

Major William Sparke along the Monongahela: A New Historical Account of Braddock's Defeat

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The most memorable and momentous military engagement in Pennsylvania prior to the American Revolution occurred on July 9, 1755. On that fateful summer day General Edward Braddock's expedition of over 1300 British and American colonial troops were decisively defeated by a smaller force of French, Canadian, and Indians only a few miles short of their goal—the strategic outpost of Fort Duquesne. Braddock's overwhelming rout cost the Anglo-American battle group almost 500 men killed, including their mortally wounded commander. There were other costs to the losers; at least 400 men were wounded, and a considerable amount of military equipment was destroyed or abandoned.¹ Word of this startling and unexpected calamity spread quickly throughout the British mainland colonies causing grim forebodings—particularly along the generally unprotected frontier. Many of the settlers there subsequently deserted their holdings seeking greater security in locales in less exposed areas to the east. The French and their Indian allies, aware of their strategic advantage, began ravaging exposed outlying settlements. And as for its overall historical magnitude, Braddock's Defeat definitely highlighted the reverses suffered by Britain in several parts of North America during the initial phase of the French and Indian War (1754-1763).²

Descriptive accounts of the British disaster along the Monongahela River were widely publicized in America in the aftermath of the battle. As early as July 24, 1755, the *Maryland Gazette* published a recapitulation of the engagement based upon the combined depictions of a British officer—apparently Captain Robert Orme, aide-de-camp to General Braddock, and “two young Gentlemen Volunteers who went from the Province, and who were in the late action.” The following month other accounts taken from participants in the battle were printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *South Carolina Gazette*. In addition to these newspaper stories some colonial legislatures complemented this media dissemination by printing chronicles of other Anglo-American combatants. Several written descriptions by colonial veterans of the fight—most notably Virginia's Colonel George Washington—were formally published years later, but in 1755 they nonetheless added to the awareness of the tragic debacle.³

Soldiers' narratives also appeared in Britain during the months following the battle. Because of distance, it was not until August 26, 1755, that the *London Gazette* carried the first sketchy details of the catastrophe in America. The first description by a participant was printed by London's *Public Advertiser* one day later. Within the following three months other individual accounts of the debacle had appeared in

London's Evening Post, the *Whitehall Evening Post*, and the *Public Advertiser* as well as newspapers in smaller English communities.⁴

Also during 1755, numerous individual reports by officers who survived the disaster were directed to the British government. These accounts not only provided vivid first-hand combat remembrances, but more importantly, they also sought to pinpoint responsibility for the fiasco. The most significant, though not always dependable accounts, were written several days after the defeat by Colonel Thomas Gage and Colonel William Dunbar. Gage had commanded the forward units that had absorbed the enemy's initial assault while Dunbar, another deputy commander of the expedition, had led the rear guard of the expedition. Yet despite the receipt of these and other on-the-spot recollections, the imperial government's inquiries failed to yield any definite conclusions.⁵ When the war concluded in 1763, many uncertainties still clouded the picture of this calamitous event.

The plethora of historical works concerning Braddock's Defeat that have appeared over more than two centuries attest to its enduring scholarly attraction. During the late eighteenth century both British and American chroniclers of pre-Revolutionary War developments often paid particular attention to this military disaster. So did several prominent American historians of the next century including Francis Parkman, Jared Sparks, George Bancroft, and Justin Winsor.⁶ One noted scholar, Winthrop Sargent, was singular during this century for painstakingly compiling, editing, and then publishing an extensive collection of primary source documents. Sargent even included writings of French combatants that offered a variety of new insights into this incident. Complementing these scholars' books were many thoughtful journal and magazine articles that scrutinized this British misfortune.⁷

Many articles and books relating to Braddock's Defeat have continued to appear during the present century. It would be inexpedient here to itemize them all, but some of the more prominent books in which this episode receives particular notice are Lawrence H. Gipson, *The Great War for Empire; The Years of Defeat, 1754-1757*, Edward P. Hamilton, *The French and Indian Wars*, Douglas E. Leach, *Arms for Empire: A Military History of the British Colonies in North America*, Stanley Pargellis, *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765*, Charles Hamilton, *Braddock's Defeat*, and Paul Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*.⁸

Paul Kopperman's volume, published in 1977, is perhaps the finest overall account to date of this British military catastrophe. The author provides excellent descriptions of the events and the strategies leading to the march on Fort Duquesne; he offers evaluations of the opposing forces and includes relevant maps of the battle site; he offers several known eyewitness accounts of the engagement itself and its aftermath; and his work concludes with a critical analysis of these British, colonial, and French combat reports.⁹ More importantly Kopperman, as well as other chroniclers of this tragedy, imply that any newly-uncovered, on-the-spot perspectives can enhance our comprehension of what it meant to be present along the Monongahela River on July 9, 1755.

The heretofore unpublished account of Major William Sparke can expand our knowledge of the famous British defeat. Sparke's lengthy manuscript letter was discovered in the Norfolk [England] Record Office where I was conducting research during July, 1994. It was a fortuitous find: less than a week after completion of my research, the Norfolk Record Office was extensively damaged in a fire.¹⁰

Who was this Major William Sparke? How does his account of this long past battle in Pennsylvania blend in with previous published accounts? Answers to these questions are natural introductions to the letter itself.

Several facts are known of William Sparke's lengthy military career both before and after his participation in Braddock's ill-fated expedition. He was born in England in 1699, apparently in the upper-middling social order. (The fact that several individuals named Sparke authored religious tracts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggests that his father or grandfather was an Anglican cleric or theologian.) We know little of his civilian upbringing, but in June, 1731, William Sparke was commissioned as an ensign in the 48th regiment of Foot. The following month he was promoted to lieutenant, in June, 1740, he was elevated to captain; and in 1752, he attained the rank of major.¹¹

By this time Sparke had several combat experiences under his belt. With the 48th, he had participated in military engagements in Flanders during the War of the Austrian Succession (1744-1748). From the continent, Sparke's regiment was shipped back to Britain, where under the overall command of the Duke of Cumberland, it helped to crush the famed insurrection of Bonnie Prince Charles at Culloden on April 16, 1746. During all this fighting, Sparke was wounded twice. He was considered a hardened veteran eight years later when his unit with their buff-colored uniform facings was routed to Western Pennsylvania.¹²

Major William Sparke remained in America for some time after Braddock's bloody defeat. Following the debacle, the remnants of the 48th Regiment were sent to Albany, New York. There he continued to recuperate from his battle wounds, wrote his letter describing the disastrous campaign, and unsuccessfully sought a vacant colonelcy in another British regiment. Apparently doomed to remain in rank and approaching his sixtieth birthday, Sparke returned (no doubt somewhat dispiritedly) to his wife and family in England. Evidently, serious monetary problems followed his homecoming, since he was soon forced to seek financial assistance from a considerable number of Britons. These efforts were probably unsuccessful because Sparke in 1765 was obliged to enter Chelsea Hospital—a sanctuary for needy retired army officers. It was in this refuge that he died on March 27, 1775.¹³

Major Sparke willed his effects to his surviving son Edward. He had two other sons—both army officers—but they had predeceased him. Edward Sparke next bequeathed his father's papers to his eldest son, the Reverend Edward B. Sparke, rector of Feltwell in Norfolk. During his clerical career the Reverend Mr. Sparke (later Bishop of Ely) sought, and received, additional information concerning his grandfather. He transferred these details to his daughter Maria after her marriage to Henry

Morris Upcher of Sherringham in Norfolk. The Upchur family papers, including those relating to William Sparke, were donated to the Norfolk Record Office in 1988.¹⁴

Comparing Major Sparke's account to those penned by other British and colonial survivors of the debacle, the major's description certainly supports those which exonerated General Braddock. Like Captains Robert Orme, Francis Peyton, and (to a lesser extent) Robert Stewart, Sparke's comments are uncritical toward the conduct of the late general. Even Colonel Thomas Gage, Sparke's immediate commander, probably in an attempt to cover up his own blunders as commander of the vanguard units in the engagement, laid primary responsibility for the disaster on the unnecessary panic shown by the enlisted ranks. In Sparke's view, the blame for the affair centered on two factors also targeted by fellow officers—the failure of colonial governments to provide requisite supplies on time and the alleged perfidy of Native Americans. Of course the facts that Gage was Major Sparke's commander, that the major's letter was apparently directed to someone of influence in Britain, and that Sparke was then seeking his promotion, may have affected his account.¹⁵

Other participants did not share the assessments made by Sparke and some fellow officers. For example, Captain Horatio Gates, leading an independent company, and Sir John St. Clair, commanding the expedition's working party, expressed contrary views concerning the conduct of General Braddock. Gates, for example, was extremely critical of Braddock's failure to bring up his main body of troops quickly enough once the fighting began, thereby contributing to the resultant panic. For his part, St. Clair faulted Braddock for not advancing on Fort Duquesne in a proper manner, and then using inappropriate tactics once the battle had begun.¹⁶

As for the battle itself, Sparke's 48th Regiment, as an advance element in the British force, was in the forefront of the fighting. Sparke's own account reflects this fact. He describes the onset of the enemy's intense firing from hidden positions. He adds that their Indian opponents were especially adept at this style of fighting from concealment. Sparke's recollection also details the devastating casualties that occurred among his fellow officers, the panic among subordinate ranks, and his own narrow escape from death. Finally, in a personal vein, he rejoices in his own good fortune to be alive, and enumerates his own personal losses in the fray amounting to an estimated £500—no small sum to him!¹⁷

The informative letter of Major William Sparke is catalogued under the heading UPC 315/1 at the Norfolk Record Office. It is published here for the first time with the permission of this administrative body.

Dear Sir

I did myself the pleasure of writing to you from Corke [Cork, Ireland] just before our Embarking from thence on the 8 of January [1755] for this country; on the 23, the Fleet of Transports under Convoy of two men of War, the whole consisting of Eighteen Sail put to Sea, but by hard Gales of wind were in a few days too

much dispers'd, that we remained only six in Number including the two men of War, but were so lucky to keep Company together till our arrival upon the Coast of America, where we were so roughly attack'd by the North Westers (the most blowing and dangerous Storms in these Seas) that we were all Separat'd, but by the Almighty's Providence got safe within the Capes of Virginia, and Anchor'd in Hampton Roads on the 12 of March, where receiving orders to proceed directly to Alexandria upon the River Patomack, we sail'd the next morning, and arriv'd there on the 22, on the 24th Disembark'd our men and Encamp'd the same day, where the two Regiments were oblig'd to remain for want of provisions, Carriages and so forth, to Enable Us to March till the 12th of April, when we Separated in order to facilitate our March from thence to Wills Creek, Sir Peter Halket takeing his Route through Virginia, and Our Regiment through Mary Land the opposite side of the River, but were again detain'd at Frederick's Town from the 17th of April to the 29: for want of the inconveniences and so forth above mention'd, which occasion'd our not reaching Wills Creek till the 10: of May, th'o we did all that possibly could be done by forc'd marches and so forth; the other Regiment meeting the same difficultys, there was very little difference in time of our joyning, these delays were no doubt hurtfull to his Majesty's Service;¹⁸ but General [Edward] Braddock upon their Assurance of every thing being in readiness against his Arrival at Wills Creek, for immediate proceeding from thence to Fort du Quesne, expected to make a very short stay there, but notwithstanding all their promises [he] was again disapointed there being Neither provisions, Carriages, Horses and so forth, or anything in readiness conducive to his moving from thence, and which they were all sensible he could not do without those conveniencys [conveniencies], as it was an hundred and twenty Miles from Wills Creek to the Fort, quite thorough a desert'd uninhabited Country, there being neither House or living Creature to be seen the whole way, excepting the Wild Beasts of the Woods, which oblig'd him not only to take sufficient provisions for the Army upon the march but likewise for Subsisting them when there, but to be short, it was the 10: of June before the General could move from thence, by which Negligence a full month was lost there, and great quantity of provisions consum'd to no purpose, besides giving the Enemy all the time they could wish for, to strengthen and provide themselves against our Arrival, and which indeed they Effectually did to our great unhappy misfortunate, which would have been prevented by our Arrival there eight or ten days sooner; nor could we have Stirred from thence when we did, had it not been by this Assistance of a Gentleman [Benjamin Franklin] of Philadelphia, who contracted for, and sent to the General an Hundred and fifty Waggon's from the Province of Pensilvania, upwards of two hundred miles from our Camp;¹⁹ upon their Arrival we began our March, but surely such a one was never undertaken before, or advis'd by people who pretended and certainly should have known the Country well, for an Army all endo'd [endowed] with near three hundred Waggon's, a Train of Artillery and Horses, some Hundred of Horses Loaded, besides a numerous living Stock of Bullocks and Sheep thorough a Rocky and mountainous Country cover'd with thick woods, which we were oblig'd to clear and make passable the whole way,

but not to detain you with a discription of what I apprehend will be look'd upon as Romantick by those who did not see, and therefore cannot comprehend the difficultys of that March; the General instead of finding the Road such as they had assurance to tell him he might drive his Coach thorough the whole way, met with such obstractions, as oblig'd him to alter his disposition of March at a place they call the little meadows, about two and twenty miles from Cumberland Fort Camp upon Wills Creek where he form'd a detachment from the two Regiments, Independant Companys and American Troops, of twelve hundred men, and proceeded with them, his Artillery, and as light a Train of Carriages as he could possibly dispencc with, in order to invest the Fort, leaving the Remainder of the Army with the Stores and so forth under the Command of Colonel [Thomas] Dunbar, with directions to follow him with all possible expedition,²⁰ but notwithstanding the best Endeavours were used to Expedite the March, so many difficultys arose to retard it, that it was the thirtieth day after our leaving Fort Cumberland, that we arriv'd upon the Banks of the Monongahila, about seven or Eight miles short of Fort du Quesne, which River we forded twice on the 9th of July, and in less than a mile after our second passage, we were attack'd in a pass surrounded with Hills of wood, that reder'd our Enemys invisible to us, so that we were expos'd to their fire with which we were incircled, without being able to return it but at Random amongst the Trees and underwood, in this situation a great number of men and Officers fell in a short time, upon which the men run into such confusion, that neither the General, or any of Us could form or prevail with them to obey any Commands, tho' we Used our best Endeavours to convince them, that their safetys depended upon their obedience, but all to no purpose, for in this manner (although the Officers Used all possible Arguments to Encourage them, they would neither follow or obey their orders) they continued behaving [disobediently], firing at Random without orders or paying the least regard to any that were given, till they had exhausted the most of their Ammunition, and then they retreated with great precipitation over the Monongahila, which we could not with all possible intreaties prevent, or form them when they had got over, they taking immediately into the Woods;²¹ The General, poor Gentleman, after having four or five horses shot under him, receiv'd a Wound of which he died in four or five days, his two Aide du Camps were Wounded, his Secretary Mr.[William] Shirley, Son to our present General Kill'd, Sir Peter Halket and Six of his officers Kill'd and Nine Wounded, of our Regiment a Captain and five Lieutenants Kill'd and twelve Officers Wounded, our loss in the whole is compared at upwards of Eight hundred men Kill'd and Wounded, and Sixty three Officers, twenty six of the Number Kill'd, thirty seven wounded, several of which are since dead, out of our Company of Granadiers consisting of Seventy Eight including Serjeants and so forth,²² but Eleven of them came off, most of the Remainder of them being Kill'd, the others so badly wounded that many are since dead, the Captain Wounded and the two Lieutenants Kill'd, and out of forty six detach'd from my Company, I had twenty Kill'd and twelve Wounded, most of them since dead of their wounds, and my two Lieutenants and Ensign likewise Wounded, and out of twenty three Officers of our Regiment upon that detach-

ment, only five return'd unhurt, and which was pretty much the Case of the two Regiments and so forth, As to my Self, altho' I was on horseback till about half an hour before our men went off (which was upwards of three hours from the beginning of the Actions) when my Horse was shot under me, and in all places where the Service required my duty, there being none of the Field Officers Remaining but Colonel [Thomas] Gage and my Self to give any orders, all the others being rendered incapable by Death and Wounds, I think I Escap'd very well, for tho' my Cloaths were shot through in several places, I came off with two Wounds, which has been of no great consequence, the one in my left Leg, the other in my right foot, where the Ball was Lodg'd and taken out two days afterwards, which luckily had taken the Stirrup Iron first, or my foot much have been Smash'd to pieces, I was lame for a considerable time but am now perfectly well of both wounds, but at times have Numbness in my foot; I acknowledge, and ever shall retain a just sense of the Almighty's protection that day, being in as much danger in getting off of the ground and over the River, as in the Action, for Colonel Gage being on horseback, rode on in hopes of Stopping the men, and I remain'd behind in order to form and lead them on again, but he might as well have attempted to have Stop'd a Torrent,²³ I continued upon the Ground till they were all gone, and had then three quarters of a mile to the River, was on foot, bleeding, and lame, and not one person to assist me, and when I got to the Water, the Indians were firing very briskly upon our men from the Banks of the River, in this situation I was oblig'd to enter the Water, and by the Almighty's Assistance got safe over without further hurt, tho' their shot came very thick, the River broad, and often up to my breast, and in one place I fell into a hole quite overhead, whence I must certainly have been suffocated, being then too weak to help myself had I not been assisted by one of our men, who see me fall and came to my relief.

The Trains of Artillery with Us, Consisting of Four Howitzers, four twelve pounders, two six pounders, and some Cohorns, with the Stores of Ammunition and the Provision Waggon, were all left upon the Ground, several of the horses being Kill'd, and many run off with by the Waggoners, and all or most of the Baggage of the Army lost,²⁴ As to my own part, I was Stripp'd of everything I had, having lost six horses, all my field Equipage, Cloaths and Necessaries of all kinds that I brought in plenty from Europe, every thing being excessive dear in this Country, so that with the money I had with me, my loss at the most moderates computation amounts to very near five hundred pounds, haveing brought nothing off but the cloaths upon my back, which greatly distress'd me, being much out of order upon the March, and oblig'd to lay upon the ground, without either bedding or any comfortable necessary to be got, till our Arrival at Philadelphia on the 29th of August, our March being thorough the woods the whole way.

Who were the occasion of the misconduct of this affair I don't pretend to say, but all our Colonys upon this Continent, were greatly surpriz'd at our being order'd to Virginia, as they looked upon either New York or Philadelphia to have been the places for Us to have Landed at, and where we should have been supply'd immediately with everything Necessary to have March'd directly to the Enemy, and then in

all probability [the campaign] must have been Crown'd with Success, but the way we were sent was greatly disadvantageous to the service, not only the passages we were oblig'd to march through, the whole Route from Cumberland Fort to the Monongahila being almost a defile the whole way, with such Number of strong persons amongst the Rocks and Woods, that a Small body of the Enemys Indians could have horrif'd and Annoy'd Us greatly, and gone off unhurt at their pleasure, they knowing the whole Woods and passages in them, our misfortune of having only Eight Indians with Us, which in Effect were Nothing, they being too Small a Number to venture far from our Camps, and could make no discoveries or get any intelligence of the Enemy, and the want of a sufficient Body of them was the occasion of our misfortune, as the French had Several hundred against us, who did Us great mischief, their way of fighting being from behind Trees and Bushes, changing their places as soon as they have fired, creeping or laying upon the Ground while they Load which they do very quick and are good marksmen, being Train'd up from their Infancy in that manner of fighting are very expert, therefore, unless we have [in] the next Campaign a sufficient Number of them to make headway against the Enemys, I apprehen'd we shall make no great progress, otherways it must be expected that our regular Troops must fight at great disadvantage, how it happen'd that we had no more with Us the last Campaign, is thought very catastrophic [I] imagin'd there must have been wrong proceedings some where, for upon our arrival at Wills Creek, there was a Considerable Number of the Indian chiefs with their families attending General Braddocks comeing, with whom he had several conferences, and at the conclusion they took up the Hatchet, sang their War Dance & Exchanged Belts of Wampum (which is their method of declaring war against our Enemys, and entering into an alliance with us) and at their leaving, the General promis'd them to meet with their Warriors at a place they call the Great Meadows, about fifty miles from Cumberland Fort, but instead of performing their promise tis apprehended they went to the French, not one appearing more than in the aforementioned Light, who all behav'd well.²⁵ Upon our March from Fort Cumberland, we receiv'd General [William] Shirleys Orders to proceed directly for this place, therefore stay'd no longer at Philadelphia than to furnish the men and ourselves with Tents and Camp Necessaries, and then March'd through the Province of the Jerseys, Embark'd at Amboy [Perth Amboy] for New York, where we arriv'd the same day, and sail'd the next morning for this place, a hundred & fifty miles from New York up Hudsons River, and after Eight days passage arriv'd here and Encamp'd on the 20: of October and where we must remain till the Barracks are finish'd which were not begun till ten days after our Arrival, they absolutely refusing to quarter Us in the Town till the Barracks are ready;²⁶ we have been now Encamp'd ever since the 24: of March the day of our Landing from Europe, and have had a fatiguing Campaign, and are Still oblig'd to keep the field tho' the weather is Severe and bad, this Country being Excessive Cold.

It is my Sincere wishes that this may find you and Miss Challis prefectly well, and in hopes of the pleasure of hearing from You, please to send your Letter to Mr.Calcraft [John Calcraft Esq.]²⁷ our Agent, directed for him either at the War

Office, or his House in Brewer Street Near Golden Square, and he will forward it by the first opportunity.

By a letter I have receiv'd from home since my being here, dated the 30: of August, Mrs. Sparke gave me the satisfaction of knowing that she and our little ones were then well, as I am convinc'd that her hearing from you and Miss Challis frequently will give her pleasure, hope you will not deny her that Satisfaction; pray my Compliments to Miss Challis, and believe me most Sincerely

Camp at Albany

Dear Sir

22: November 1755—

Your Affectionate and
obedient Humble Servant
Wm Sparke

On the 18th Instant we had a terrible shock of an Earth Quake, which was felt at Boston, New York, Rhode Island, & all a long this part of the Continent.²⁸

Notes

1. Paul E. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela* (Pittsburgh, 1977), 50-92, 122-32; Stanley Pargellis, *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1763* (New York, 1936), 112-27; Charles Hamilton, ed., *Braddock's Defeat; The Journal of Captain Robert Cholmey's batman, the Journal of a British Officer and Halkett's Orderly Book* (Norman, Okla., 1959), 27-32, 49-58, 123-25.
2. Lawrence H. Gipson, *The Great War For Empire: The Years of Defeat, 1754-1757. The British Empire Before the American Revolution* (New York, 1946), 6: 150-83; Douglas E. Leach, *Arms for Empire: A Military History of the British Colonies in North America, 1607-1763* (New York, 1973), 365-70; Robert L. Davidson, *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682-1756* (New York, 1957), 177-88; Joseph E. Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1976), 211-12, 217.
3. *Maryland Gazette*, (Annapolis), July 24, 1755; *Pennsylvania [Philadelphia] Gazette*, July 31, 1755; *South Carolina Gazette*, August 28, September 4, 1755; *Boston Evening Post*, August 11, 1755; *New York Mercury*, August 11, 1755; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (1851), 6: 481; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington D.C., 1931), 1: 148-58; Robert H. Brook, ed., *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, Virginia Historical Society, *Collections*. new ser.[1884], 4: 116-17; Douglas S. Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography* (New York, 1984), 2: 8-82.
4. *London Gazette*, August 26, 1755; [London] *Public Advertiser*, August 27, November 3, 10, 1755; *London Evening Post*, August 26-28, 1755; [London] *Whitehall Evening Post*, August 30, September 2, 9-11, 1755; H. Darnell Davis, "British Accounts of Braddock's Defeat," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 23 (July, 1899): 310-328.
5. Thomas Gage to the Earl of Albemarle, July 24, 1755, in Thomas Keppel, *The Life of Augustus Viscount Keppel*. (London, 1842), 213-18; Thomas Dunbar to Robert Napier, July 24, 1755 in Pargellis, *Military Affairs in North America*, 109-11; Kopperman *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 50-121; R.C. Simmons and

P.D.G. Thomas, eds., *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America, 1754-1764* (Millwood, N.Y., 1982), 1: 110-11, 188, 213, 239-40.

6. Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1884), 2 vols; Jared Sparks, *The Life of George Washington* (Boston, 1842); Justin Winsor, *A Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1882) vol.5; George Bancroft, *History of the Colonization of the United States* (Boston, 1864) 3 vols.; John M'. Culloch, *A Concise History of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1795), 1-272; Thomas Mante, *The History of the Late War in America* (London, 1772), viii-542; Tobias Smollett, *The History of England from the Revolution to the Death of George II* (London, 1763-65), 5 vols; W.E.H. Leckie, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1892), 2: 352-65.

7. Winthrop Sargent, *The History of an Expedition Against Fort Du Quesne in 1755 Under Major General Edward Braddock* (Philadelphia, 1855), 15-423; Charles R. Hildeburn, "Sir John St. Clair, Baronet Quarter-Master General in America, 1756 to 1767," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 9 (January, 1886): 1-14.

8. Edward P. Hamilton *The French and Indian Wars* (Garden City, N.Y., 1962), xii-318; Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762*. (Chicago, 1964), 1-240; Charles Hamilton, ed., *Braddock's Defeat* (Norman, Okla., 1959); Gipson, *The Great War for Empire*, vol. 6; Leach, *Arms for Empire*; Kopperman, *Braddock at the Mongahela*; Paragellis, *Military Affairs*.

9. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, xv-273; See also Paul E. Kopperman, "An Assessment of the Chomley's Batman and British A Journals of Braddock's Campaign," *Western Pennsylvania History Magazine*, 62 (1979): 197-220.

10. *The [London] Evening Standard*, August 2, 1994; *The [London] Daily Telegraph*, August 2, 1994; *The Times* [London], August 2, 1994.

11. Upchur of Sherringham Papers, Norfolk Record Office Norwich, UPC 315/6. Indications of the probability that Sparke's family were in the upper social orders can be found in the several listings of the name Sparke in the

alumni catalogues of Oxford and Cambridge Universities for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

12. Edward E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1936), 156; Worthington C. Ford, comp., *British Officers Serving in America, 1754-1774* (Boston, 1894), 1-107, does not list Sparke's name, but this work is incomplete. See also Bernard W. Kelly, *The Conqueror of Culloden; Being the Life and Times of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, 1721-1765* (London, 1903); William Sparke to the Duke of Cumberland, November 3, 1757, Upchur Papers, Mss. Norfolk Record Office, UPC 315/4. Sparke's definite presence with the 48th Regiment is substantiated in the orderly book of Sir Peter Halkett. See Hamilton, *Braddock's Defeat*, 115, 117, 119, 121.

13. War Office to Edward Bayer Sparke, Oct. 2, 1823, Petitions and Letters of Major William Sparke, Upchur Papers, UPC 315/1-6.

14. Papers of the Reverend Edward Boyer Sparke of Fettlewell, Norfolk Record Office Norwich.

15. Letter of Major William Sparke, November 22, 1755, Upchur Family Papers, Norfolk Record Office, UPC 315/1; Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 50-51, 59-60, 63-67, 114-19, 155-61, 190-95, 216-22, 228-30; Leach, *Arms for Empire*, 358-60.

16. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 50, 61, 195-97, 222-25.

17. Letter of Major William Sparke, November 22, 1755 Upchur Family Papers, UPC 315/1. For further comment on the shortcomings of British troops fighting in American conditions see Peter E. Russell, "Redcoats in the Wilderness: British Officers and Irregular Warfare in Europe and America, 1740-1760," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 35 (1978): 629-52.

18. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 8-9; Hamilton, *Braddock's Defeat*, 11-12.

19. For the role of Benjamin Franklin in this episode see Leonard W. Labaree, Ralph

Ketchum, Helen C. Boatfield, Helen H. Fineman, eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, (New Haven, 1963), 6: 14-22, 42-51; Lewis B. Walker, *The Settlement of the Waggoners' Accounts Relating to General Braddock's Expedition*. (n.p., 1899); Whitefield J. Bell, Jr. and Leonard W. Labaree, "Franklin and the 'Wagon Affair,'" *American Philosophical Society, Proceedings*, 101 (1957), 551-5.

20. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 42-44, 93-4, 239-40; Hamilton, *Braddock's Defeat*, 13-22.

21. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 51-57; Hamilton, *Braddock's Defeat*, 23-28.

22. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 57-92; Hamilton, *Braddock's Defeat*, 29-32.

23. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 50-51, 59-60, 65, 80-81, 191-94.

24. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 50-52; Hamilton, *Braddock's Defeat*, 32-34.

25. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 98-104.

26. For the refusal of colonists to quarter British troops in civilian dwellings see Fred Anderson, *A People's Army; Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1984), 177, 180; Eugene I. McCormac, *Colonial Opposition to Imperial Authority During the French and Indian War* (Berkeley, CA, 1911), 1-88.

27. John Calcraft was an army agent and solicitor living in London. see *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 29 (1759), 591.

28. For the reportage and concerns in the American colonies regarding this surprising earthquake, see *Boston Evening-Post*, November 24, 1755; *New-York Mercury*, November 24, 1755; Jonathan Mayhew, *The Expected Dissolution of all things . . .* (Boston, 1755), 1-5; Charles Chauncy, *Earthquakes, a token of the righteous anger of God . . .* (Boston, 1755), 1-32.