroit by Pontiac's Indians, the town's British garrison was assisted by most of its 280 Canadian civilian men able to bear arms. On 29 August, two days after the arrival of Bradstreet's troops, a company of 80 Detroit Volunteers led by a captain and three subalterns was organized, and left with a detachment of the 17th Foot on 1 September to re-occupy Michilimackinac. The Detroit Volunteers would have worn the typical Canadian costume of the time.

2 Under the French regime Canadian militia officers were to have gilt gorgets and swords. After 1760 the gorgets – sometimes bearing the French coat of arms – disappeared, but British officers' crimson silk sashes were not worn. The first sizeable group of militiamen to wear uniforms (which were green) were those of Quebec City during the American siege of 1775–76, and it was only at the end of the 18th century that many militia officers took to wearing mostly blue uniforms. See MAA 319, *British Forces in North America 1793–1815*.

RANGERS



'Major Robert Rogers, Commander in Chief of the Indians in the Back Settlements of America', published by Thomas Hart in London on 1 October 1776. This print was sold as part of a series of fictitious portraits of 'rebel officers', since Rogers was then rumored to be commanding Indians for the American rebels; he had in fact joined the royal forces. The engraving has many intriguing details which suggest that it may have been loosely based on an earlier image, as hinted by a French copy of this print. Note the cap with turned-up flap, the decorated belts, and the laced buttonholes at the cuff and waistcoat. This is the only pictorial evidence for the uniform of a Ranger officer, and has therefore been endlessly studied and discussed.

(Note: in 17th and 18th century texts the word is spelt sometimes with, sometimes without a capital 'R' regardless of whether it refers in context to the general category of troops or to specific units. In these three books we have chosen to capitalize it for easy location, even though this sometimes gives it a rather anachronistic 20th century appearance.)

Armed men assigned to patrol or 'range' an area were called 'rangers' as early as the 14th century in England. From the early 17th century, Virginia colonists used the term for the men who patrolled the wooded outskirts of the settlements as an early warning and a defense against Indian hit-and-run tactics. For example, some 'Maryland Rangers' appeared in that colony during 1692 when three forts were built to protect the colony from apprehended Indian attacks, each fort having a garrison of one captain and men who were to patrol outlying areas. These militia or constabulary-type patrols, often by mounted militiamen, were still common in the southern

colonies during the 18th century, but were not Rangers as the term is nowadays understood.

The type of Rangers covered in this section are those men who were familiar with wilderness ways and who penetrated deeply into enemy territory to mount raids and gather intelligence. Such scouts and forest fighters date from about the last third of the 17th century in Massachusetts and, eventually, in many other colonies, especially from the middle of the 18th century.

Captain Benjamin Church (1639–1718) of Plymouth Bay (joined to Massachusetts in 1691) was an experienced scout and wilderness fighter. He appears to have raised the first units of woods-ranging light troops during the campaigns of King Philip's War in New England. Church's command was a company of about 200 volunteers raised in July 1676, of whom no more than 60 were to be 'English' and the majority friendly Indians. In early August this ranging band ran into King Philip with a small group of his Indians, and Philip was killed in the ensuing fight, which largely put an end to the war. In 1689–90 Church again raised a mixed force of settlers and friendly Indians that served effectively in Maine against Indian raiders from Acadia. A band of about 60 Indians under Lt. Thomas Swift were assembled to serve as scouts with Sir William Phips' failed expedition to Quebec in the fall of 1690, but apparently they were not deployed, no doubt because they were much too few to face the numerous Canadian militiamen and their allied Indian warriors. Church led two other raids into Acadia with a mixed force that could be termed Rangers, one in 1694 and another in 1702 – when he was accused of killing French prisoners and was consequently retired from further command, with thanks, by Massachusetts. These early Rangers used their own clothing

and weapons; Church recommended the use of moccasins and small hatchets.

After the capture in 1710 of Port-Royal (renamed Annapolis Royal) the British faced a major difficulty: the virtually incessant harassment of the garrison by the Abenaki and Micmac Indians. To counter them, a company of Rangers was raised consisting of 56 Mohawk Indians commanded by two European officers. They arrived at Annapolis in 1712 and were each given a blanket and a gun. Operating independently, they camped outside the fort; being familiar with warfare in the woods they made good Rangers, causing difficulty for the enemy Indians as well as for deserters from the British garrison. After a year, however, several of these Mohawks themselves 'deserted' to return home. In May 1713 the governor sent the remainder to Boston, where the unit was disbanded.

Goreham's Rangers

In 1744, two 60-strong companies of 'Nova Scotia Rangers' were raised in Massachusetts by Governor Shirley and sent to Annapolis in July. The expenses for these troops were paid by Britain; they were not really Rangers but reinforcements for the garrison. In September a third company arrived, commanded by Capt. John Goreham (or Gorham), later succeeded by his brother Joseph. These were true Rangers, being mostly Mohawks and Metis (mixed-bloods) familiar with Indian tactics, and they provoked skirmishes with the Indian allies of the French. The first two companies were sent home, leaving Goreham's Rangers in Nova Scotia where they served for many years, joined by two other short-lived companies between 1749 and 1752. In 1755 a French intelligence report mentioned them as 'an independent company of 120 men composed of Maringhams [Mohican] Indians, which ours [French allied Indians] despise, and of bad subjects of all nations. This corps is destined to run into the woods,' adding that it did not 'reside in Halifax' (PRO/State Papers 42/38). Their establishment was then for 110 enlisted men and six officers, raised to 130 men and eight officers in 1757.

In 1758, Goreham's Rangers were part of General Amherst's army which laid siege to Fortress Louisbourg, and manned outposts in the rear of the British camps to guard against French and Indian partisans. The following year, Goreham's was one of the six companies of Rangers taking part in General Wolfe's expedition to Quebec. Goreham's company was actually deployed much further east of Quebec City, and destroyed many hamlets such as La Malbaie and Kamouraska during August and early September 1759. It returned to Nova Scotia after the city's surrender. In August 1760, Goreham was promoted major in the regular army and his unit, now called the 'North American Rangers', was put on the British establishment in September – the only Ranger corps to become part of the regular British Army. It apparently had two companies posted in Nova Scotia and present-day New Brunswick.

In May 1762, some 225 men of Goreham's Rangers went to New York and sailed from there on 5 July to join the British troops besieging Havana. Following the fall of the Cuban capital, the enlisted men in Havana were drafted into other British regiments while Goreham and his officers arrived back in New York to recruit anew. Seemingly now one company strong, the 'Corps of Rangers' was disbanded in August 1763. *Uniform*: see Plates E and F.

Rogers' and New England Rangers

Rogers' Rangers has become the most famous of these corps largely due to Kenneth Roberts' 1936 novel *Northwest Passage*, later filmed with Spencer Tracy in the role of Robert Rogers. The actual historic unit originated in the spring of 1755 in the colony of New Hampshire as a company of Col. Blanchard's Regiment detached on ranging duty under the command of Capt. Robert Rogers. They served as scouts during the summer and fall in the Lake George area with the army of provincial troops under the command of Sir William Johnson. In November, Rogers led a scouting party of ten men to Ticonderoga and saw that the French were building a major fort there. The company was kept in service and spent the winter based at newly built Fort William Henry at the southern end of Lake George, with small parties performing occasional scouting expeditions to Ticonderoga.

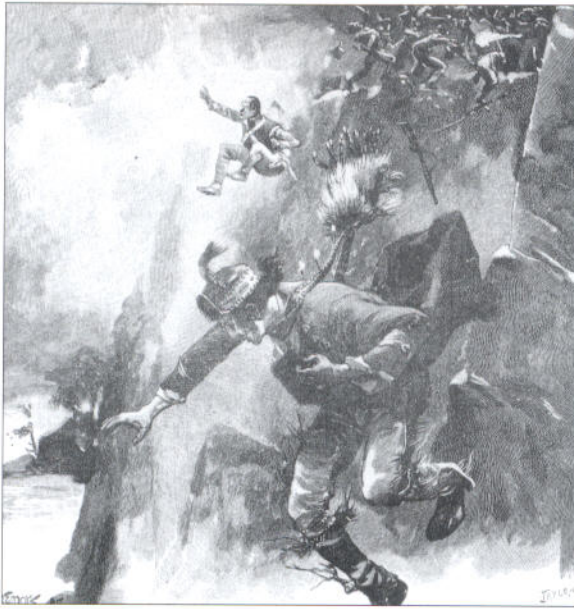
On 24 March 1756, Rogers received a new commission, this time from the commander-in-chief of the forces in North America, Sir William Shirley, as captain of an independent company consisting of 60 Rangers, three sergeants, an ensign and a lieutenant. They were now paid directly from the discretionary royal funds available to the commanding general for raising local corps, and so reported directly to the commander-in-chief regarding intelligence. The company was not, however, part of the official British Army establishment, but resembled a body of provincials whose establishment was renewed yearly, but in this case paid for by the Crown rather than by a colony. This arrangement was an immediate success and, in July, the new commanding general Lord Loudoun authorized a second company to be raised under command of Robert Rogers' brother Richard. A company of Stockbridge Indians was also raised 'in His Majesty's service, commanded by Indian officers', of which 30 officers and men were attached to Rogers' command. Two other companies, Hobbs' and Spikeman's, had been authorized since 14 May and joined Rogers at Fort William Henry in the fall. The Rangers deployed at the south of Lake George had thus grown to five companies totaling about 250 officers and men; nearly all the officers and most of the men came from New Hampshire.

The 1757 campaign

Having found the Rangers useful, Lord Loudoun gave orders in January 1757 that the company establishment should be a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, four sergeants and 100 privates. Richard Rogers' and Burgin's went to Fort William Henry and formed part of its garrison when it fell to General Montcalm's French army in August. There were eventually nine companies led by Capts. Robert Rogers, James Rogers, John Stark, William Stark, Shepherd, Bulkeley, McCurdy, Jonathan



'Le Major Robert Rogers, Commandant en Chef des Troupes Indiennes au Service des Américains', published in Paris and Coutances in late 1776 or 1777. It is an obvious copy of the print by Hart, but one version has the added comment that it was after a painting by one 'Thomlinson' in New York. (National Archives of Canada, C6875)



Romantic impression of Rogers and some of his men jumping off a height to escape pursuing French and Indians in March 1758. This late 19th century rendition is clearly inspired partly by Hart's print and West's painting. (Print after Taylor)

Brewer, and Moses Brewer who led the 'Indian Warrior' company.³ Some went to Halifax, arriving on 1 July and joining Loudoun's army assembling there to attack Louisbourg, but the arrival of a strong French fleet in the area prevented further progress and Robert Rogers came back to Albany in the fall. At about that time a temporary company of volunteers from British line regiments was formed to train in Ranger tactics; this is when Rogers set down his 'Rules' for the 'Ranging service' which are still used by special forces. In December, with some 123 Rangers, Rogers performed a daring scout and captured several prisoners from Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) to gain intelligence.⁴

Expansion in 1758

The year 1758 saw a considerable augmentation of Ranger companies raised in New England and paid for by the Crown. In January, five new companies (including one of Stockbridge Indians) were raised, and assembled at Fort Edward in early March. Four of these companies were sent to Halifax where they joined General Amherst's army and took part in the siege and capture of Louisbourg in July. Ranger detachments were also with Monkton's expedition up the St John's River (in present day New Brunswick) and Wolfe's expedition on the Gaspé peninsula in the fall. Meanwhile, Rogers was at Fort Edward with the other Rangers and, in March 1758, narrowly escaped the French and Indians in a disastrous scout during which many Rangers were slain. On 6 April, Rogers was promoted to major. In July, Rogers', Stark's, Burbank's and Shepperd's companies, with two companies of Stockbridge Indians, were with General Abercromby's failed attack at Ticonderoga. On 8 August, Rogers with a party of Rangers and provincials was attacked by French and Indians and withdrew after a two-hour fight, both sides suffering many casualties. There were no further engagements thereafter.

Meanwhile, back in late May 1758, General Abercromby had authorized Sir William Johnson to raise a company of Rangers 'for the Security of the Mohawk River', consisting of 100 'able bodied active young men every Way fit for that Service, and well acquainted with every Part of that Country', on the 'same Establishment as His Majesty's other Rangers' (PWJ, II). About 60 were with Col. Bradstreet for the successful capture of Fort Frontenac in late August. It is important to note that during 1758 the various Ranger companies were split under different commands. Those sent to Halifax were joined to Goreham's and put under the command of Maj. Scott of the 40th Foot; while the company in the Mohawk River valley was under the authority of Sir William

(continued on page 33)

³ Richard Rogers died of smallpox on 23 July 1757 and was replaced by Lt. Johnson. His company managed to reach Fort Edward, and was 'the only Company of rangers we have', as Burgin's was disbanded there due to 'ill behaviour' on 28 July (Maj.Gen. Webb to Loudoun, Fort Edward, 1 August 1757: PRO/CO 5/48). The nine companies are from a 1757 list at the Huntingdon Library, LO 5389A.

⁴ Some of the information could be misleading. For instance, the prisoners reported the existence of some '500 Rangers, were lately raised in Canada, each man having a double-barreled fuzee' (*Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, Dublin, 1769, p.67); but this was a hoax, as there is no record in French sources of any unit with such weapons.

- 1: Private, Mackay's Independent Co of Rangers; Georgia, 1734-40
2: Private, Georgia Highland Independent Co of Foot, 1739-47
3: Trooper, S.Carolina Regt of Horse, 1740s



- 1: Private, N.Carolina Provincials, 1755
2: Officer, Augusta Regt, Pennsylvania, 1756-57
3: Private, Pennsylvania Regiment, 1757-59



- 1: Private, Pennsylvania Regiment, 1758
2: Private, Pennsylvania Regiment, 1760
3: Private, Delaware (Lower Counties) Companies, 1758-59



- 1: Gunner, Charleston Artillery Co, 1756-67
2: Private, Middleton's S.Carolina Provincial Regt, 1760-61
3: Private, Howarth's S.Carolina Provincial Regt, 1757-60



- 1: Ranger, Goreham's Rangers, 1755
2: Indian warrior/Ranger, c.1757-60
3: Ranger, New Jersey Frontier Guard, 1758



1: Ranger, Ranger Companies; Quebec, 1759

2: Ranger, Rogers' Rangers, 1758-61

3: Ranger, Goreham's Rangers, 1761



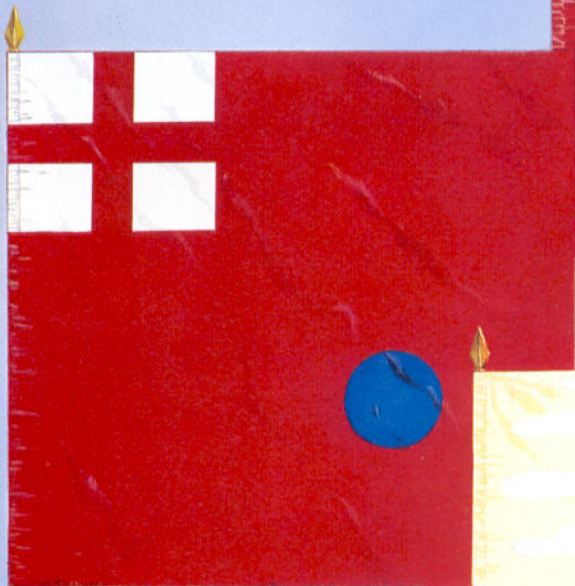


1: Rifleman, Conococheague Rangers; Pennsylvania, 1763
2: Officer, Rogers' Rogers, c.1758-61
3: Private, Queen's Royal American Rangers, 1762-63

- 1: Regimental color, Massachusetts, 1636–1670s
- 2: Militia color, Saybrook, CT, 1675
- 3: New England Volunteers color; Louisbourg, 1745
- 4: Regimental color,
Moulton's 3rd Massachusetts Regt;
Louisbourg, 1745



1



2



3



4

Johnson. Only those companies at Fort Edward came under Rogers' command, and this did not include provincial Ranger companies such as Putnam's Connecticut Rangers.

The 1759 campaigns

British Army organization caught up with Rogers' Rangers in 1759. Here was a battalion-strength unit that seemed to fit in no official slot, that regular officers found useful but unreliable, and whose officers, Rogers in the van, got involved in feuds over their precedence and authority. Gage, who had raised the 80th Light Infantry the previous year (see MAA 366), felt that the Rangers would be useful mixed in as guides to regular light infantrymen. He further felt that they never had a proper establishment and had 'certainly no Rank in the Army'. All this was brought before the rather taciturn new commander-in-chief, Sir Jeffery Amherst, who was not an avid admirer of Indians nor of the Indian-like Rangers, but appreciated their usefulness as scouts. He confirmed Rogers' rank of major and specified that Ranger commissions were equal to those of regulars.

Leaving a detachment of 20 men at Fort No. 4, six companies assembled at Fort Edward and, in June 1759, went to Lake George to form the advance party of Amherst's army moving against forts Carillon and Saint-Frédéric. The French blew up both forts as they withdrew on 26 July and 1 August, and the Rangers were the first troops on the site of the damaged forts. In the following months the Rangers went on many scouts and some 200 were sent to Fort No. 4 to open a road. In early October, Rogers led over 140 Rangers in a daring raid on the Abenaki Indian town of St Francis (now Odanak, Quebec); hitting it in the early hours of 6 October, they burned it down and killed scores of Indians – largely women and children, since most of the warriors were away.⁵ A pursuit by some 300 French and Indians pressed them hard, but the Rangers managed to reach Fort No. 4 and finally Crown Point in early December.

In 1759 there were also six companies of Rangers (including Goreham's) in Nova Scotia, and these sailed for Quebec with General Wolfe's army. They were the first to land on Ile d'Orléans at the end of June, spending the summer skirmishing and burning some 1,200 houses in the vicinity of Quebec. Hazen's company remained with the British garrison following the surrender of Quebec on 18 September. *Uniform*: see Plate F.

1760-61

In March 1760 the Rangers in New England were to 'be raised again': six companies under Maj. Rogers as part of Haviland's Anglo-American army moving up the Richelieu River towards Montreal, and two companies with General Amherst's army moving from Lake Ontario to Montreal via the St Lawrence River. Hazen's company was with General Murray's army at Quebec and was engaged at the battle of Sainte-Foy where the British were compelled to retreat into Quebec. General Lévis had to raise the siege when British ships arrived with reinforcements

⁵ This is according to Abenaki oral tradition transmitted by the elders and preserved by the Odanak Museum; the area is still an Abenaki Indian homeland. It is said that about 20 warriors were killed; and that a man from the Rogers party, possibly an Indian guide, had warned the village, though obviously too late. Despite its fame due to the 20th century book and film, *Northwest Passage*, such raids as the St Francis expedition were not uncommon on either side; French records took scant notice of it.

and, in July, Hazen's company was with Murray's army marching to join Haviland's and Amherst's at Montreal. In early June, Maj. Rogers led a party of 275 Rangers that repulsed a French attack at Isle Lamotte, sneaked past Isle aux Noix and Saint-Jean, and raided Fort Sainte-Thérèse. After the French evacuated Isle aux Noix and other forts on the Richelieu River, Haviland's troops moved up, and the Rangers were the first British troops to occupy Saint-Jean and Chambly at the end of August. They reached Longeuil south of Montreal on 6 September, thus linking Murray's and Amherst's armies. Two days later General Lévis' French army surrendered, bringing an end to the war in Canada.

General Amherst now tasked part of the Rangers with taking possession of the French western forts. On 12 September 1760, Rogers left Montreal with a force of 200 Rangers under Cpts. Brewer and Wait, later joined by a company of the 60th Foot. He took possession of Detroit on 29 November; a detachment under Lt. John Butler occupied forts Ouiatenon and Miami in December, but Michilimackinac could not be reached due to the onset of winter. Rogers and his men returned eastwards escorting the French garrison of Detroit, arriving in New York in February 1761. By then all the other Ranger companies had returned to New England since November 1760, and had been disbanded; Amherst, never an enthusiast, was anxious to 'pay them off & get rid of the expense as soon as possible.' Rogers' corps of Rangers was essentially reduced to Ogden's and Wait's companies, mustering some 115 all ranks at New York. They were first sent to join the troops mustered against the Cherokees in South Carolina in 1761, but were not deployed once they reached Cape May. They were sent back to New York and, on 3 May, sailed with other troops for Guadeloupe. They were probably drafted into other units at this point, as they disappear from the records. *Uniform*: see Plates E, F and G.

Queen's Royal American Rangers

In the summer of 1762 Capt. Joseph Hopkins raised the 'Queen's Royal American Rangers' in Maryland and Pennsylvania. This unit was on the British regular establishment and had four officers and 100 enlisted men including two drummers. From Philadelphia the company went to Albany (NY) in August 1762, was ordered to Detroit, and then sent to Niagara in November. In May 1763 the company left again for Detroit. On 2 June, Lt. Cuyler and 98 men (80 Rangers and 18 of the 60th Foot) with camp followers were only 25 miles from Detroit when they were ambushed,

'The Death of Wolfe' by Benjamin West, painted in 1770 and exhibited in 1771 - one of the most controversial and hotly debated images in the history of North American art, which now hangs in the Tate Gallery, London. Note the figures of the Ranger at left, the crouching Indian, the officer standing just right of the Indian, and the grenadier at extreme right; features of each of these were copied to produce a print of 'Major General Rogers' published in 1776 - see page 44. (National Archives of Canada, C7761)



routed and badly mauled by Pontiac's Indians, about 40 Rangers of the 50 survivors escaping with Cuyler to Detroit, where they formed part of the garrison during the Indian siege. Captain Hopkins was already at Detroit; during the siege this brave but difficult man was accused of ungentlemanly behavior and of 'selling rum, etc.' at a profit by Cuyler and 14 other officers including Robert Rogers. Rogers, then an unattached officer, covered the retreat of the troops back to Detroit with about 20 of Hopkins' Rangers following the disastrous 'Bloody Morning Scout' on 31 July 1763.⁶ Meanwhile in New York, on 9 September, a displeased General Amherst ordered the company disbanded, which was done following the relief of Detroit on 4 December 1763, the men being drafted into the 46th Foot.⁷ *Uniform*: see Plate G.

Provincial Rangers

During the Seven Years' War a number of colonies raised and paid for Ranger units. **Massachusetts** had raised various Ranger units since the late 17th century and, from 1754, the colony had a company of Stockbridge Mohican Indians that acted as Rangers. It was disbanded in July 1756, when most of these Indians transferred to Rogers' Rangers.

In **Virginia**, the first woods-running Ranger units in provincial service appear to have been the six companies organized in February 1755 for General Braddock's army. By May there were seven 50-man companies with Braddock, but five were termed Rangers and two were termed 'carpenters'. They were badly mauled at the disastrous defeat on the Monongahela on 9 July, several officers being killed or wounded.⁸ Elsewhere in Virginia, three more Ranger companies each of 50 men were raised from May 1755 for the protection of the colony's frontier. From 1756, these three companies had 100 men each, serving in the south-western part of the colony. They were augmented to four companies from September 1758 to May 1759, then reduced to three companies until dissolved on 1 February 1760. In February 1755, Governor Dinwiddie felt that 'Blue turned up with red' were 'very proper Uniforms', and it appears this was the dress of the companies of Virginia Rangers with Braddock's army – and probably of later Ranger companies also.

New Jersey raised a Ranger company of 120 officers and men for frontier defense from the fall of 1756 under Capt. Gardiner. Following a request by Lord Loudoun, New Jersey further authorized another company of 100 Rangers under the command of Hezekiah Dunn on 22 October 1757. Both units were re-organized into two companies of 75 men each from August 1758. In the August 1758 legislation, some 50 'good large, strong and fierce dogs' were assigned to the two companies. The Rangers appear to have seen little action except for a large and victorious skirmish against about 50 Indians at Westfall (NY) on 13

⁶ Rogers himself was commissioned captain in the South Carolina Independent Companies in 1761 but did not go to South Carolina. Instead he was detached to Detroit in 1763 and was present during its siege by Pontiac; at that time he was serving as an unattached officer, since his Ranger unit had been disbanded. His valuable experience was put to good use by Maj. Henry Gladwin of 80th (Gage's) Light Infantry. For his biography see John R. Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers*, (NY, 1959).

⁷ The Queen's American Rangers, often confused with Rogers' Rangers, did not exist for long enough to appear in the 1763 *Army List*, but its officers on half-pay appear from 1765.

⁸ The remnants of these companies were disbanded or absorbed into Washington's Virginia Regiment in the fall of 1755. They may have been 'Rangers' only in name, since they had drummers. In May, Dobbs' North Carolina company and Dagworthy's Maryland company were called Rangers by Braddock but were in fact infantry troops. See: Library of Congress, George Washington papers, Series 4, reel 29, and *Braddock's Orderly Book* (Cumberland, 1880).



The siege of Detroit by Pontiac's Indians during 1763; this print after the late 19th century American artist Frederic Remington gives a good sense of fortifications in the wilderness. The Indians had no artillery, but could surround a fort and blockade it very effectively. Their ability to ambush any sorties was proven during this-called 'Bloody Morning Scout' near Detroit on 31 July 1763, when Robert Rogers – present as an unattached officer – helped lead survivors of the Queen's Royal American Rangers back to the fort.

June 1758. They apparently served until 1760, since Dunn's company seems to have been at Oswego at that time. *Uniform: see Plate E.*

In **Rhode Island** a 70-man company of Rangers was authorized raised from its provincial regiment on 19 September 1757, probably for the winter in the Lake George area. In 1758, **Connecticut** authorized Maj. Israel Putnam's Connecticut Rangers, with 75 all ranks,

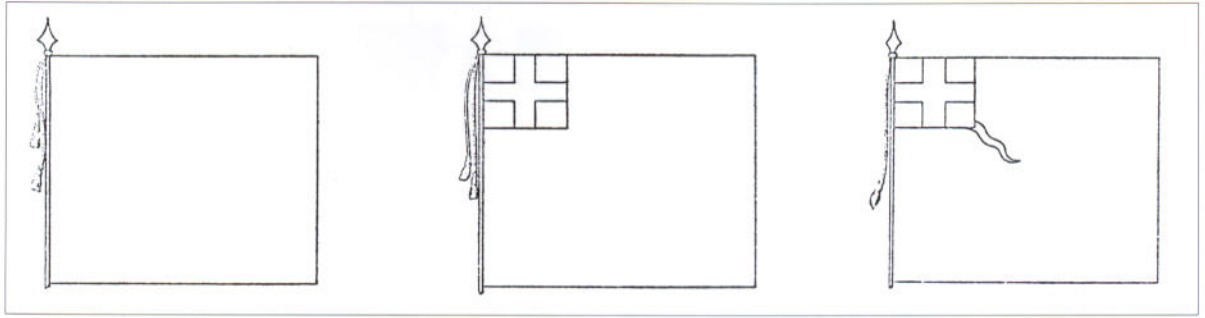
which was with Abercromby's army at Ticonderoga in July. On 8 August, Putnam was captured by the French and Indians and taken to Canada. That same year, Capt. Lovell's **New Hampshire** Rangers, with 90 all ranks, was with Abercomby's army during the Ticonderoga campaign.

COLORS & STANDARDS

Colonial American Units

There are scant records and even fewer relics of infantry colors and cavalry standards used in the several colonies, and the illustrations for this section are necessarily sparse. That all colonies had regulation hues assigned for each county, as in Maryland, is far from certain. The usual system appears to have been a selection of design and hues by the local unit's officers closely following British practices. Train Bands in the first half of the 17th century had the colonel's company color 'of a pure clean colour, without any mixture', that is to say a plain flag of the regimental color: red, green, etc. The lieutenant-colonel's company had the same with a small white canton with the red cross of St George added; the major's had the canton and a wavy flame extending into the field from the lower inner corner of the canton. The captains' companies had the canton and one or more badges (usually rondels) on the field. Up until the later 17th century each company had a color, but this was then reduced to three colors per regiment (or battalion).

In the reign of Charles II colors in England increasingly had the unit colonel's arms in the field, and designs varied greatly. This was rarely and perhaps never seen in America, where noblemen were few and units organized by locality, so the older designs probably remained in use into the 18th century. The most notable exception occurred in **Massachusetts**, where colors did not have the red St George's cross from 1636 to the 1670s because of religious interpretation (see Plate H), but by the early 1680s many companies were again displaying it. Captain Walley's company color in Boston had a red cross in July 1681; Captain Noyes's company at Newbury had a green field also with a red cross in a white canton in 1684. In spite of objections from the pulpit, the red



cross was officially re-instated in Massachusetts from August 1686.⁹ In 1701, at least one Boston militia color pike was 'headed and shod with silver' and engraved with a motto. The other New England colonies used the same type of colors but with the canton bearing the red cross (see Plate H).

In **Virginia**, St George's red cross on a white field was used from 1607 and it seems that English usage was prevalent thereafter (see MAA 366, Plate A). In 1688, the Middlesex County troop of cavalry had a standard and the infantry had one foot color. The trumpeters had trumpets with banners of black (and possibly white) silk.

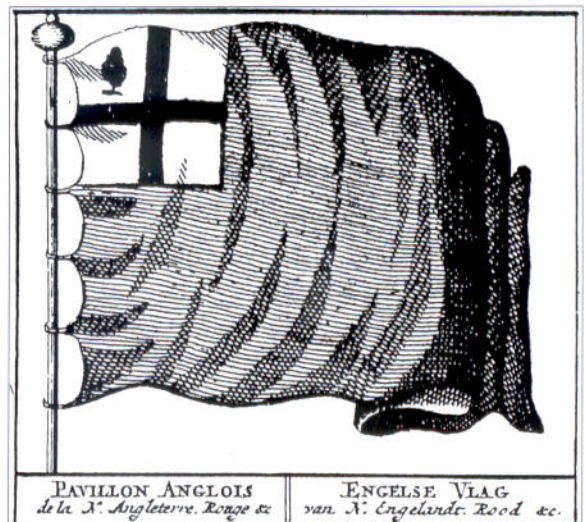
Maryland, too, followed English ways. In October 1694 colors for the units of horse, dragoons and foot were assigned for each county as follows: St. Mary's had red; Kent, blue; Anne Arrundel, white; Calvert, yellow; Charles, orange; Baltimore, green; Talbot, purple; Somerset, 'the Union or Jack flag'; Dorchester, buff; Cecil, crimson. In August 1695, Prince George's County was assigned the St George's cross: 'a red cross in a white field.'

Following the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707, British colors had the Union flag in the canton, including the previously plain colonel's color, the Union itself becoming the lieutenant-colonel's color. From 1747, a British battalion (most regiments had only one battalion) had two colors: the King's Color was the Union, and the Regimental had a field of the facing color with a Union in the upper canton. Colonial American regiments appear to have followed the British usage for the number of colors that they carried, but in **Rhode Island** each militia company was to have a color until 1834.

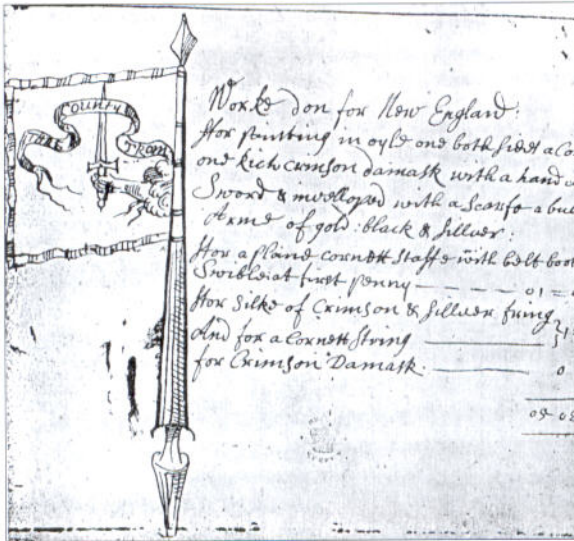
In **Pennsylvania** during 1747, the Associators of the 11 companies of the Regiment of Foot of Philadelphia and the nine companies of the Regiment of Philadelphia County each had a color provided by the ladies of Philadelphia. These 20 colors were painted on silk with devices and mottoes distinct for each according to designs supplied by Benjamin Franklin: e.g., 'An Eagle, the Emblem of Victory; descending from the Skies. Motto, *A Deo Victoria*'; or 'A sleeping Lion. Motto,

LEFT TO RIGHT Colonel's, lieutenant-colonel's, and major's colors, 17th century. The field was plain, in the color assigned to the regiment; the canton was white with a red St George's cross, and the flame or 'pile wavy' was white. Captains of the second and subsequent companies would have additional flames or other symbols - e.g. stars, diamonds, balls, etc. - in ascending numbers.

From the 1680s to the early 18th century, the 'New England' flag was used as a jack and/or ensign on some vessels from those colonies. The field was red, and the St George's cross had an added green 'pine tree' in its first quarter. Falling out of use after the 1707 Act of Union, there is no record of this design being used as a military color. Print after the 1693 *Neptune François* published in Amsterdam.

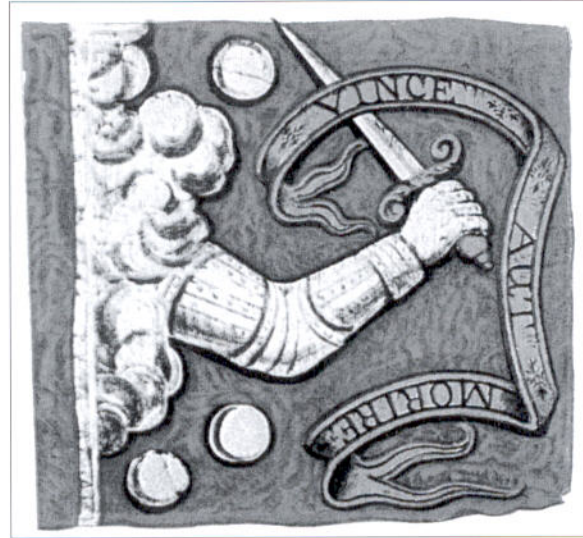


⁹ 'Diary of Samuel Sewall 1674-1729', *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, [Fifth Series] V (1878), entries of 20, 21 & 23 August 1686; Harold Peterson & H.Charles McBarron Jr., 'The North Regiment, Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1636', *MC&H*, IV (1952), pp.93-95 (MUIA No.61).



ABOVE LEFT Standard of the Three County Troop, 1659–60; this unit was organized in the three eastern Massachusetts counties of Essex, Suffolk and Middlesex during 1659, and the standard was ordered from England and used by the troop from about 1660. In all respects it resembles a typical cavalry standard of the English Civil War of the 1640s. Painted on a field of crimson damask, an armored arm emerges from a storm cloud holding a sword, below the words 'THRE (sic) COUNTY TROOP' on a scroll; the fringe is mixed crimson and silver. (*Old-Time New England*, October 1930 after BL, Add. Mss. 26,883)

ABOVE RIGHT Standard of the Three County Troop probably dating from the late 17th century as a replacement for that ordered in 1659. On a field of crimson damask a silver-armored arm holds a sword with silver blade and gold hilt; the three rondels are silver, and the gold scroll bears the motto 'VINCE AUT MORIRE' ('To Conquer or Die'). This unique surviving example of a colonial American cavalry troop standard from the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries was still in good condition in 1775, when it is said to have been carried at the battle of Concord by some Minutemen from Bedford; it is now preserved at that town's public library. (Print in H.H.Horner, *The American Flag*, Albany, 1910)



Rouze me if you dare.' The hues of the colors are not given, nor is there much certainty regarding their design. It seems likely that they were also carried by companies during the 1755–64 period, as a color which approximates one of Franklin's designs is known to have been carried by the militia during the Paxton Boys expedition.¹⁰

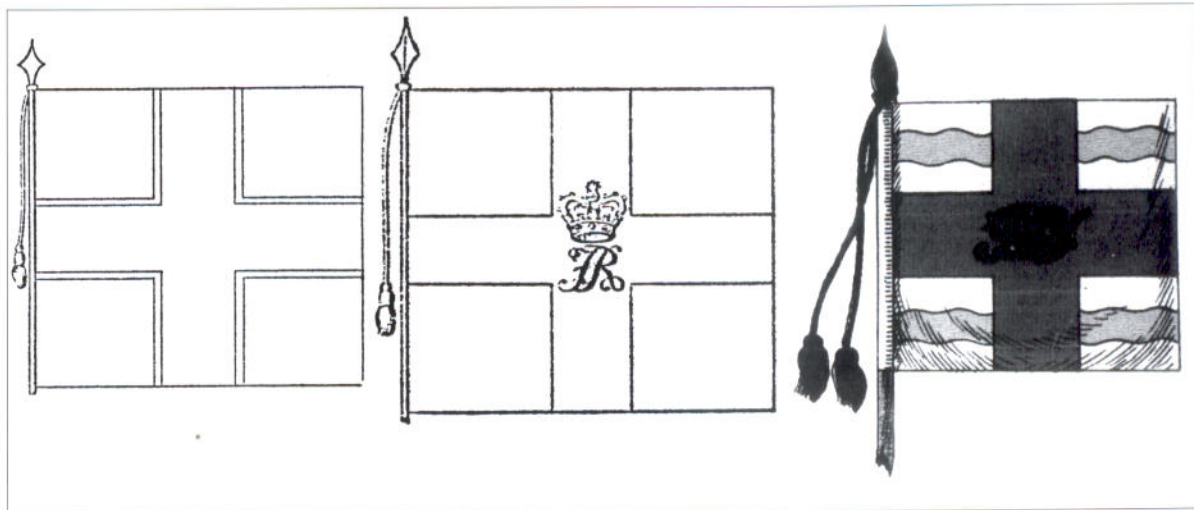
A few colors used by American units fighting the British forces during the first years of the Revolution would have been made before or during 1775. The color of the 2nd New Hampshire Regiment of the American army may previously have been that of the 2nd New Hampshire Militia Regiment; it has a blue field with a small Union in the canton with a regimental inscription in the middle of the field. Union flags were present in the canton of some of the units raised in 1774–75. The Newport (RI) Light Infantry color had a blue field and the Philadelphia Light Horse had a buff standard.

Royal Troops

British royal troops in American garrisons carried, theoretically, colors as in Britain. The five companies of Jeffery's Regiment sent to Virginia in 1677 each had two colors as follows: a white field with a red cross with a crowned lion in gold at the center; a white field with a red cross with a crowned oak in gold at the center (see illustrations for others). In the 18th century, the 40th Foot and other units raised in America had colors according to the British regulations in force at the time of their existence (see illustrations).¹¹

¹⁰ These are described in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 16 April 1748. See also A.W.Haarmann & E.I.Manders in *MC&H*, XXXIII (Fall 1981) for an interpretation of the appearance of these colors. The 1764 color had the Prince of Wales' feathers and coronet in the field with the Union in the upper canton.

¹¹ See Elite 81, *British Colours & Standards 1747–1881* (2) *Infantry*.



ABOVE (Left) Company colors, Jeffery's Regiment, Virginia, 1677. The colors of two companies whose men were mainly from the Coldstream and the Holland regiments had, respectively, a red cross with white edges on a blue field, and a red cross with white edges on a green field. These were similar to the company colors of the parent regiments. (Print after S.M.Milne)

(Center) Color of an independent company sent to Massachusetts with Governor Andros in 1686–88: a white field with a red cross bearing the crowned royal cipher 'JR' for Jacobus Rex. (Print after S.M.Milne)

(Right) Company color, Jeffery's Regiment, Virginia, 1677. Red cross on a 'white field waved with lemon [yellow] equally', with the ornate central cipher 'JDY' for James, Duke of York, in gold. The men in this company were mostly drawn from the duke's Maritime Regiment, but the yellow and white wavy field was unique to this company. (Print after V.Huen)

CONCLUSION

As can be seen from the three books forming this study, nearly all of the American colonies, from the very first days of their respective settlements, had a military infrastructure. Nearly all Americans, from the early 17th century, were obliged to bear arms and attend periodic training. They took this obligation seriously, since the security of their community depended on the military force of their respective provinces.

British regular garrison troops are often believed to have been mostly absent from the colonies. While this was largely the case in the 17th century – with the notable exception of the New York Independent Companies – it became much less so in the 18th century. British regulars were also posted to Nova Scotia and Newfoundland in the north and, from 1760, in the former New France – i.e. Canada to the Great Lakes and the east bank of the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico. The southern frontier also saw its share of redcoats to protect against the Spanish and, from 1763, British regulars occupied the former Spanish colony of Florida.

In most American colonies, a remarkably strong military tradition was forged as the colonists formed small provincial armies from their own resources. Massachusetts and Virginia were pre-eminent in this regard from the 17th century on, but by the middle of the 18th century they had been joined by nearly all other colonies on the seaboard. Thus it was that, especially during the Seven Years' War, the future leaders of the American Revolution – George Washington foremost – gained their military and command experience leading American provincial troops.

Today, Colonial America is sometimes seen as a place of sober if gracious living with such luxuries as good silver made by Paul Revere. But the same Paul Revere could and did also cast cannons... The tens of thousands who mustered everywhere in 1775 were obviously familiar with the basics of military weapons and organization, since they quickly managed to form a remarkably effective army. This capacity for men to mobilize, defend their homes and stand for their freedoms was the legacy of the Colonial American troops existing before 1775.

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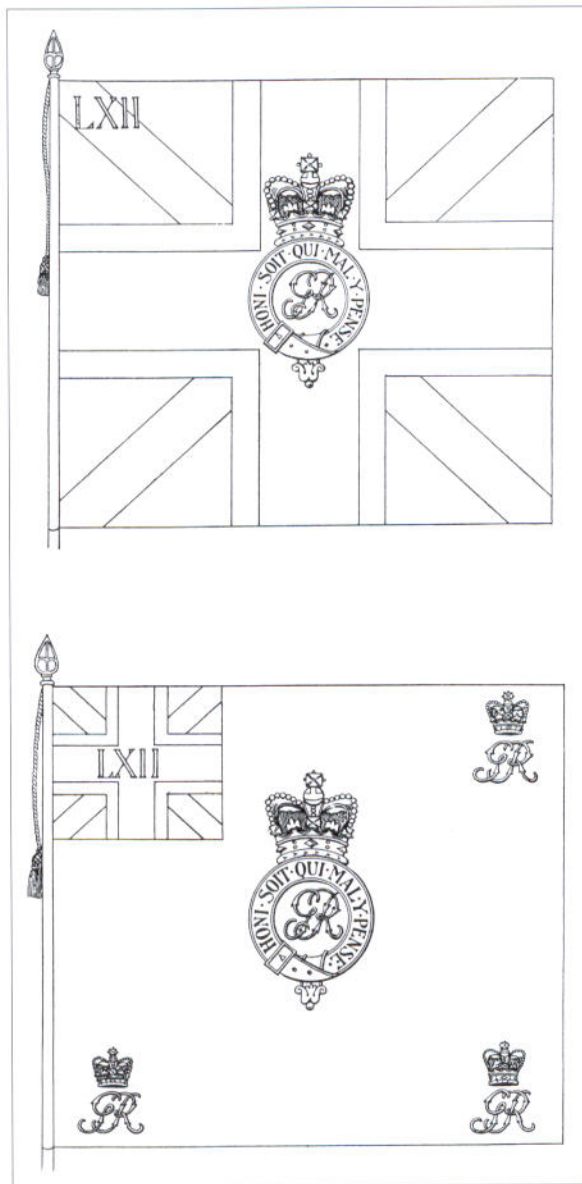
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All major campaigns in the north-east depended upon river transport to move men and supplies. American 'battoemen' were familiar with navigating boats in the wilderness, and were reputed to be even tougher and less disciplined than the Rangers. They were enlisted for each year's campaign under the same general conditions as provincial troops; some were raised by provinces but many were subsidized by the Crown. They could be quite numerous: in 1758 some 1,600 armed boatmen were recruited for Abercromby's expedition under Lt.Col. John Bradstreet. They were armed and paid, but had no uniforms and wore their own clothing; James Stinson in Capt. Jaquer's Company at Albany had 'a half worn brown homespun jacket and a white one under it, and Buckskin Breeches', and Michael Gill wore 'a Lead coloured Jacket', according to the *New York Mercury* of 8 May 1758. (Print after E.Massicotte)

THE PLATES

A1: Private, Mackay's Independent Company of Rangers; Georgia, 1734-40

The dress of Mackay's men consisted of civilian wide-brimmed hats, cloth coats, buckskin breeches, leather Indian leggings and shoes. They were armed with long-barreled muskets and iron-hilted cutlasses, and equipped with cartridge boxes and powder flasks slung on leather belts.

A2: Private, Georgia Highland Independent Company of Foot, 1739-47

In 1735 Scots settlers — many of them veteran soldiers — founded the town of Darien in Georgia. In February 1736 the settlers 'were all under Arms upon seeing a Boat, and made a most manly appearance with their Plads, broad Swords, Targets & Fire arms, the latter of which were very bad', according to General Oglethorpe. The Highland Independent Company of Foot raised in 1739 had blue bonnets, tartan jackets and waistcoats, belted plaids and Highland hose. This dress, probably worn only in cold weather, seems to have been loosely inspired by that of the independent Highland companies in Scotland, but it is uncertain if the Government ('Black Watch') tartan was worn. The arms consisted of Highland broadswords, dirks, Scottish pistols, muskets with bayonets, and 'targes' — small round shields.

Other units were as follows: the mounted English Rangers raised in 1739 provided their own civilian clothing and carried pistols, hatchets and cut-down muskets. The

mounted Highland Rangers wore their blue bonnets, tartan jackets and waistcoats combined with buckskin breeches and leggings; they carried Highland swords, dirks, pistols and cut-down muskets. Besides weapons, both units were furnished horses, saddles and bridles. The uniform of the Marine Company of Boatmen is unknown, but they carried cutlasses with muskets and bayonets. In 1745, a few recruits for 'Georgia Rangers' in Britain had cocked hats with green cockades and blue coats with red facings, but this seems an isolated example and they were probably not worn in Georgia. These Rangers are also mentioned wearing green with leather caps in Scotland in 1746. (E.I.Manders, L.E.Ivers & T.Rodgers, 'Georgia Provincial Companies 1734-1747', *MC&H*, XLV (Winter 1993); S.Reid, MAA 292, *King George's Army*; 'Letters from General Oglethorpe...', *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III-IV, 1873-78)

A3: Trooper, South Carolina Regiment of Horse, 1740s

From 30 October 1742 the regimental uniform was to be: 'Mazarine blue Cloth Coats, double breasted, with brass Buttons and slashed Sleeves; short red Wastecoats with brass Buttons; buck skin Breeches, Boots and Spurs, Gold laced Hatts with Cockades, brown bob Wiggs, Horsemen's Swords, Carbine fitted for a Swivel, cross buff Belts, curb Bridles, blue Housings and Holster caps, blue Cloaks, bay Horses not less than Fourteen Hands High, with Tail pieces'. The facings and linings were red or scarlet. (*South Carolina Gazette*, 17 April 1742; P.F.Copeland & F.McMaster, 'South Carolina Regiment of Horse, 1740-1749', *MC&H*, XXV, Fall 1973)

B1: Private, North Carolina Provincials, 1755

The North Carolina provincial companies wore blue and were even nicknamed 'Carolina Blues'. According to deserter descriptions of May 1755, their regimentals were 'blue coats, with red lapels, and blue breeches'; the cuffs were also probably red. Waistcoats may have been red or blue. Enlisted men probably had white metal buttons and white hat lace but the officers' buttons and lace remain unknown. The companies serving with Forbes' army in 1758 were reported to be 'in pitiable condition, and lacked health, uniforms and everything.' (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 May 1755; PWJ, II; *Papers of Henri Bouquet*, II, 1951)

B2: Officer, Augusta Regiment, Pennsylvania, 1756-57

In the spring of 1756 the Pennsylvania provincial regiments adopted a uniform, and in May Capt. Joseph Shippen of the Augusta Regiment was having his 'abundantly too large' regimental coat taken in by tailors. In October, Shippen needed 'as much Broad Cloth & trimmings & plain double Gilt Buttons as will make me a Waist coat, a pair of neat Shoes with the grain side out & long Quarters, & four pairs of fine white worsted stockings for M[a]jor [James] Burd and

'The Indians giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet in a Conference at a Council Fire' in October 1764.

These Indians are shown in entirely native costume, but see commentary on Plate E2 for a description of typical British-made clothing as perhaps supplied for the Stockbridge Indians who served alongside the Rangers. (Print after Benjamin West)



The Ranger figure from Benjamin West's 'The Death of Wolfe'. There has been much conjecture about its identity and costume, some even suggesting that Rogers himself might have lent his uniform and equipment to West, but there is no solid evidence as to the actual source. It was not a Ranger with Wolfe's army, as they wore black clothing faced with blue. In any event, the figure pictured has remarkably good detail of what seems to be the Ranger dress described for Rogers' unit: black cap with turn-up flap in front and an Indian-style beaded band; jacket all green (including lining) with white metal buttons; brown leggings, moccasins and belts again decorated with Indian-style beading and/or quill work. Some of these artifacts used by West for his painting were recently found (see J.C.H.King's article in *American Indian Art Magazine*, Winter 1991), but not the uniform. Detail from West's painting at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; photo RC)



me.' Colonel William Clapham also got new boots with spurs. The color of the uniform was green with scarlet lapels and cuffs (and most likely, linings), and officers would have had gilt gorgets and crimson sashes. ('Military Letters of Captain Joseph Shippen of the Provincial Service 1756-1758', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVI, 1912)

B3: Private, Pennsylvania Regiment, 1757-59

'A green jacket, green breeches, check shirt, white stockings, half-worn shoes, short hair, and an old beaver hat' were worn by a deserter as early as May 1756. That year the province provided regimentals which included coats, leather breeches and shirts. The coats were almost

certainly green faced with red, and this is confirmed by deserter descriptions of the following years: 'a green regimental Coat, lapelled with red, and an old stripped Jacket, old black Leather Breeches and a new Felt Hat', in late 1757. That year, Maj. Burd recommended that the troops should be dressed entirely in a green (hunting?) shirt, jacket, blanket and cap; this was not adopted, but gives an idea of what was thought an effective dress for duty on the frontier. In 1758, 'Regimentals, green faced with red' with 'Honeycomb Breeches', or 'black Everlasting Breeches', or even 'wide Check Trowsers' with stockings and new shoes were worn, as well as the new all-green jacket. In early 1759 the 'regimental Coats' were again of 'green Cloth, faced with

red', worn with 'red Waistcoats, and Buckskin Breeches'; a green jacket was also seen. These were probably surplus uniforms from the previous year, as the uniform was changed. (Eric I.Manders, 'The Pennsylvania Regiment 1756-1758', *MC&H*, XV (Spring 1964); Albert W.Haarmann, 'American Uniforms during the French and Indian War 1754-1763', *MC&H*, XXXII (Summer 1980); *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 May 1756; 5 January, 15 & 22 June 1758; 19 April, 21 June, 5 July 1759)

C1: Private, Pennsylvania Regiment, 1758

On 31 May 1758, General Forbes' 'expectation' regarding uniforms was made known to recruiting officers of the regiment. This was 'that all the new Levies be clothed in the same Uniform with those already raised in the Counties of Bucks, Philadel[phi]a & Chester. These have all short green Coats, lapell'd with the same.' This plain uniform was a more practical outfit than the standard coats with red facings, although many troops raised before the end of May had the red-faced coats. In early June five men deserted from the 1st Bn in regimentals of 'green faced with red', two of them carrying 'new rifles'. The weapons carried by Pennsylvania provincials were varied, since recruits were encouraged by cash payments to bring their own blankets and muskets; many of those of German origin and frontiersmen brought their long Pennsylvania rifles. The



government would supply the cartridge boxes, and tomahawks, as these weapons had no bayonets – Forbes had 300 tomahawks in 1758, which turned out to be too few. The men of all the detachments of scouts from Forbes' army wore 'a yellow band around the forehead, and a streamlike band of the same color around the arm', so as to be recognized by allied Indians who also wore these badges. The troops of cavalry attached to the 1st and 2nd Bns probably also had these all-green jackets in 1758, as a deserter from Thompson's Light Horse wore that color in September. They also had coarse green cloth cloaks, buckskin breeches, spatterdashes with four buttons, and leather caps for headgear. They were armed with carbines, holstered pistols and cutlasses. These last were considered a joke by Col. Bouquet, who felt that the troopers could not kill a chicken with such hangers. (*Papers of Henri Bouquet*, II, 1951; Albert W.Haarmann, 'American Uniforms during the French and Indian War 1754-1763', *MC&H*, XXXII (Summer 1980); *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 June 1758; *Maryland Gazette*, 21 September 1758)

C2: Private, Pennsylvania Regiment, 1760

From June 1759 descriptions started to appear of deserters wearing regimentals consisting of 'a blue Coat with red Facings', indicating that the provincial uniform was changed to the blue seen in most other colonies. In May 1760 a recruit in the 2nd Bn had 'a blue Regimental Coat with blue Facings, and yellow worsted Button Holes', which would indicate that facings had changed that year. (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 28 June, 12 & 19 July 1759; 29 May, 5 & 19 June, 16 July 1760)

C3: Private, Delaware (Lower Counties) Companies, 1758-59

The dress of the Delaware companies would have been the same as the uniform ordered by General Forbes on 31 May 1758. In June six deserters from Wells' company absconded wearing a 'short green Coat, a short red Vest, and green Breeches.' Unlike Pennsylvania, the Delaware troops probably retained the same green uniform during the following year, since two soldiers who had served in Capt. Battle's Delaware company had 'red Breeches and short green Coats.' (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 22 June 1758 & 28 February 1760)

D1: Gunner, Charleston Artillery Company, 1756-67

The uniform of the Charleston Artillery Company of South Carolina was described in December 1756 as consisting of 'blue cloth Coatees, lapped and Cuffed with Crimson, crimson Jackets [waistcoats], and blue Breeches, with gilt Buttons and Gold-laced Hats.' The men were armed with musket and bayonet and equipped with dressed leather

'Major General Rogers' (sic), published in 1776, was largely taken from Benjamin West's famous 'The Death of Wolfe'. The crouching Indian is similar to West's, and the image purporting to show Rogers is also a composite from figures in the painting – an officer portrait provides the coat and the head and arms, reversed, and the grenadier at the far right has contributed his slung musket. The cap may be an adaptation of Hart's print and the one shown by West. Thus, this print is a purely imaginary representation of Rogers which should be disregarded as evidence.

waist and shoulder belts and a black leather cartridge box, besides their artillery instruments. Officers had the same dress as the men except for crimson velvet cuffs and lapels and 'a gold lace on their waistcoats'; they were armed with a fusil, a sword and a cartridge box. In July 1768 the waistcoat and breeches were changed to white for summer. (P.F.Copeland & F.McMaster, 'The Charleston Artillery Company 1756-1768', *MC&H*, XXV (Winter 1973); *South Carolina Gazette*, 17 August 1757 & 4 April 1761)

D2: Private, Middleton's South Carolina Provincial Regiment, 1760-61

The uniform was a blue coat, waistcoat and breeches, scarlet cuffs, lapels and lining, black light infantry cap, probably with a silver crescent and black plume. Gentlemen 'of character and very considerable property' who served as volunteers had the same uniform except that blue was replaced by green. Corporals were distinguished by shoulder cords of the button color. (J.T.Jones & F.McMaster, 'South Carolina Provincial Regiment (Middleton's), 1760-1761', *MC&H*, XXXVI, Fall 1984)

D3: Private, Howarth's South Carolina Provincial Regiment, 1757-60

The uniform of Howarth's regiment was a blue coat and breeches, buff cuffs, lining and waistcoat, white metal buttons, white hat lace and white stockings. (P.F.Copeland & F.McMaster, 'Fort Loudoun Garrison, 1756-1760', *MC&H*, XXII, Summer 1970)

E1: Ranger, Goreham's Rangers, 1755

The first mention of a uniform for Goreham's Rangers was in 1750 when an advertisement promised that men who enlisted would 'be completely clothed in blue Broadcloth, receive Arms, Accoutrements, Provisions, and all other Things necessary for a Gentleman Ranger.' By 1755 the company was 'dressed in grey, cross pocket, with small leather caps or hats', according to a French intelligence report. Grey clothing was probably also worn into 1756, as 'some of the French prize Clothing' was used for their uniforms since 'no Clothing was sent', and this may also have been done in 1757. The 'grey' French uniforms were in fact off-white. (*Boston Weekly Newsletter*, 4 October 1750; French 'Projet d'attaque sur Halifax' made in 1755, papers later taken by the British. PRO/State Papers 42/38; NAC, MG 11, A60)

E2: Indian Warrior/Ranger, c.1757-60

The Indian warriors serving as Rangers wore their own style of dress which was, by the middle of the 18th century, a mixture of native and European clothing and arms. An idea of what this might have been like is given in a list of gifts 'Necessary to be sent from London for the Northern Indian Department' requested by Sir William Johnson in late 1756. Amongst the items were 100 'Castor Hatts laced with a broad cheap Lace' and 50 with better lace; 100 'Coats of blue Cloath Red Cuffs &c Laced'; with 100 'Cheap Green Waste Coats with white Met[a] Buttons'; blue, black, aurora or crimson and red strouds with 'different Colours Gartering', most likely for leggings and possibly also for breechclouts; hundred of blankets, but only six pairs purple and six pairs 'White or uncolour[e]d'; as well as 50 'Brass Gorgets Gilt, with the King's Arms', 400 'Men's Ruffled Shirts', hat cockades, etc. Weapons provided consisted of 400 'Neat Fowling pieces Barrels 4 Feet Long Substantial

Stocks', 400 'of a better kind', 100 pairs of 'middling' pistols, 1,000 'Indian Cutlashes strong & of the Cymeter kind', 500 pipe hatchets and many sorts of knives. On 11 January 1758, we read that Rogers' Rangers' company of Indians were 'to be dressed in all respects in true Indian fashion', although its other companies were putting on a green uniform (see below). Some few did not always dress in the native style. One Lawrence Ekin (who may not have been an Indian), a deserter from Moses Brewer's Indian company, wore a 'blue surtout coat, with brass buttons, a blue waistcoat, a pair of Nankeen Breeches' in July 1759. (PWJ, II; *Boston Evening Post*, 2 July 1759)

E3: Ranger, New Jersey Frontier Guard, 1758

Although paid, every officer and man was initially to provide himself with a musket, cartridge box, powder horn, cutlass or hatchet, blanket, knapsack and 'wearing apparel'. Each Ranger of 1758 had 'one good Blanket, a Half-thick under-Jacket, a Kersey lapell'd Jacket, Buckskin Breeches, two Check Shirts, two Pair of Shoes, and two Pair of Stockings, a Leather Cap, and a Hatchet.' This 'provincial clothing' was revealed by a deserter from Dunn's company to be 'a grey lapell'd Waistcoat and an under green Jacket, a Leather Cap, and Buckskin Breeches' in January 1758. (*New York Gazette*, 9 January 1758; H.C.McBarron & J.R.Eiting, 'Captain Hezekiah Dunn's Company of Rangers, The New Jersey Frontier Guard, 1756-1760', *MC&H*, XIV, Fall 1962)

F1: Ranger, Ranger Companies; Quebec, 1759

The six Ranger companies with Wolfe's army were led by Capt. Benonie Danks, James Rogers, Moses Hazen, Jonathan Brewer, John Stark and Joseph Goreham. The uniform was identical for all of the Ranger companies with Wolfe, according to Capt. Knox's note of May 1759, that 'The rangers have got a new uniform clothing, the ground is of black ratteen or frize, lapelled and cuffed in blue, here follows a description of their dress; a waistcoat with sleeves; a short jacket without sleeves; only armholes and wings to the shoulders (in like manner as the Grenadiers and drummers of the army) white metal buttons, canvas drawers, with a blue skirt or petticoat of stuff, made with a waistband and one button; this open before and does not quite extend to their knees, a pair of leggings of the same color with their coat, which reach up to the middle of the thighs (without flaps) and from the calf of the leg downward they button like spatterdashes; with this active dress they wear blue bonnets, and I think, in great measure resemble our Highlanders.'

F2: Ranger, Rogers' Rangers, 1758-61

On 14 May 1756 the Rangers of the three companies were each entitled to 'A good hunting Coat, Vest, Breeches, a Shirt, a pair of Indian Stockings, Shoes and a Hatchet to be delivered [to] each man gratis at Albany - A firelock and Blanket to be Delivered Each Man at Boston, the firelock to be returned at the End of the Service.' In January 1757, the Rangers were each to receive a sum of ten dollars and 'find their own cloaths, arms and blankets.' Rogers' Rangers were seen by Capt. Knox in Halifax, having 'no particular uniform, only they wear their cloaths short, and are armed with a firelock, tomahawk, or small hatchet, and scalping knife; a bullock's horn full of powder hangs under their right arm, by a belt from the left shoulder; and a leathern, or seal's

skin bag, buckled round their waist, which hangs down before, contains bullets, and a smaller shot of the size of green peas: six or seven of which, with a ball, they generally load; and their officers usually carry a small compass fixed in the bottoms of their powder-horns...'

The following year, on 11 January 1758, the Rangers were 'to provide themselves with good warm clothing which must be uniform in every company, and likewise with good warm blankets. And the Company of Indians to be dressed in all respects in true Indian fashion.' This first uniform was seemingly a green short coat with green collar, cuffs, lining and probably lapels which could be buttoned over, and white metal buttons. The waistcoat would have been green, the breeches also or of buckskin, and the favored headgear was a green Scots-style bonnet. It is described by one John Macomb on 22 April 1758 as clothing of 'low priced green cloths with white mettles buttons... all lined with green serge', with hats and silver lace and cord for officers. The companies sent to Halifax in 1758 were seen by J. Entick in 'green jackets, with little round hats like several of our seamen. Their arms were a fusil, cartouche box of balls and flints, and a powder horn flung over the shoulder.'

This changed in 1759 for the companies in Halifax that went with Wolfe's army to Quebec (see Knox's description under F1 above); but remained generally similar thereafter for those at Lake Champlain under Rogers' command, except for the addition of lapels. A deserter who had been in Rogers' Rangers had its 'green Coat with green plain Lappels, Cuffs and Collar, with white metal Buttons' which was probably the 1760 issue. A runaway servant in Albany had 'a Ranger's green waistcoat on, with his hat cut in the form of a jockey cap' in 1759. 'Green Bath Rug' is also mentioned in 1758, but this was seemingly a heavy cloth suitable for making a warm cape. Major Scott's 1758 proposals for Rangers mentioned a hooded cloak, a leather cap, 'a coat... just the same as the common coat of regular soldiers, only the skirts are shorter and the lining and pockets taken away, as they only serve to fatigue the men on a long march, and the pockets are put on the inside of the breast of the coat... and the lapels of the coat are the length of the waist to keep the men's bodys warm in winter.' (PRO/WO 34/41 & 76; *New York Gazette*, 2 July 1759; *Boston Post Boy and Advertiser*, 27 July 1761; Macomb letter-book in NY State Library as quoted in Burt G. Loescher, *The History of Rogers Rangers*, Vol. 1, San Francisco (1946); Major Scott in Henry E. Huntington Library & Art Gallery, LO 6927)

F3: Ranger, Goreham's Rangers, 1761

How long Goreham's Rangers wore the black and blue uniform of the Rangers at Quebec in 1759 is uncertain. However, by 1761 they had adopted a most practical reversible uniform as described in the following advertisement: 'Deserted from His Majesty's Garrison of Fort Frederick, St John River... Five following Persons belonging to Major Goreham's Company of Rangers... in the uniform of the Company: viz. Coats, red turn'd up with brown, with brown Capes [collars] and brown insides [linings], which may be worn either side out; Waistcoats of this Brown Colour; linen Drawers; Leather Jockey Caps with an Oak Leaf or Branch painted on the left side.' Besides their weapons, the Rangers also had 'Powder Horns with small straps' and 'small pouches with straps.' (*Boston News-Letter*, 10 September 1761; PRO/WO 34/70)

G1: Rifleman, Conococheague Rangers; Pennsylvania, 1763

Captain James Smith described the unusual dress of his frontier riflemen: 'As we enlisted our men, we dressed them uniformly in the Indian manner, with breech-clouts, leggins, mockesons and green shrouds, which we wore in the same manner as the Indians do, and nearly as the Highlanders wear their plaids. In place of hats we wore red handkerchiefs, and painted our faces red and black, like Indian warriors.' These men were armed with their own Pennsylvania rifles, tomahawks and knives; we have added here a laced-on leather lock cover for the rifle. (*An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith...*, Lexington, 1799; E.I. Manders, 'Conococheague Rangers, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1763', *MC&H*, XLVI, Fall 1994)

G2: Officer, Rogers' Rangers, c.1758-61

From 1758 the officers of Rogers' Rangers wore a green uniform like their men but, according to John Macomb's description of 22 April 1758, they had 'white silver laced Hats, some of them [had] silver lace cord or looping on their jackets.' Hats laced with silver would have been worn in towns or forts but, in the wilderness, they were obviously replaced by caps. The only illustration of what might be the basis of a uniform for an officer is a print of 'Major Robert Rogers' published by Thomas Hart in London in 1776, which may have been based on an earlier likeness after a painting by one 'Thomlinson' in New York. Another print of 'Major General Rogers' (sic) published in 1776 is very largely a composite taken from figures in Benjamin West's famous painting 'Death of Wolfe', and cannot be taken as a likeness of Rogers or of his uniform. (See pages 21, 23 and 44 for the prints; also Ronald Embleton, 'Rogers' Rangers', *Tradition* No.23; Macomb as quoted in Loescher, *The History of Rogers Rangers*)

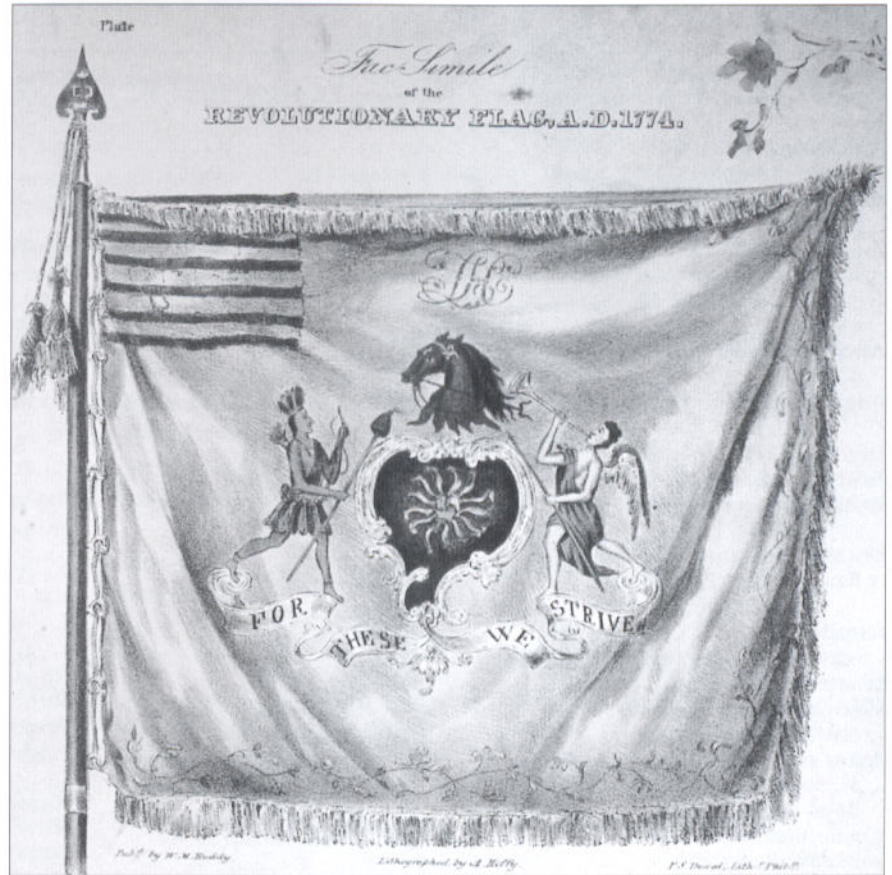
G3: Private, Queen's Royal American Rangers, 1762-63

The dress of the Queen's American Rangers was 'romantic green with yellow buttons, button holes and green caps dressed with feathers and flowers. In front of the cap is Latin Per Sylvas ["By Way of the Woods"]. The fife and drums make an agreeable harmony', according to Hannah Callender's diary. As can be seen, Capt. Hopkins' ill-fated Rangers had a somewhat genteel uniform. Presumably the yellow metal buttons and buttonhole lace were gold for officers. The equipment consisted of 106 powder horns and belts, haversacks, knapsacks, spatterdashes, pairs of shoes and shoe buckles, stockings, shirts, blankets, two drum cases and sticks and 24 camp kettles. ('Extracts from the diary of Hannah Callender', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XII, 1888; PRO/WO 34/49 & 91)

H1: Massachusetts regimental color, 1636-1670s

In Massachusetts Bay there was a peculiar Puritan dispute in 1634 which resulted in the colors having a plain white canton. John Endicott was captain of the Salem Militia Company when he was impressed by a sermon by Roger Williams stating that while Puritans had even discarded the use of the cross in their church services, it nevertheless remained on their flags and colors. Feeling that this was blasphemy, Endicott ordered Ensign Davenport to cut out

Standard of the Philadelphia Light Horse, raised in 1774. The standard was apparently made in September 1775 and its canton was originally a British Union flag; this was later covered with 13 alternating white and blue silk strips. The field is of buff or light yellow silk; a central blue shield bears a yellow or gold star with 13 rays, supported by an Indian and an angel draped in blue-grey; the white scroll bears the motto 'For these we strive' in blue lettering. This is all surmounted by a brown horse's head below an ornate silver embroidered 'LH'. Three edges of the standard are embroidered with open silver foliate work, and the fringes are also silver. (1842 print after Huddy & Duval)



the cross from the canton. Henceforth, the Salem Militia had a plain white canton on a red field. In November, the authorities called on Endicott to account for his defacing the colors and a considerable controversy broke out. Incredibly, the authorities agreed with Endicott and, from 1636, colors in Massachusetts Bay had no red cross at the canton. The exception was the garrison flag at Castle William so as not to confuse incoming ships. This went on until the late 1670s. The 1679 painting of Maj. Savage of the North (or Boston) Regiment has small figures in the background holding a plain red (colonel's) color, a lieutenant-colonel's red color with white canton and red cross, and a similar major's color with the added white flame. However, the red crosses may have been painted in a few years later, as two Dutch visitors to Boston during July 1680 noted that the canton of the flags there did not have a red cross but was plain white on the red field.

H2: Militia color, Saybrook, Connecticut, 1675

In 1675 the militia company at Saybrook, CT, had the white canton with the red cross and a red field with a blue rondel. The fact that it was made in Salem, MA, by one Samuel Crampton indicates that the designs were identical in both colonies. Legislation provided for the purchase of militia colors in colonial America. An act passed in Massachusetts in 1699 was typical of all colonies, and specified that 'Drums, Drummers, Colours, Banners &c. be provided by the Commission[ed] Officers &c. That if the Fines are not

sufficient to pay for and support the same, the Commission Officers of said Companies are empowered to assess so much as shall be wanting' from the militiamen as well as their families and employers.

H3: New England Volunteers color, Louisbourg, 1745

In the mid-18th century some colonial American colors did not display the Union flag, but bore quite freely painted patriotic motifs. This 'Britannia' color associated with the 1745 Louisbourg expedition, and now in the collection of the New York Historical Society, had a white-buff field (now seemingly darker) with a seated figure of Britannia on the shore with a ship on the sea in the background.

H4: Regimental color, Moulton's 3rd Massachusetts Regt; Louisbourg, 1745

Some flags still bore designs more akin to those carried by the English armies of the 17th century Civil War than to those of 18th century British regular regiments. For instance, the 'Moulton Flag' was a color carried by Col. Moulton's 3rd Massachusetts Regiment during the siege of Fortress Louisbourg in 1745. It had a white-buff linen field with a tree (apparently an oak) with a flame-shaped sword blade and the motto 'Bello Pax Quaeritur' ('In War our Quest is Peace') at its center. This color is now only about 26ins square, but it would originally have been larger. (D.W.Holst, 'The Louisbourg Flag', *Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, December 1964)

INDEX

Figures in **bold** refer to illustrations.

- African-Americans 4, 15
American Revolution, 1775–83 39
Amherst, Sir Jeffrey (1717–97) 33, 34, 35
Annapolis Royal 22
Armstrong, Colonel John 13
artillery **D1**, 6, 10, 12, **13**, 14, 16, 44–45
Associator movement 10, 12, 14, 37–38
Augusta Regiment 12–13
- battoemen **41**
Bouquet, Colonel **15**, **42**
Braddock, General Edward (1695–1755) **11**
British regular forces 14, 38, 39, **40**
Rangers **G3**, 22, 34–35, 46
- Canada **11**
cavalry **A3**, 5–6, 7–8, 12, 37, **38**, 42, **47**
Charleston **D1**, 3, 3–4, 5, 6, 44–45
Church, Captain Benjamin (1639–1718) 21, 21–22
colors and standards **H**, 10, 36–38, **37**, **38**, **39**, 46–47, **47**
Royal troops 38, **40**
Connecticut **H2**, 36, 47
constabulary 6, 17
- Death of Wolfe, The*, West **34**, **43**
Delaware **C3**, 9, 15, 44
Detroit, siege of 20, 34–35, **36**
- Florida 4, 39
'Forbes Road', the **12**, 13
Fort Duquesne 8, 13, 15
Fort Frederica 8
Fort Frontenac, capture of, 1758 24
Fort Ligonier 8, **13**, 13–14, **14**, 15
Fort Loudoun 7
Fort Nohucke, siege of, 1713 7
Fort Prince of Wales 19, **19**
Franklin, Benjamin (1706–90) 9, 10, **10**, 12, 37–38
- Gage, General Thomas (1720–87) 33
Georgia 3, 4
militia 15–16
provincial troops **A2**, 16–17, 42
Rangers **A1**, 42
- Halifax, Nova Scotia **17**, 18
Hopkins, Captain Joseph 34, 35
Hudson's Bay 19
- Indians 3, 5, **10**, 12, **15**, 17, **34**, **36**, **42**
raids 4, 7, 10, 12, 22
- Rangers **E2**, 21, 22, 23, 24, 35, 45, 46
- Jack, Captain **11**
Johnson, Sir William 33
- King George's War, 1744–48 7, 9
King Philip's War, 1675–76 21
- Lawson, John 3–4
Loudoun, Lord 23, 35
Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, siege of, 1758 **H3–4**, 22, 24, 47
- Maryland 9, **9**, 34, 36, 37
Massachusetts 21, 35, 39
colors **H1**, **H4**, 36–37, **38**, 46–47
militia
Boston 37
Delaware 15
Georgia 15–16
Hudson's Bay 19
North Carolina 7–8
Nova Scotia 17–19
Pennsylvania 9–12
Quebec Province 20
South Carolina **A3**, 3–6, 42
Monongahela, battle of, 1755 8, 35
- New England, colors **H3**, **37**, 47
New Hampshire, Rangers 36
New Jersey **E3**, 9, 35–36, 45
New York **9**, **11**
Newfoundland 39
North Carolina **B1**, 3, 4, 7–8, 42
Nova Scotia 17–19, 22, 39
- officers **B2**, **34**, 42, 45
militia 3–4, 6, 20
Rangers **G2**, **21**, 23, 33, 46
- Paxton Boys, the 12, 38
Penn, William (1644–1718) **10**, 15
Pennsylvania 9, **11**, 15, 34
artillery 10, 12, 14
cavalry 12
colors 37–38
militia 9–12
provincial troops **B2–3**, **C1–2**, 12, 15, 42–44
Rangers **G1**, 46
Pennsylvania Regiment **B3**, **C1–2**, 13, 14, 43–44
Philadelphia 9, 10, 12, **47**
pioneer settlements **14**
Plain Truth, Franklin, 1747 9–10
planters 5
Pontiac's War, 1763–66 11–12, 14–15, **15**, 20, 34–35, **36**
Port-Royal 22
provincial troops
Delaware **C3**, 15, 44
- Georgia **A2**, 16–17, 42
North Carolina **B1**, 8, 42
Pennsylvania **B2–3**, **C1–2**, 12–15, 42–44
South Carolina **D2–3**, 6–7, 45
- Quakers, the 9, 10, 11
Quebec, battle of, 1759 **F1**, 22, 33, 45
Quebec Province 20
- Rangers **E2**, **F1**, 21–22, **34**, 45
Goreham's Rangers **E1**, **F3**, 22, 45, 46
New England Rangers 23, 23–24, 33–34
provincial **A1**, **E3**, **G1**, 4, 5, 8, 11, 16–17, 22, 33, 35–36, 42, 45, 46
Queen's Royal American Rangers **G3**, 34–35, 46
Rogers' Rangers **F2**, **G2**, **21**, 23, 24, **24**, 33–34, **43**, 45, 45–46
- Rhode Island 36, 37
Richelieu River 33–34
Rogers, Major Robert (1731–95) **21**, 23, **23**, 24, 33, 34, 35, **44**
- Sainte-Foy, battle of, 1760 33–34
Savannah, Georgia 6, 16, **16**
Scots **A2**, 16, 16–17, 42
slaves and slavery 4, 15
Society of Friends (Quakers) 9, 10, 11
South Carolina 4
artillery **D1**, 6, 44–45
cavalry **A3**, 5–6, 42
militia **A3**, 3–6, 42
provincial troops **D2–3**, 6–7, 45
St Augustine, expedition against, 1743 16–17
St Francis, raid on, 1759 33
- Ticonderoga, battle of, 1758 24, 36
training 3, 6, 18
Tuscarora Indian War, 1711–13 7
- uniforms and dress
artillery **D1**, 44–45
militia **A3**, 5, 6, 11, 19, 20, 42
provincial troops **A2**, **B–C**, **D2–3**, 6, 14–15, 42, 42–44, 45
Rangers **A1**, **E–G**, 5, 17, **21**, 21, 22, 35, 42, **43**, 45–46
Utrecht, Treaty of, 1713 17, **18**(map)
- Virginia 3, 21, 35, 37, 39, **39**
- Washington, George (1732–99) **11**, 39
weapons **A**, 3, 5, 8, 20, 42, 45, 46
- Yamasee War, 1715–16 4, 7

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