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A "nursery for soldiers to the whole world": Colonel James Prevost and the Foreign Protestant Military Migration of the Mid-Eighteenth Century

THE DUC DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD-LIANCOURT published his favorable impressions of the United States after an extended stay in the new republic at the close of the eighteenth century. Among the residents featured in his travelogue was a benevolent New York squire, Augustine Prevost the younger (1744–1821), who lived comfortably on a substantial property near Albany. Although a Genevan by birth, Prevost had immigrated to the New World four decades before with his uncle Colonel James Prevost and detachments of the Royal American Regiment. Surprisingly, his distinguished career as a British army officer was not held against him by neighbors, whose respect he had gained through industriousness, business acumen, and a charitable nature. This Swiss mercenary had beaten his sword into ploughshares and now enjoyed an easy retirement as a prosperous land developer, gentleman

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farmer, and entrepreneur.[1]

La Rochefoucauld's glowing profile of Major Augustine Prevost has been overlooked by scholars of the German *Auswanderung* in their persuasive exegesis of European relocation to the New World. Using passenger lists, shipping records, and business correspondence, social historians divide the saga of foreign Protestant migration into three broad periods, commencing with the arrival of late seventeenth-century refugees (1683–1720s). These émigrés, in turn, were eclipsed by a rising tide of economic migrants whose numbers peaked at 16,675 individuals a generation later. Thereafter, the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) halted all westward movement, leaving only a thousand or so single adult males ready to chance an ocean passage annually through 1775.[2] Neglected in this persuasive analysis of the trade in strangers, however, is any consideration of a variant expatriate stream caused by the Seven Years' War itself. Distinguished by Whitehall's countenance, its broad social cast, and diverse regional base, this exodus of a thousand combatants was far more consequential than its numbers might suggest. Years spent in a red coat Anglicized these soldiers—particularly the officer elite—who were transformed by army service into full citizens of British North America.

Colonel James Prevost, the principal behind the military migration, did not descend from warrior stock. Born to a Genevan jeweler on December 19, 1725, he spent formative years in London employed as a watchmaker's apprentice.[3] Dissatisfied with his station and limited financial prospects, the youth crossed the English Channel to gain an initial commission in a Swiss battalion during the War of the Austrian Succession

[1] Edward G. Williams, "The Prevosts of the Royal Americans," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 56 (1973): 22–37; Francios-Alexandre-Frederic, Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America, The Country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada in the Years 1795, 1796 and 1797, with an Authentic Account of Lower Canada*, trans. Henri Neuman, 2 vols. (London, 1799), 2:220–23.

[2] Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park, PA, 1999), 1–112, esp. 45–46; Aaron S. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775* (Philadelphia, 1996), 15–80; A. Gregg Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore, 1993), 1–53, 95–113; Farley Grubb, "German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1709 to 1820," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20 (1990): 417–36; Grubb, "The Market Structure of Shipping German Immigrants to Colonial America," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 111 (1987): 45–47.

[3] "Minutes of Lord Loudoun's Meeting with Captain [Francis Gabriel] De Ruvynes," Jan. 18, 1758, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 5, p. 11, Huntington Manuscripts, 1717, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; J. A. Galiffe, *Notices généalogiques sur les Familles Genevoises Depuis les Premiers Temps jusqu'à Nos Jours*, 7 vols. (Geneva, 1976), 2:361.

(1740–1748). An unfavorable reception by countrymen serving Louis XV, however, forced the aspiring officer to content himself with employment in less fashionable units deployed in Piedmont-Sardinia and the United Provinces. By the mid-1750s, Prevost had attained field rank in the Dutch service, but troop reductions in the republic convinced the officer to resign his commission and seek a living elsewhere.[4] South Carolina's liberal attitude towards foreign Protestant settlers and its flourishing economy prompted the Genevan to move there just as the fragile armistice established by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was being undermined by European expansion into the disputed Ohio Country.[5]

The Prevosts were unaware of all the cataclysmic events unfolding on the western side of the Atlantic during the summer of 1755 as they embarked for Charles Town. Ten days out, the gravity of the deteriorating political situation was driven home when a French naval squadron intercepted their small ship, HMS *Blandford*, and carried it off to Brest. Internment was brief; all the detainees were repatriated to England shortly after the news of Major General Edward Braddock's catastrophic defeat at the Monongahela River reached London.[6] Potential employment

[4] "Minutes of Lord Loudoun's Meeting with Captain [Francis Gabriel] De Ruvynes," Jan. 18, 1758, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 5, p. 11; W. A. J. Prevost, *Records of the Prevost Family* (privately printed, 1949), 1–9, in "Select Papers Relating to Major General Augustin and Sir George Prevost and Family," Manuscript Group 24, A 9, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; Alice C. Carter, *The Dutch Republic in Europe in the Seven Years War* (London, 1971), 1–37; Paul De Vallière, *Honneur et fidélité; historie des Suisses au service étranger*, eds. Jean Bridel and Gaston Cavin (Lausanne, Switz., 1940), 464, 502, 526; Richard Campbell, *The London Tradesman. Being a Compendious View of All the Trades, Professions, Arts, Both Liberal and Mechanic, now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1747), 250–53.

[5] John Calcraft to the Earl of Loudoun, July 8, 1757, and Col. James Prevost to the Duke of Newcastle, Jan. 29, 1760, Additional Manuscripts, (hereafter Add. MSS), 17,493, 128, and 32,901, 522, British Library, London; Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754–1765* (Pittsburgh, 2003), 22–35; Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York, 2000), 11–65; Frank W. Brecher, *Losing a Continent: France's North American Policy, 1753–1763* (Westport, CT, 1998), 1–88; Arlin C. Migliazzo, "A Tarnished Legacy Revisited: Jean Pierre Purry and the Settlement of the Southern Frontier, 1718–1736," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 92 (1991): 232–52; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1608–1789* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1985), 169–88; Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 92–132; Arthur H. Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (1928; repr. Hamden, CT, 1962), 11–46, 89–195, 239–60.

[6] "Account of the Capture of H.M.S. *Blandford* by the French," Aug. 3–Sept. [?], 1755, William H. Lyttelton Papers, vol. 1, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Gov. William H. Lyttelton to the Duke of Newcastle, Sept. 7, 1755, Add. MSS 32,859, 18–21; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 68, 86–105; Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of King George II*, ed. John Brooke, 3 vols. (New Haven, CT, 1985), 2:132; Guy Frégault, *Canada: The War of the Conquest*, trans. Margaret

opportunities emerged as the former mercenary carefully pondered Britain's strategic problems and his own straightened circumstances. The remedy for both was the creation of a foreign Protestant defense force, which Prevost would raise in North America under governmental aegis.[7]

Stranded in the capital without direct access to establishment figures, Prevost turned to key Huguenot merchants and shared with them his thoughts about the potential benefits of establishing a regiment comprised entirely of German colonists. Members of the influential Guinand family, who were enthusiastic backers of the project, used contacts at the Court of St. James's to gain their protégé a hearing. Henry Guinand Sr., himself a native of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, was the deputy governor of the capital's French Hospital and an intimate of that charity's chief administrator, Sir John Ligonier, a favorite of King George II. Guinand also had connections to the Duke of Cumberland through his business partner, Etienne Riou, whose guardsman son had dedicated the first authoritative English book on military fortification to the king's son.[8] Within six weeks of release from French custody, Prevost's scheme to raise two battalions of foreign Protestant settlers in Pennsylvania had received conditional royal approval. The newly minted colonel returned to the Continent in search of the requisite staff for his proposed 1,800-man corps.[9]

A whirlwind tour of the United Provinces, the Holy Roman Empire, and Switzerland produced impressive results. By January 1, 1756, the mercenary had been able to enroll forty-three officers and fifty non-

M. Cameron (Toronto, 1969), 87–92; N. Darnell Davis, "British Newspaper Accounts of Braddock's Defeat," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 23 (1899): 310–28; "Different Accounts of General Braddock's Defeat," *Scots Magazine* 17 (1755): 451–53; *American National Biography*, s.v. "Braddock, Edward."

[7] Duke of Newcastle to Lord Holderness, Aug. 26, 1755, and Newcastle to Sir Thomas Robinson, Oct. 5, 1755, Add. MSS 32,858, 289 and Add. MSS 32,859, 386; John Yorke to Lord Hardwicke, Oct. 28, 1755, Add. MSS 35,374, 125.

[8] "Bond of James Provost of Geneva and Joseph and Henry Guinand of London for £2,000," Jan. 2, 1756, Treasury Board 1/368/4, Public Record Office, London; "Guinand Family," file 350, Henry Wagner Huguenot Pedigrees, Huguenot Society of London Library, University College, London; Tessa Murdoch, *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots, 1685 to 1985* (London, 1985), x–xi, 108; Rex Whitworth, *Field Marshal Lord Ligonier: A Story of the British Army, 1702–1770* (Oxford, 1958), 196–97; P. H. Ditchfield, "The Family of Riou," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 10 (1912–1914): 236–38.

[9] "Capitulation d'un Régiment Suisse & Allemand pour le Service de la Grand Bretagne leveé parmy les Gens de cette Nation Sujets de Sa Majeste," n.d., Add. MSS 73,648; Sir Thomas Robinson to Maj. [James] Prevost, Oct. 28, 1755, Loudoun Papers, LO 665, Henry E. Huntington Library; "A Copy of the first SCHEME for Employing Foreign Officers, &c.," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 8th ser., 5 (1931): 4376–77.

commissioned officers (NCOs) for the regiment. Their number included forty-six Swiss, thirty-one Germans, four Dutch, as well as others from Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Pomerania, and Sweden. His most valuable acquisitions were an older brother, Augustine (1723–1786), who was a captain in the regiment *de Croye*, as well as Lieutenant Colonels Henry Bouquet and Frederick Haldimand, both employed by the Swiss Guards.[10] All these veterans were drawn to the British army because prospects for field operations were far greater in George II's service than in Holland, where a pervasive spirit of neutrality with Versailles dominated foreign policy. Moreover, expectations of advancement and the chance to see the New World were benefits that perceptive soldiers could not disregard.[11] There was also a significant cash incentive. Conscious of the axiom "point d'argent, point de Suisse" (no money, no Swiss), Prevost was authorized to distribute gratuities to all legionnaires on a graduated scale: fifty pounds to each field officer and captain; thirty pounds to every subaltern; twenty pounds to individual NCOs.[12]

News of the foreign Protestant unit's creation was not lauded throughout the British Isles. Parliamentary oversight of the army ensured that Prevost's contract negotiated at St. James's required Westminster's approval before the proposed corps could appear on the army establishment. It was in this political arena where doubts about engaging foreign Protestant servicemen were first expressed publicly.[13] Two colonial agents

[10] "Colonel Prevost's Account from 1 October 1755 to 28 February 1756," War Office 34/46B/18–19, Public Record Office; "Etat des Officers Suisses et Allemands engagez en Hollande par Mssr. Prevost," n.d., Cumberland Papers, box 46, item 126, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Berkshire, England; Williams, "Prevosts of the Royal Americans," 20–21; *American National Biography*, s.v. "Bouquet, Henry"; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, s.v. "Haldimand, Sir Frederick."

[11] "Paper Given to Lord Barrington by Lt. Col. [Henry] Bouquet," n.d., Add. MSS 33,029, 343; Lieut. Col. Henry Bouquet to Sir John St. Clair, Apr. 18, 1757, and Col. Bouquet to [?], June 10, 1759, in *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Sylvester K. Stevens et al., 6 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1951–1994), 1:83 and 3:371–72; Col. James Prevost to the Duke of Newcastle, Jan. 29, 1760, Add. MSS 32,901, 522; Serg. George Eberhard to Maj. Gen. Jeffery Amherst, Mar. 10, 1760, War Office 34/82/75; John Jamet to Brig. Gen. John Forbes, n.d., Gifts and Deposits, 45, sect. 2, vol. 13, 1, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh; "Affairs in France, the United Provinces, &c.," *Scots Magazine* 17 (1755): 201.

[12] Quotation from Christopher Duffy, *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason* (New York, 1988), 33; Sir Thomas Robinson to Maj. [James] Prevost, Oct. 28, 1755, and "Observations on Colonel Prevost's Account," Apr. 10 and 25, 1758, Loudoun Papers, LO 665 and LO 5805.

[13] Hew Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army* (Oxford, 1997), 44–51; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688–1783*, (New York, 1989), 43–45; Alan J. Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline: Officership and Administration in the British Army, 1714–1763* (Manchester, UK, 1985), 3–8; John C. Childs, *Armies and Warfare in Europe, 1648–1789* (Manchester, UK, 1982), 176–77.

in particular, Robert Charles representing New York and Richard Partridge for Pennsylvania, remonstrated that the proposed legion would violate constitutional prohibitions against alien enlistment in the armed forces and would cause jealousy among subjects who had already served the Crown in wartime. Further, they opined that overseas defenses would be inadvertently weakened by arming men whose fidelity to the king was unproved.[14] Objections from half-pay officers in want of gainful employment added to the chorus of discontent. The united agitation of all these interest groups forced administrators to concede that the German American corps could not be deployed as initially envisioned.[15]

Despite vociferous protests, however, the notion of a local defense force remained popular among government officials because Whitehall was inundated by dispatches that stressed the colonies' vulnerable position, the necessity for more regular troops, and that urged greater metropolitan involvement in the war effort.[16] Accounts from Pennsylvania were especially disheartening after the withdrawal of Braddock's shattered army to the northern operational theater. French and Native American raiding parties devastated isolated communities, forcing backcountry settlers to seek refuge in safer locales. Conservative estimates place the number of civilian casualties at 381 killed, 216 captured, and hundreds more wounded during this late summer offensive.[17] As a result, portents of a civilian

[14] Caecilius Calvert to Lieut. Gov. Horatio Sharpe, Dec. 23, 1755, *Archives of Maryland* 6 (1888): 327–28; Robert Charles to Lord Barrington, Jan. 1, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 8th ser., 5:4378; Barrington to the Duke of Newcastle, Jan. 7, 1756, Add. MSS 32,862, 46; "Commons Proceedings," Feb. 18, 1756, in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America, 1754–1783*, ed. Richard C. Simmons and Peter D. G. Thomas, 6 vols. (London, 1982–1987), 1:139–41; Alison G. Olsen, *Making the Empire Work: London and American Interest Groups, 1690–1790* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), 117–21, 158–59; Nicholas Varga, "Robert Charles: New York Agent, 1748–1770," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 18 (1961): 211–35; Marguerite Appleton, "Richard Partridge: Colonial Agent," *New England Quarterly* 5 (1932): 293–309.

[15] Lieut. Gen. James Oglethorpe to the Duke of Newcastle, Sept. 22, 1755, and John Sharpe to Newcastle, Jan. 8, 1756, Add. MSS 32,859, 185 and Add. MSS 32,862, 48; Thomas Penn to the Earl of Loudoun, Jan. 21, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 764.

[16] "Memorial of the Inhabitants of South Carolina," n.d., Loudoun Papers, LO 5931; Lieut. Gov. Horatio Sharpe to John and William Sharpe, Nov. 25, 1755, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:309–11; Sir Charles Hardy to the Earl of Halifax, Nov. 27, 1755, in *Military Affairs in North America, 1748–1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle*, ed. Stanley M. Pargellis (New York, 1936), 149–53; "Affairs in North America," *Scots Magazine* 17 (1755): 499–503.

[17] Lieut. Gov. Robert H. Morris to Thomas Penn, Oct. 23, 1755, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, vol. 7, p. 129, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Morris to Sir Thomas Robinson, Nov. 28, 1755, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2 (1853): 529; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Dec. 4, 1755, Simon Gratz Manuscripts, case 2, box 33A, p. 22, "Copies of Letters to Proprietors of the Province of Pennsylvania from Reverend Richard Peters," Historical Society of Pennsylvania;

insurrection increased as Pennsylvania's Quaker-dominated assembly refused to fund more effective defensive countermeasures, such as better frontier outposts with adequate garrisons. It was imperative for metropolitan officials to devise a military solution that would stave off the apparent ruin of Penn's Woods and the collapse of adjacent colonies.[18]

Pennsylvania's continued misery proved to be James Prevost's salvation.[19] The cabinet council reconsidered the merits of his idea since Britain needed a large regular force at home to defend against an imminent French invasion and also acknowledged Dublin's concerns about providing more North American reinforcements from its own troop reserves.[20] Henry Fox, secretary of the Southern Department, summarized the collective wisdom of his colleagues with the remark:

> my Inclination to the scheme proceeds from my fears, too well grounded, for America next summer, if you do not furnish it with regular strength; & the Question is not between sending good Swiss Officers, or good British, but between sending Swiss or none.

Matthew C. Ward, "*La Guerre Sauvage:* The Seven Years' War on the Virginia and Pennsylvania Frontier" (PhD diss., The College of William and Mary, 1992), 106–36, 421–27; [William Smith], *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania*, 2nd ed. (London, 1755), 23–25.

[18] Benjamin Franklin to Richard Partridge, Oct. 25, 1755, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree et al., 36 vols. to date (New Haven, CT, 1959–), 6:231–32; James Read et al. to Lieut. Gov. Robert H. Morris, Oct. 31, 1755, Timothy Horsfield Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; "Pennsylvania Assembly Committee: Report on Three Petitions," Nov. 14, 1755, in *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Labaree et al., 6:245–48; Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Jan. 10, 1756, and Thomas Penn to Morris, Jan. 27, 1756, Thomas Penn Letterbooks, vol. 4, pp. 206, 219, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Ward, "*La Guerre Sauvage*," 126–40; Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York, 1988), 251–69; Robert L. D. Davidson, *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682–1756* (New York, 1957), 158–64.

[19] William Smith to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Oct. 22, 1755, in *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, ed. William Stevens Perry, 5 vols. (1870–1878; repr. New York, 1969), 2:557–58; Lieut. Gov. Horatio Sharpe to William Sharpe, Oct. 24, 1755, *Archives of Maryland*, 6:300–301; Lieut. Gov. Robert H. Morris to Sir Thomas Robinson, Nov. 28, 1755, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2:529; John Bartram to Peter Collinson, Feb. 21, 1756, in *The Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734–1777*, ed. Edmund Berkley and Dorothy S. Berkley (Gainesville, FL, 1992), 399–400; Louis M. Waddell and Bruce D. Bomberger, *The French and Indian War in Pennsylvania, 1753–1763: Fortification and Struggle during the War for Empire* (Harrisburg, PA, 1996), 15–21; Matthew C. Ward, "Fighting the 'Old Women': Indian Strategy on the Virginia and Pennsylvania Frontier, 1754–1758," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 103 (1995): 297–309.

[20] Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Devonshire, Jan. 2, 1756, Devonshire to Newcastle, Jan. 31, 1756, and Newcastle to Devonshire, Feb. 5, 1756, Add. MSS 32,862, 5–6, 303, 370; Alan J. Guy, "The Irish Military Establishment, 1660–1776," in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (Cambridge, 1996), 211–16.

Since the legion's exclusive ethnic composition and leadership had proven unpalatable, War Office officials diluted this nonnative element in an enlarged regiment of four thousand men and entrusted its command to the Earl of Loudoun. This compromise formula worked well. Foreign Protestants ultimately composed only 25 percent of the regiment's officer corps and 36 percent of its rank and file during the war.[21]

The first contingent of mercenary staff was already in England by the time legislators began to consider its fate. The greatest merit of the scheme to incorporate these European professionals into the expanded defense force was their ability to facilitate recruitment among the consequential German-speaking expatriate community.[22] Authorities were most anxious to solidify the allegiance of these new settlers because their political detachment, low rates of naturalization, and continued isolation from Anglo-American society posed an internal security threat should they side with the ascendant French.[23] Such was the critical reasoning behind the secretary at war's political triumph, securing parliamentary consent to pay eighty-one thousand pounds annually for the unit's support and to reserve fifty commissions for suitable foreign Protestant gentlemen. Parliament placed no restrictions upon the number of alien infantrymen who could join the colors. On March 9, 1756, the newly created Sixty-second (Royal American) Regiment of Foot took its place alongside ten other temporary corps raised by the metropolitan govern-

[21] Quotation from Henry Fox to the Duke of Newcastle, Dec. 27, 1755, Add. MSS 32,861, 478; "A Copy of Lord Barrington's Letter to the Agent, Containing the Second SCHEME for Employing Foreign Officers, &c.," Jan. 14, 1756, and Robert Charles to Barrington, Jan. 17, 1756, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 8th ser., 5:4378–80; Thomas Penn to William Allen, Feb. 14, 1756, Thomas Penn Letterbooks, vol. 4, pp. 238–39; Barrington to the Earl of Loudoun, Mar. 13, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 926; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 20, 1756, 2; Stephen Brumwell, *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755–1763* (New York, 2002), 318–19; Rex Whitworth, *William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland: A Life* (London, 1992), 171–74; Stanley M. Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in North America* (New Haven, CT, 1933), 42–63; *American National Biography*, s.v. "Campbell, John, Earl Of Loudoun."

[22] Sir Thomas Robinson to North American Governors, Jan. 23, 1755, War Office 34/71/48; "A List of 20 Officers Named by Messr. Prevost to go in the First Shipe for America," Feb. 26, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 859; "HRH," Feb. 27, 1756, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 8, p. 43; Lieut. Col. James Wolfe to Lieut. Gen. Edward Wolfe, Mar. 21, 1756, in *The Life and Letters of James Wolfe*, ed. Beckles Willson (London, 1909), 287.

[23] Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, in *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Labaree et al., 4:485; Lieut. Gov. Robert H. Morris to Sir Thomas Robinson, Aug. 28, 1755, in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, From the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government*, ed. Samuel Hazard, 10 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1851–1852), 6:600; Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 133–39; Sally Schwartz, *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1987), 188–89, 237.

ment to bolster its reserves should war against the Bourbons finally be declared.[24]

Britain's overwhelming reliance upon sea power ensured that the resources of her minuscule army were taxed to the limit during any period of rapid mobilization. Inundated by thousands of inapt men, military planners had to wait between twelve and thirty-six months until the raw troops were deemed fit for service—a costly delay for settlers living along Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake frontiers.[25] This quandary presented Colonel James Prevost with another opportunity to increase his own personal fortune rather than command the regiment's most junior fourth battalion overseas. The colonel returned to the War Office with the suggestion that he secure a resolute core of soldiers in Holland around which the entire regiment could be more expeditiously formed. In addition to providing a ready cadre of skilled men qualified to face enemy troops, these German-speaking veterans would serve as useful role models for novice sentinels, who learned their trade as much by example as upon the drill square.[26]

The Swiss officer's initial design to secure a number of mercenaries at Rotterdam was thwarted by continued Dutch neutrality. His gaze immediately shifted eastward to a "nursery for soldiers to the whole world," where the great bazaars of military manpower had flourished in the Holy Roman Empire since the sixteenth century. Compatriots there were instructed to collect surreptitiously as many candidates as could be found, save those who had served in the French army or were under eighteen

[24] Lord Barrington to Henry Fox, Jan. 10, 1756, in *An Eighteenth-Century Secretary at War: The Papers of William, Viscount Barrington*, ed. Tony Hater (London, 1988), 158; *London Gazette*, Mar. 9, 1756, 1; "Grants for the Year 1756," *Gentleman's Magazine* 26 (1756): 437; Danby Pickering, ed., *The Statutes at Large from the Magna Charta, to the End of the Eleventh Parliament of Great Britain, anno. 1761*, 46 vols. (Cambridge, 1762–1807), 21:330–31 [29 George II, c. 5]. The Sixty-second Regiment was subsequently renumbered the Sixtieth Foot a year later when two New England corps were disbanded after their capture at Oswego, New York. Barrington to the Earl of Loudoun, Dec. 22, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 2384.

[25] "An Accompt of the Several Augmentations of Troops Either Raised Here or Brought From Ireland to This Kingdom and for North America in the Years 1755 & 1756," n.d., Add. MSS 33,047, 22; Daniel A. Baugh, "Maritime Strength and Atlantic Commerce," in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1669 to 1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone (London, 1994), 185–203; Childs, *Armies and Warfare*, 42–43; John A. Houlding, *Fit for Service: The Training of the British Army, 1715–1795* (Oxford, 1981), 293–96.

[26] "HRH," Feb. 25, 1756, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 8, p. 41; Lord Barrington to John Calcraft, Mar. 1, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 874 A; Thomas Simes, *The Military Medley, Containing the Most Necessary Rules and Directions for Attaining a Competent Knowledge of the Art*, 2nd ed. (London, 1768), 23, 26.

years of age.[27] Prevost's latest intrigues, however, were not greeted with wild enthusiasm by War Office officials, who refused to give him free reign at taxpayers' expense. After a great deal of deliberation, only a modest cash advance to pay for four hundred infantrymen, sixty NCOs, and twenty musicians received authorization.[28] Nevertheless, the colonel still made a handsome profit during his five-month stay in Germany. By squeezing £20 per man from the treasury for most of the recruits eventually clothed in madder livery, paying his volunteers in local currency instead of sterling, and by starting their salaries only upon arrival in North America, Prevost kept the £8 difference between the projected and real price for each transport besides all the sea pay issued by the British treasury. The Guinand merchant house, which had been the Swiss mercenary's initial London sponsor, also received £3,240 worth of subsistence contracts and charges to the government for ancillary services associated with the troops' march from Frankfurt am Main to their embarkation point at Stade.[29]

Prevost's agents had already begun their covert duties in Habsburg territories while London negotiations dragged on through April 1756. Although the Holy Roman Empire's regional federations maintained modest defensive establishments, outside recruiting legations were expected to obtain licenses from local authorities before soliciting men in the petty fiefdoms and free cities.[30] All Royal American officers in the

[27] Quotation from "Commons Debate," Dec. 7, 1770, in *Proceedings and Debates*, ed. Simmons and Thomas, 3:351; "Colonel Prevost's Plan for Recruiting," n.d., and "Colonel Prevost's Plan 2," n.d., Loudoun Papers, LO 2576 and LO 2577; "Proposals for Colonel Provosts Bargain," n.d., Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 9, p. 31; Peter H. Wilson, "The German 'Soldier Trade' of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Reassessment," *International History Review* 18 (1996): 757–92; Jérôme Bodin, *Les Suisses Au Service De La France de Louis XI à la Légion étrangère* (Paris, 1988), 65–227; Duffy, *Military Experience*, 21–23; Geoffrey Parker, ed., *The Thirty Years' War* (London, 1984), 191–97; André Corvisier, *L'armée française de la fin du XVIIe siècle au ministère de Choiseul: Le Soldat*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964), 1:259–69.

[28] Lord Barrington to John Calcraft, Mar. 14, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 929; "Additional Instructions to Colonel Prevost Relating to his Bringing Over Planters From Germany," Apr. 23, 1756, War Office 34/76/19–21.

[29] Viscount Howe to Arnold Nesbit, Sept. 1, 1756, Treasury Board 1/368/53; "A State of the Cash of the 62d or Royal American Regiment to Christmas, 1756," Dec. 25, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 2521; "Evidence of Private Jacob Eykel," June 19, 1757, War Office 71/65/329–30; "Petition of German Recruits," Apr. 22, 1758, and "Payments to Colonel Prevost on Account of Clothing, Contingencies, &c.," Mar. 5, 1761, Loudoun Papers, LO 5812 and LO 5859.

[30] Sir Joseph Yorke to the Earl of Holderness, Jan. 10, 1755, and George Cressener to Holderness, Apr. 7, 1756, State Papers 84/468 and 84/128, Public Record Office; Peter H. Wilson, *German Armies: War and German Politics, 1648–1806* (London, 1998), 12–67, 165–201; James

German states labored in the shadows for over a month before James Prevost finalized his War Office contract and set this affair on a proper footing. Until that time, the colonel's men had avoided charges of *plagiat* (man-stealing) by invoking the name of the Duke and Elector of Hanover, who had a right to canvass for troops in any jurisdiction and only incidentally wore the British Crown.[31]

Prevost's associates divided the western patchwork of the imperial quilt into three large districts before they commenced operations throughout the Rhine basin. Already masters of their craft, Baron Herbert von Münster took station in what is now the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Captain Rudolph Fesch established his headquarters in Frankfurt am Main, while Captain John Rudolph Fesch made his way northward out of Basle. The only surviving return of 164 recruits suggests just how tolerant Reich officials were of the canvassers' activities. Seventy-three men, 44.5 percent of the total, were enlisted prior to April 23, 1756, when the War Office finally dispatched the proper requisitional letters to the various capitals.[32] Despite the official protection now afforded them, Frankfurt am Main provided volunteers with the securest way station before they began their long overland march to Hamburg and the safety afforded by George II's own principality. Britain's ambassador at the Hague, Sir Joseph Yorke, also suggested a helpful ruse should any recruiting details run afoul of unsympathetic authorities. Since the sight of New World migrants was common along the principal waterways, he suggested that all soldiers and their families travel in the guise of planters bound for Pennsylvania, with certificates signed by Thomas Penn to legitimize the charade.[33]

Allen Vann, *The Making of a State: Württemberg, 1593–1793* (Ithaca, NY, 1984), 142–57, 179–88; Rodney Atwood, *The Hessians: Mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel in the American Revolution* (Cambridge, 1980), 208–9.

[31] George Cressener to the Earl of Holderness, Mar. 25, 1756, State Papers 81/128; Emmerich de Vattel, *The Law of Nations; or, Principles of the Law of Nature, Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns* (Philadelphia, 1829), 363–64 [bk. 3, chap. 2, sec. 15].

[32] "General Memorandum," Apr. 23, 1756, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 1; "Extraits des Différentes Lettres écrites au Col. Prevost au sujet des Recrues à faire en Allemagne," n.d., Loudoun Papers, LO 2575; "Forren Officers in the American Regiment Now in Germany Recruting," n.d., Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 11; "A List of Recruits Under Command of Captain Herbert B[a]r[on] de Münster Embark'd ye 4th of June Near Hamburg and Arrived ye 27th of August at New York, 1756, (hereafter "Münster's List"), Aug. 27, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 1607; Maj. John Tulleken to Col. Henry Bouquet, Apr. 15, 1759, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 3:244–45.

[33] Sir Joseph Yorke to Maj. Gen. Robert Napier, Mar. 23, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 959; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 3, 1756, 1; A. Gregg Roeber, "'The Origin of Whatever Is Not English

Regional diversity distinguished this military migration from prior civilian outflows, which had emanated principally from five modern regions adjacent to the Rhine River: Alsace, Baden-Württemberg, Hessen, Rheinland-Pfalz, and Switzerland. War Office returns indicate that only 54 percent of all recruits sprang from these seedbeds of the earlier German diaspora. The remainder came either from more eastern locales—Austria, Bayern, Brandenburg, Sachsen, Thüringen—or northern jurisdictions like Niedersachsen and Nordrhein-Westfalen.[34] Uprooted from their natal communities by previous army service, these unemployed veterans or deserters lived a transient existence in larger centers that recruiters made priority ports of call. British enlistment terms appeared most generous to this societal element. A redcoat's salary of fifteen kreuzers a day far exceeded that offered by Austrian, Prussian, or Danish competitors, substantial food allowances were provided gratis by the royal commissary, and a maximum seven-year commitment to the colors was less onerous than that demanded by other European monarchs. Metropolitan administrators soon relaxed their original restrictions and paid for the shipment of 778 Royal American reinforcements because the spectacular success of this campaign secured more enlistees than expected.[35]

Not all of the volunteers proved to be trained infantrymen. Hunger and hard times also benefited Prevost's men anxious to fill empty holds

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Among Us': The Dutch-speaking and the German-speaking Peoples of Colonial British America," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991), 237–44; Marianne S. Wokeck, "Promoters and Passengers: The German Immigrant Trade, 1683–1775," in *The World of William Penn*, ed. Richard S. Dunn and Mary M. Dunn (Philadelphia, 1986), 259–78.

[34] "Münster's List," Aug. 27, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 1607; Andreas Brinck, *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18 Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, Ger., 1993), 1–266; George Fertig, "Transatlantic Migrations from the German-Speaking Parts of Central Europe, 1600–1800: Proportions, Structures, and Explanations," in *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford, 1994), 192–235; Lowell C. Bennion, "Flight from the Reich: A Geographic Exposition of Southwest German Emigration, 1683–1815" (PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1971), 159–237. "Münster's List" notes the presence of a few Scots and Poles among the recruits raised in the Holy Roman Empire.

[35] Sir Joseph Yorke to Maj. Gen. Robert Napier, Mar. 23, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 959; George Cressener to the Earl of Holderness, Mar. 25, 1756, State Papers 81/128; "Münster's List," Aug. 27, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 1607, "General Memorandum," Mar. 14, 1757, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 2, p. 41; "Evidence of Corporal Henry Dorman," Aug. 20, 1757, War Office 71/66/57–58; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 16–17; Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1984), 84–86; Christopher Duffy, *Instrument of War: The Austrian Army in the Seven Years War* (Rosemont, IL, 2000), 198, 206; Duffy, *The Army of Frederick the Great* (New York, 1974), 54; Corvisier, *L'armée française*, 1:171–78.

on the Elbe River. Among those who enrolled in the British forces were a number of miners from the Oberharz region of Niedersachsen left destitute after the closure of Clauthal's silver operations because of water seepage in the deep shafts. Enlistment was the agency for a better life in America, where steady employment would be supplemented by provincial land grants after the war.[36] Rhineland recruiting detachments, too, roused the interest of other civilians displaced by demographic pressures and partible inheritance practices. The added benefit of free provisioned transportation to the New World extended opportunities for family reunification to those whose relatives had already relocated to the colonies. Palatinate agents credited their success to the fact that residents had "un nombre de leurs Compatriotes en Amérique, et font très disposés à les y aller joindre" (a number of their fellow-countrymen in America and are very inclined to join them there).[37]

James Prevost realized from the outset of his mission that the exclusion of volunteers with families would jeopardize its success. While the soldiers' marital status is not recorded on embarkation papers, wives and children certainly were present aboard the troopships. Juvenile dependents could be transported either through a contract loophole sanctioning the acquisition of twenty bandsmen or by employing sentinels' sons as company drummers. The arrival of "some little creaturs for drumrs" with no evident musical proficiency suggests that European recruiting officers used this contrivance to convey some noncombatants across the Atlantic at government expense.[38]

[36] "Lieutenant [John] Schlosser's Advertisement for Recruits," July 2, 1756, Timothy Horsfield Papers; "Münster's List," Aug. 27, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 1607; "By the King: A Proclamation," Oct. 7, 1763, in *British Royal Proclamations Relating to America, 1603–1783*, ed. Clarence S. Brigham (New York, 1968), 215. I am grateful to Helmut Radday of the Oberharzer Berwerksmuseum for information about Clausthal's economic problems in the mid-1750s. Personal communication with author, May 4, 2000. Brinck also provides further details about earlier migration from the Harz Mountains to British North America in *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle*, 39–41, 122–25, 130–35, 166–67.

[37] Quotation from "Extraits des Différentes Lettres écrites au Col. Prevost au sujet des Recrues à faire en Allemagne," n.d., Loudoun Papers, LO 2575; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 9–17, 86, 118–28; Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 18–35; Fertig, "Transatlantic Migrations," 203–17; Farley Grubb, "Market Structure of Shipping German Immigrants ," 45.

[38] Quotation from Col. John Stanwix to the Earl of Loudoun, Aug. 6, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 1425; "Additional Instructions to Colonel Prevost Relating to his Bringing Over Planters From Germany," Apr. 23, 1756, War Office 34/76/20–21; Maj. John Young to Loudoun, Sept. 2, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 1681; Loudoun to Stanwix, Sept. 7, 1756, War Office 34/45/148; "General Memorandum," Feb. 24, 1757, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 2, p. 28; Michael N. McConnell, *Army and Empire: British Soldiers on the American Frontier, 1758–1775* (Lincoln, NE, 2004), 65–72; Holly

Military personnel sailing from Stade in July 1756 were much more fortunate than civilian contemporaries, who were normally shoehorned into cramped vessels by avaricious businessmen. The mercenary charter party of four transports was organized on the principle of fitness for service. Overcrowding was not a problem because each craft was loaded according to army convention of at least one-and-a-half cargo tons per man; the presence of two surgeons aboard every merchantman kept mortality rates extremely low. Only one recruit is known to have died at sea. Standard infantry health regimen also contributed to the welfare of the voyagers. Soldiers, under the watchful eye of superiors, were required to wash themselves daily, keep their clothing and berths clean, and prepare their meals at regular hours in messes of six men. Such salutary group discipline was in marked contrast to the laissez-faire experience of most Europeans during the ocean crossing.[39]

Enemy privateering, however, represented a real threat to the safe passage of troops during wartime. The initial leg of the voyage to the Orkneys, where all the vessels cleared customs in compliance with the Navigation Acts, proved uneventful for three of the boats, as did the rest of their cruise to the New World. Yet, ill-starred servicemen aboard the snow *Industry* began a very circuitous journey to America, which required a full eighteen months to complete.[40] Once clear of the port of Stromness, that ship's captain bore away from the flotilla, expecting to secure prizes along the westward route. He sailed into busier waters and promptly fell prey to French warships on August 28, 1756. Resisting overtures to join Louis XV's army, these troops were subsisted by the Guinand merchant

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Mayer, *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution* (Columbia, SC, 1996), 5–15; Paul E. Kopperman, "The British High Command and Soldiers' Wives in America, 1755–1783," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 60 (1982): 14–34; Bennett Cuthbertson, *A System for the Compleat Interior Management and Oeconomy of a Battalion of Infantry* (Dublin, 1768), 14.

[39] "Münster's List," Aug. 27, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 1607; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1756, 2; "General Orders of the Earl of Loudoun, 7 May 1757–28 September 1757," (entry of May 17, 1757), Loudoun Papers, LO 3576; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 67–92, 128–36; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 98; Farley Grubb, "Morbidity and Mortality on the North Atlantic Passage: Eighteenth-Century German Immigration to Pennsylvania," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17 (1987): 565–85; Schwartz, *"A Mixed Multitude,"* 193–200; Lieut. [Thomas] Webb, *A Military Treatise on the Appointments of the Army* (Philadelphia, 1759), 51.

[40] *South Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 22, 1756, 1; Lieut. Gen. Humphrey Bland to the Earl of Loudoun, May 6, 1756, and Loudoun to Maj. Gen. Daniel Webb, Sept. 7, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 1114 and LO 1731; *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, Oct. 14, 1756, 3; *South Carolina Gazette Supplement*, Aug. 4, 1757, 1.

house during a lengthy captivity until a cartel agreement was signed allowing their return to England. The well-traveled Continental volunteers were apportioned to the regiment's third and fourth battalions soon after their belated December 11, 1757, arrival in New York.[41]

The unforgiving maritime weather also played havoc with the speedy arrival of the final troop contingent of officers and eighty recruits, who embarked in a convoy with Colonel Prevost from Cork in early November 1756. A heavy storm dispersed the fleet in the mid-Atlantic, leaving each vessel to find its own way to North America. One transport, the *Europa*, suffered heavy damages and struck her colors on the approach of a French corsair.[42] Five mercenaries and more than fifty other redcoats surrendered themselves into enemy custody rather than remain with the listing merchantman. Abandoning their comrades to an unknown fate, Prevost's retainers spent several months in Poitiers before being exchanged. Captain George Adam Gmelin, a more resolute soul, commanded the remaining 140 British regulars who braved the high seas in the dilapidated craft for another month before reaching the Delaware River.[43]

The capitulation and subsequent recruitment of alien nationals among Canada's defenders helped to offset such reverses. Agents for Louis XV's regiments had also been active in the Holy Roman Empire, mobilizing men for their permanent cadre of six German battalions besides those added when Bourbon monarchs prepared for war. In the spring of 1756, a consignment of 180 soldiers destined for Cape Breton were imprisoned at Portsmouth after being taken by Vice Admiral Edward Hawke's

[41] Earl of Loudoun to the Duke of Cumberland, Nov. 22, 1756, in *Military Affairs*, ed. Pargellis, 268; "List of Ships Taken by the French," *Gentleman's Magazine* 26 (1756): 547; Lord Barrington to John Clevland, Sept. 2, 1757, Admiralty Correspondence and Papers 1/4323, Public Record Office; "General Memorandum," Dec. 8, 1757, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 4, p. 44; John Calcraft to Loudoun, Dec. 9, 1757, Loudoun Papers, LO 4978; "Petition of German Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Men Held Prisoner in France," n.d., War Office 34/99/182.

[42] Col. James Prevost to the Earl of Loudoun, Aug. 14, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 1491; Henry Fox to the Lords of the Admiralty, Sept. 15, 1756, Admiralty Correspondence and Papers 1/4121/80; Loudoun to Henry Fox, Jan. 4, 1757, Colonial Office 5/48/70–71, Public Record Office; Prevost to Loudoun, Jan. 17, 1757, Loudoun Papers, LO 2678; "Affidavit of John Pell," Feb. 14, 1757, Colonial Office 5/48/129–31; Gov. Charles Hardy to William Pitt, Feb. 26, 1757, in *Correspondence of William Pitt, when Secretary of State, with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America*, ed. Gertrude S. Kimball, 2 vols. (New York, 1906), 1:12.

[43] "Parole of Captain George Gmelin," Jan. 10, 1757, and Col. John Stanwix to Maj. Gen. Daniel Webb, n.d., Loudoun Papers, LO 2662 and LO 2746; Thomas Tyrwhitt to John Clevland, Sept. 7, 1757, Admiralty Correspondence and Papers 1/4323; John Calcraft to Lord Barrington, Oct. 18, 1757, War Office 1/973/133; Barrington to Clevland, Dec. 31, 1757, Admiralty Correspondence and Papers 1/4323.

squadron. Sixtieth recruiters encouraged several Protestants from among their number to join the Royal Americans rather than remain in close confinement.[44] The next batch of captive infantrymen were inducted after Louisbourg's fall in July 1758. Second and third battalion officers made successful overtures to members of the *Volontaires Etranger* (Foreign Volunteers) who had formed part of that garrison. More than 100 malnourished and ill-treated sentinels joined the ranks on condition that they be discharged in three years' time. They, too, had been raised in Habsburg lands at the same time as Prevost's covert planters and had chosen military service as the best agency for migration to the New World.[45] Similar windfalls of other enemy servicemen steadily accrued as British victories mounted against New France, culminating in Montreal's 1760 capitulation.[46]

Troops arriving from Stade through August and September 1756 joined seven hundred Pennsylvania enlistees already encamped at the primary regimental depot on Governor's Island, New York. Major Augustine Prevost's emissaries had met with "great Success" that first summer by courting both redemptioners and indentured servants in Philadelphia's environs. The former group of wayfarers had initially contracted with Rotterdam merchants to work for an unspecified American master in exchange for their family's passage to the New World.[47]

[44] Henry Fox to the Lords of the Admiralty, Feb. 9, 1756, Admiralty Correspondence and Papers 1/4120/109; John Clevland to the Duke of Newcastle, Apr. 19, 1756, Add. MSS 32,864, 343; Maj. Gen. Robert Napier to the Earl of Loudoun, May 8, 1756, Loudoun Papers, LO 1136; "General Memorandum," May 11, 1756, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 10, p. 15; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 1, 1756, 2; Andrew Johnston, "The People of Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," in *Aspects of Louisbourg: Essays on the History of an Eighteenth-Century French Community in North America*, ed. Eric Krause et al. (Sydney, NS, 1995), 156–59; Childs, *Armies and Warfare*, 47.

[45] "General Memorandum," Apr. 23, 1756, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 1; George Cressener to Lord Holderness, June 20, 1756, State Papers 81/128; Duke de Belleisle to Peirenne de Moras, Feb. 13, 1757, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. Edmund B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, 15 vols. (Albany, NY, 1853–1887), 10:526; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 3, 1758, 2; "State of the Regiments in the Garrison at Louisbourg," n.d., Chatham Papers, PRO 30/8/96/121, Public Record Office; "Evidence of Private Gaspard Peter," May 11, 1762, War Office 71/48/29; John W. Wright, "Sieges and Customs of War at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 39 (1934): 643.

[46] Col. Henry Bouquet to Maj. Gen. Robert Monckton, Dec. 29, 1760, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 5:217; "Evidence of Private Etienne Jutteau," Oct. 24, 1761, and Lieut. Gen. Jeffery Amherst to Maj. Alexander Duncan, Sept. 26, 1762, War Office 71/71/248 and 34/20/116.

[47] Quotation from Thomas Willing to John Perks, July 15, 1756, Willing and Morris Letterbook, p. 208, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; *New York Mercury*, June 21, 1756, 3; [?] Turner to David Barclay and Sons, Sept. 22, 1756, Allen and Turner Letterbook, Library Company Collection,

Thereafter, they usually served their time in frontier communities, but demand for such bound labor had evaporated along the borderlands in the face of the relentless French and Native American onslaught. Colonists in more established areas also grew hesitant to purchase redemptioner contracts because the maintenance of an adult with wards no longer proved cost-effective. Unredeemed passengers, trying to sustain a household in the squalid accommodations provided for them in the capital joined the colors as a last resort because no other livelihood could be found.[48]

Although the Royal American Regiment was the largest unit deployed by the British military in the New World, all of its elements were not deemed ready for offensive operations until the middle of the war.[49] The first battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Henry Bouquet, remained most closely associated with Pennsylvania throughout the conflict. Aside from early reverses suffered by detachments at Grant's Hill and Ticonderoga in 1758, his men acquitted themselves well during the expedition against Fort Duquesne (1758) and in protecting besieged garrisons during Pontiac's ill-fated uprising in 1763. They subsequently took the offensive, forming part of the victorious army that penetrated into the Ohio Valley and forced native insurgents to surrender in 1764.[50]

The fourth battalion, commanded in the field by Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Haldimand, performed most of its duties in New York. The

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Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 150–58; Fertig, "Transatlantic Migrations," 216–17; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 98; Farley Grubb, "Redemptioner Immigration to Pennsylvania: Evidence on Contract Choice and Profitability," *Journal of Economic History* 46 (1986): 407–18.

[48] Lewis Evans to the Honourable Committee, Dec. 13, 1754, Miscellaneous Manuscripts on Indian Affairs, 1737–1775, American Philosophical Society; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Sept. 4, 1756, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, vol. 8, p. 151; Maj. John Rutherford to [Lieut. Gov. Horatio Sharpe], Sept. 12, 1756, Frank M. Etting Collection, Autographs, Colonial Wars, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; [?] Turner to Messrs. Wolffinder and Birchinsha, Sept. 1756, and Turner to Jacob Bosanquet, Sept. 1756, Allen and Turner Letterbook, Library Company Collection; Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 64–72; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 158; Sharon V. Salinger, *"To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800* (Cambridge, 1987), 106–7.

[49] Alexander V. Campbell, "The Royal American Regiment, 1755–1772: An Atlantic Community" (PhD diss., University of Western Ontario, 2003), 118–36; Lewis Butler and Sir Stewart Hare, *The Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*, 6 vols. (London, 1913–1932), 1:23–38; Thomas Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America and the Islands of the West Indies* (London, 1772), 58–113.

[50] Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*, 157–83, 220–51; Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Nation* (Baltimore, 2002), 49–53, 114–68; Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its People, 1724–1774* (Lincoln, NE, 1992), 113–41, 182–206; Butler and Hare, *Annals*, 1:54–71, 124–92.

unit experienced heavy causalities at the Battle of Fort Ticonderoga (1758) when British forces stormed enemy entrenchments without the benefit of artillery support. A year later, these same troops distinguished themselves at the Battle of Oswego, defending supply lines for the triumphant Fort Niagara expeditionary force. As one Royal American participant reported to friends in Pennsylvania:

> Colonel Haldimand during all the Attacks, was very active; the Enemy, finding all their Schemes abortive, attempted to burn our Battoes, and set them adrift, in which they might have succeeded, but a Party of our Regiment sallying out of the Entrenchment at that Time, beat them off, and saved 7 or 8 Battoes, that they had cut the Painters of, and set on Fire, but they were soon made fast, and the Fire extinguished. The French Indians seeing our brave Defence, and the Cowardice of the Canadians, who could never be prevailed on to rush upon us, took to their Battoes. . . . It must be told, to the Honour of our Men, that they behaved uncommonly well.

This accomplishment earned officers and men a place in Major General Jeffery Amherst's western army, which swept down the St. Lawrence River in 1760 and forced the last of New France's defenders to lay down their arms at Montreal.[51]

The second and third Royal American battalions also witnessed Canada's surrender. Members of the same task force since 1758, both units participated in the conquest of Louisbourg (1758), the pivotal engagement on the Plains of Abraham (1759), and the final 1760 advance upon Montreal.[52] While the second battalion remained on station at Quebec, the third battalion served in the 1762 expedition against Martinique and later Havana. The troops spent a year in Cuba and Florida before returning to New York for disbandment in the spring of 1764.[53]

[51] Quotation from *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 2, 1759, 2; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 240–48, 333–37, 400–408; Ian M. McCulloch, "'Like roaring lions breaking from their chains': The Battle of Ticonderoga," in *Fighting for Canada: Seven Battles, 1758–1945*, ed. Donald E. Graves (Toronto, 2000), 23–80; Brian Leigh Dunnigan, *Siege—1759: The Campaign against Niagara*, (Youngstown, NY, 1986), 19–87; Mante, *History of the Late War*, 224–31, 300–332.

[52] Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 250–56, 344–68, 397–99; Frégault, *Canada*, 202–20, 233–90; Mante, *History of the Late War*, 109–42, 233–64, 332–40.

[53] Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage to Welbore Ellis, Mar. 10, 1764, in *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763–1775*, ed. Clarence E. Carter, 2 vols. (New Haven, CT, 1931–1933), 2:224; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 490, 498–501; Mante, *History of the Late War*, 346–465.

James Prevost steered clear of any dangerous assignments. Most of his time was spent in London, lobbying against the constitutional prohibitions barring aliens from extraregimental command. Infrequent visits to the New World were made to attend personal investments in Charles Town, South Carolina, and to gain support for a special naturalization bill to be presented at Westminster. The latter project engrossed the field officer's attention since both his plantations and desired preferment could be secured only if he was no longer deemed a stranger within the realm.[54] Previous decrees granting foreign Protestants colonial citizenship had mandated a seven-year residency period, but the exigencies of wartime required the mercenaries to serve beyond British territorial limits for months at a time. Strict interpretation of existing statutes would deny the colonel's entourage naturalization and property rights until 1770: an intolerable delay for ambitious men anxious to prosper from the expanded empire they had recently helped wrest from France and Spain. Fast-track metropolitan legislation seemed the best means to secure their interests.[55]

Once again fortuitous timing—Canada's conquest and the coronation of a new sovereign—paved the way for a second political dispensation in favor of the Swiss national and his men. Under the auspicious circumstances of repeated British military victories and an uncomplicated royal succession, Charles Townshend, the new secretary at war, presented the Genevan's naturalization petition to the House of Commons on March 10, 1762. Citing their zeal and fidelity since 1755, Townshend reminded parliamentarians that the foreign Protestant officers had raised 1,700 men for the imperial government on both sides of the Atlantic, winning the

[54] "Extrait d'une Lettre du Brigadier Prevost au General [Joseph] Yorke," Oct. [?], 1758, and Col. James Prevost to Mr. [Robert] Wood, Apr. 17, 1759, Chatham Papers PRO 30/8/76/107–8 and 117; Prevost to the Duke of Newcastle, Jan. 29, 1760, Add. MSS 32,901, 518, 520; Maj. Augustine Prevost to Col. Henry Bouquet, May 10, 1760, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 4:562; Col. James Prevost to Maj. Gen. Jeffery Amherst, May 11, 1760, War Office 34/82/185; "Letter of Attorney: Joseph and Henry Guinand to Colonel James Prevost and Colonel Henry Bouquet," July 11, 1760, Add. MSS 21,687, 26–28; Daniel Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen: The Controversy over Immigration and Population, 1660–1760*, (Newark, DE, 1995), 33–37.

[55] "Report of the Attorney & Solicitor General, to Lord Barrington, on the Case of the Foreign Officers in the Royal American Regiment," Dec. 11, 1759, Add. MSS 32,901, 520–21; Col. Henry Bouquet to Maj. Gen. Robert Monckton, Oct. 5, 1761, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 5:801; "The Humble Petition of James Prevost Esq. Colonel of a Battalion in the Royal American Regiment, on Behalf of Himself and the Other Foreign Officers of the Said Regiment," n.d., Add. MSS 32,901, 523; Huw V. Bowen, *Elites, Enterprise and the Making of the British Overseas Empire, 1688–1775* (New York, 1996), 39–78; James H. Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608–1870* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1978), 74–78; Pickering, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 17:370–73 [13 George II, c. 6].

approbation of the king and his commanders for their battlefield conduct. He also made legislators aware that almost half of Prevost's closest associates had been selected by army headquarters for extraordinary duties without harm to British interests; in effect, wartime circumstances had already loosened Westminster's original strictures against service outside the Royal American Regiment. Finally, he apprised them that the current law adversely affected combat operations because foreign Protestant military commissions were no longer inviolate once beyond ill-defined American borders. This was of immediate concern because foreign Protestant members of the third battalion had been assigned to the amphibious task force then sailing against Martinique and Havana.[56]

Such a masterful overture had its desired affect upon assembled lawmakers. An ordinance to naturalize foreign Protestant servicemen after two years' duty in the Royal American Regiment quickly won official approval. Royal assent followed on June 2, 1762. A retroactive clause that preserved the estates of those who had acquired New World holdings between the years 1756 and 1762 addressed property concerns. More importantly, Prevost's initiative broadened metropolitan concepts of the term "Briton," since brigade members were no longer restricted from receiving overseas appointments in either military or civil capacities.[57] The first to benefit were the Prevost brothers themselves: James attained the rank of lieutenant general prior to his death; Augustine was eventually promoted to major general. Their confidants, Henry Bouquet and Frederick Haldimand, likewise entered that charmed army circle, with the latter also serving as Quebec's governor from 1777 to 1786. Even lowly subalterns rose to higher stations than could have been expected earlier.

[56] "The Humble Petition of James Prevost Esq. Colonel of a Battalion in the Royal American Regiment, on Behalf of Himself and the Other Foreign Officers of the Said Regiment," n.d., Add. MSS 35,635, 350–51; Col. Henry Bouquet to Maj. Gen. Robert Monckton, Oct. 5, 1761, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 5:801; Col. William Haviland to Lieut. Gen. Jeffery Amherst, Feb. 17, 1762, War Office 34/55/73; "Commons Debate," Mar. 10, 1762, in *Proceedings and Debates*, ed. Simmons and Thomas, 1:387; "An Expedition Against Havannah," *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, July 26, 1762, 3; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 490, 497–502.

[57] "Commons Debate," Apr. 8, 1762, in *Proceedings and Debates*, ed. Simmons and Thomas, 1:393; Col. James Prevost to Lieut. Gen. Jeffery Amherst, Apr. 10, 1762, Add. MSS 21,661, 189; "Lords Proceedings," Apr. 21, 1762, and "Commons Proceedings," Apr. 21, 1762, in *Proceedings and Debates*, ed. Simmons and Thomas, 1:394–95, 395–97; Stephen Conway, "From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners: British Perceptions of the Americans, circa 1739–1783," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 59 (2002): 71; Edward Countryman, *A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York, 1760–1790* (Baltimore, 1981), 91–94; Kettner, *Development of American Citizenship*, 76–78.

Lieutenant Joseph F. W. DesBarres was eventually appointed chief administrator of Cape Breton, eclipsing the success of Samuel Holland, who served as Quebec's chief surveyor and a legislative councilor. Other aliens given lesser colonial offices included Daniel Claus, Michael Grass, and Conrad Gugy.[58]

Foreign Protestant members of the Royal American Regiment were no longer perceived as a threat to the realm because they had experienced a remarkable transformation through the war years. Unlike the majority of civilian transports, who had remained cloistered among their own kind, servicemen were exposed to key aspects of the dominant Anglo-American culture during their time in the ranks. Foremost, the mercenaries were required to learn English, the army's language of command, since they had been distributed evenly throughout all four battalions. Active duty, too, provided an ideal incubator for the accelerated evolution of a British consciousness, predicated upon allegiance to the Augustan kings, Protestantism, and intense antipathy for the House of Bourbon.[59] This nascent group awareness was fostered by distinctive martial observances that were fundamental to the redcoats' sense of imagined community. Regimental reviews and other festivities commemorating births, marriages, or deaths within the royal family reinforced personal fidelity first sworn to the monarch upon attestation. Even the smallest garrisons celebrated their personal ties to King George on appropriate occasions with "three tolerable Volleys at noon; a Bone Fire & 6 hand Grenades at Night, with loyal Healths & loud Huzzas."[60] Anglican clerics conducted the obliga-

[58] Williams, "Prevosts of the Royal Americans," 20–27; Pickering, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 25:162–63 [2 George III, c. 25]; *American National Biography*, s.v. "Bouquet, Henry"; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, s.vv. "Claus, Christian Daniel," "DesBarres, Joseph Frederick Wallet," "Holland, Samuel Johannes," "Grass, Michael," "Gugy, Conrad," and "Haldimand, Sir Frederick."

[59] "HRH," Feb. 25 and 27, 1756, Loudoun Notebooks, vol. 8, pp. 41–42; Conway, "From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners," 73–77; Eliga H. Gould, *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000), 3–34; Timothy H. Breen, "Ideology and Nationalism on the Eve of the American Revolution: Revisions *Once More* in Need of Revising," *Journal of American History* 84 (1997): 19–28; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT, 1992), 1–236.

[60] Quotation from Capt. Lieut. Lewis Ourry to Col. Henry Bouquet, June 5, 1761, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 5:530; "Rules and Articles for the Better Government of His Majesty's Horse and Foot Guards, and all His Other Forces in Great Britain and Ireland, Dominions Beyond the Seas, And Foreign Parts. Anno 1749," in *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Sheila Lambert, 147 vols. (Wilmington, DE, 1975), 16:384; *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 1, 1757, 3; J. Clarence Webster, ed., *The Journal of Jeffery Amherst: Recording the Military Career of General Amherst in America from 1758 to 1763* (Toronto, 1931), 189–90 (entry of Nov. 10, 1759); Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage to Lieut. Gen. Jeffery Amherst, Feb. 17, 1762, Thomas

tory religious rites attended most often by the foreign servicemen, notwithstanding the presence of Michael Schlatter, a German-speaking Calvinistic chaplain appointed to the fourth battalion.[61] Massive pyrotechnic displays celebrating recent military victories, known as *feu de joie* (running fire), further reinforced a national homogeneity among those participants in the struggle against a common French enemy.[62]

On a wider societal level, the pronounced German element within the corps helped to solidify that ethnic group's support for the imperial war effort, since there had been no mass defection to the Bourbon interest as once feared. Army recruiters eliminated specters of a fifth column by working under the auspices of regional leaders, bringing their sons into the ranks as circumstances permitted.[63] Such calculated efforts paid dividends on the home front as civilians identified with the operational successes of kinsmen and neighbors in uniform. Indeed, foreign Protestant officers and men became proxies for the large expatriate community, who reveled vicariously in the accomplishments of their own. As one officer reported to Henry Bouquet from Lancaster:

Gage Letterbook, vol. 1, William L. Clements Library; David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989), 50–89.

[61] Percy Sumner, "Standing Orders for the Army, 1755," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 5 (1926): 198; "Earl of Loudoun's Orderly Book, Halifax, 25 July 1757–12 August 1757" (entry of Aug. 1, 1757), and Michael Schlatter to Loudoun, Feb. 4, 1758, Loudoun Papers, LO 3993 and LO 5538; William J. Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and Other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (Lancaster, PA, 1951), 37–47; George Smith, *An Universal Military Dictionary, Or a Copious Explanation of the Technical Terms &c. Used in the Equipment, Machinery, Movements and Military Operations of an Army* (London, 1779), s.v. "DIVINE service."

[62] *Journals of the Hon. William Hervey, In North America and Europe, From 1755 to 1814; With Order Books at Montreal, 1760–1763, With Memoir and Notes* (Bury St. Edmond's, UK, 1906), 15, 123, 152, 155, 162, 172 (entries of Sept. 18, 1755, Sept. 8, 1760, Aug. 16, 1761, Oct. 22, 1761, Apr. 26, 1762, Sept. 19, 1762); "Journal of the Rev. John Cleaveland, 14 June 1758–25 October 1758," *Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum* 10 (1959): 215–16, 221 (entries of Aug. 28, 1758, Sept. 11, 1758); William Hunter, ed., "Thomas Barton and the Forbes Expedition," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 95 (1971): 465, 475 (entries of Sept. 1 and 18, 1758); Smith, *Universal Military Dictionary*, s.v. "REJOICING-fire."

[63] "Lieutenant [John] Schlosser's Advertisement for Recruits," July 2, 1756, and William Parsons to Timothy Horsfield, July 3, 1756, Timothy Horsfield Papers; Richard Peters to [Thomas Penn], Sept. 16, 1756, Simon Gratz Manuscripts, case 2, box 33A, p. 89, "Copies of Letters to Proprietors of the Province of Pennsylvania From Reverend Richard Peters"; Lieut. Col. Henry Bouquet to Capt. Christian Busse, Apr. 9, 1757, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 1:77; Lord Barrington to the Earl of Loudoun, May 13, 1757, War Office 34/71/159; Col. John Stanwix to [?], Oct. 4, 1757, Loudoun Papers, LO 4587, #2; "Recruits Enlisted for the Royal American Regiment from 25 June 1756 to 24 June 1758, Inclusive," n.d., War Office 34/99/170–71; Rev. John Conrad Steiner to [?], June 28, 1761, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 5:590.

> You can hardly imagine how this place rings with the News of your promotion, for the Towns Men, and Boors stop us in the streets, to ask If it is true that the King has made Colonel Bouquet a General and when they are told it is true; they march off with great Joy.

The Royal American Regiment proved to be a cohesive force that allowed alien colonial residents to participate in the defense of their adopted homeland and contribute to the expansion of the British empire.[64]

Naturalization preceded the end of the conflict and demobilization by little more than a year. Although most foreign Protestant servicemen vanished into civilian life without much trace, extant records do suggest some postwar patterns. All soldiers, somewhat akin to indentured servants, received freedom dues in the form of land grants. NCOs and drummers benefited most from the king's bounty, receiving two hundred acres quit-rent free for ten years; ordinary sentinels obtained more modest fifty-acre plots upon the same terms. Surnames on joint land petitions suggest that regimental affiliations and commonality forged during wartime endured beyond active duty. Messmates of all ethnic stock usually applied for grants adjacent to one another for "the Convenience of Mutual Assistance," since many hands were required to wrest a livelihood from the wilderness.[65]

Very few of the rank and file, however, actually settled along the frontier, preferring to sell their acreage to speculators instead.[66] Unimproved tracts in the Lake Champlain basin, where most men staked their claims, could be purchased for as little as 14 pence per acre, furnishing ex-redcoats

[64] Quotation from Capt. George Etherington to Col. Henry Bouquet, Apr. 20, 1765, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 6:784.

[65] Quotation from "Petition of Corporal Henry Urkley, et al.," Mar. 7, 1764, Department of State Applications for Land Grants 1643–1803, AO 272, vol. 17, p. 92, New York State Library, Albany; "List of Houses and Inhabitants at Fort Pitt," Apr. 14, 1761, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 5:407–11; "By the King: A Proclamation," Oct. 7, 1763, in *British Royal Proclamations*, ed. Brigham, 215; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 17, 1764, 3; Capt. Lewis Ourry to Lieut. Gov. James Hamilton, June 10, 1763, Burd-Shippen Collection, American Philosophical Society; Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of New York Colonial Manuscripts: Indorsed Land Papers in the Office of the Secretary of State of New York, 1643–1803* (Albany, NY, 1864), 331–522; David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), 151.

[66] "Claim of John Farlinger" and "Claim of John Pickle," in *Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, ed. Alexander Fraser (Toronto, 1905), 406–7, 424. Post-1767 mass petitions submitted by New York attorneys suggest that soldiers' rights were purchased by others. John Bowles to Gov. Henry Moore, June 9, 1766, Department of State Applications for Land Grants, 1643–1803, AO 272, vol. 21, p. 7.

with a minimum bonus of between £3 and £21 York currency (£1.14.0–£11.8.0 sterling) according to entitlement. Exceptional properties could be sold for up to 20 shillings an acre, inflating bounty values to much higher sums. These land sales were a godsend to the myriad of disbanded troops who were eking out a living in the major port cities.[67] Major General Thomas Gage informed metropolitan officials:

> The discharged soldiers too have not contributed a little to this Increase in Philadelphia, as well as in other Cities of the Continent. Instead of clearing uncultivated Lands, which it was expected they would do, they have for the most part crowded into the Towns to work at Trades, and help to Supply the Inhabitants with Necessarys.

Active duty had familiarized these men with many of the occupations they now pursued, with many working as mariners, carmen, stevedores, carpenters, bricklayers, bakers, tailors, laborers, and in various apprenticeships.[68]

Bonds forged between officers and men during wartime proved advantageous for both parties in the post–Treaty of Paris world, because veterans were desirable tenants on commanders' New World estates. Some of the other ranks took a judicious first step by benefiting from the 1760s land glut and the increased number of New York proprietors searching for people to develop their holdings. Since the demand for tenants far outstripped immediate supply, they were able to negotiate lease agreements on very liberal terms, including perpetual occupation, affordable payments, mill access, as well as the right to profit from any improvements made.[69]

[67] "Evidence on the Claim of Donald Fisher," June 16, 1787, in *Loyalist Settlements, 1783–1789: New Evidence of Canadian Loyalist Claims*, ed. W. Bruce Antliff (Toronto, 1985), 105–6; Billy G. Smith, *The "Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750–1800* (Ithaca, NY, 1990), 64–84, 109–25; John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1978), 165; Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1979), 246–60.

[68] Quotation from Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage to the Earl of Shelburne, Jan. 23, 1768, in *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, ed. Carter, 1:161; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 12, 1761, 4, and May 17, 1764, 3; "Evidence of Margaret Wade," June 26, 1764, War Office 71/74/213; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 26, 1768, 4; *Virginia Gazette*, Aug. 6, 1772, 2; "Evidence on the Claim of Daniel Fraser," Nov. 1783, and "Evidence on the Claim of Thomas Mills," Dec. 8, 1785, in *American Loyalist Claims*, ed. Peter Wilson Coldham (Washington, DC, 1980), 166–67, 349; McConnell, *Army and Empire*, 82–95, Countryman, *People in Revolution*, 65.

[69] *New York Mercury*, Apr. 2, 1764, 4; "Evidence on the Claim of Donald McIntosh," June 24, 1787, and "Evidence on the Claim of Alexander Young," July 12, 1787, in *Loyalist Settlements*, ed.

Major Philip Skene reported to metropolitan authorities that it was his practice to "give provisions and cattle &c. to all discharged soldiers that settle: 270 men discharged at the Havana came with me to New York, the most of them waits my return to settle them." Such incentives brought former sentinels onto the tracts of regimental superiors anxious to people their new country seats with industrious inhabitants.[70]

The mercenary pipeline continued to flow during peacetime after two truncated Royal American battalions survived the bureaucratic paring knife.[71] A shortfall of colonial enlistees in 1766 finally compelled London authorities to solicit 300 more foreign Protestant volunteers to brace the entire regimental establishment. The spectacular results of the inaugural manpower drive, however, could not be replicated by Lieutenant Colonel Augustine Prevost, who managed this operation before returning to Quebec to supervise the senior battalion.[72] Two major factors impeded his efforts. First, Dutch and Hanoverian recruiting sergeants, with no personal stake in the success of the enterprise, had to be employed in lieu of retainers still serving with the regiment in Canada or South Carolina. Second, the British government was much more judicious in contract terms. Only single males willing to spend up to fourteen years in George III's service and defray some of their ration expenses were inducted. Even these onerous demands did not discourage the 191 men who joined the Royal Americans on this occasion, suggesting that Whitehall could have completed other regimental muster rolls with Europeans had it offered

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Antliff, 120–21, 298–89; Cynthia A. Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675–1790* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 92–105; Sung Bok Kim, *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York: Manorial Society, 1664–1775* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1978), 162–72, 242–46, 261–70.

[70] Quotation from Maj. Philip Skene to Secretary [John] Pownall, Mar. 12, 1764, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. O'Callaghan and Fernow, 7:616; Lieut. Rudolph Bentinck to Col. Henry Bouquet, Apr. 8, 1759, and Capt. John Schlosser to Bouquet, Mar. 25, 1765, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 3:235, 6:775; Anne MacVicar Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, As They Existed Previous to the Revolution* (New York, 1846), 234–35.

[71] "Plan of the Establishment of the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment of Foot, Consisting of Two Battalions of Nine Companies Each," May 18, 1763, Amherst Manuscripts, U 1350/O43/9 B, Center for Kentish Studies, Maidstone, Kent, England; John L. Bullion, "'The Ten Thousand in America': More Light on the Decision on the American Army, 1762–1763," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 43 (1986): 646–57; John W. Shy, *Towards Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 1965), 45–83.

[72] Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage to Brig. Gen. Ralph Burton, Feb. 17, 1766, Thomas Gage Papers, American Series, vol. 48, William L. Clements Library; Lord Barrington to Gage, June 25, 1766, and Barrington to Gage, Oct. 29, 1766, War Office 4/988/53, 59–60.

better compensation.[73]

This final levy joined a corps now dominated by foreign Protestant officers, thanks to the continued efforts of their colonel, who remained "tres bien a la cour" (in great favor at court). The Swiss mastermind ensured that his retainers received the bulk of the remaining eighteen regimental companies, despite the customary seniority rights of the army. The muster roll of Prevost's own reconstituted first battalion contained the names of many cronies who had come to the New World with him in 1756: mercenaries commanded six of the nine companies, with three of these new officers transferring from the now defunct fourth battalion. Similarly, men who had previously been assigned to that most junior formation obtained seven out of the nine lieutenancies. The second battalion contained a total of only eleven Continental officers, but Frederick Haldimand served as its lieutenant colonel alongside two other immigrants who also won desirable company proprietorships. Associates forced into retirement when their names were placed upon the half-pay list following the Seven Years' War secured the right of first refusal to any regimental vacancies caused by the death or retirement of commissioned staff.[74]

Regardless of their duty status, all foreign Protestant officers received much larger postwar land grants in New York or Nova Scotia than those distributed to the rank and file. Colonels, lieutenant colonels, and majors received five thousand acres apiece; captains were awarded three thousand acres of vacant Crown land; subalterns, quartermasters, chaplains, and surgeons received a thousand acres less. Nova Scotia garnered the most interest from Royal American proprietors thanks to the efforts of two industrious surveyors, Captain Samuel Holland and Lieutenant Joseph F.

[73] Lord Barrington to Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage, Oct. 29, 1766, and Barrington to Gage, Nov. 8, 1766, War Office 4/988/59–60, 61; Gage to Barrington, Jan. 15, 1767, in *Correspondence of Thomas Gage*, ed. Carter, 2:426; Lieut. Col. Augustine Prevost to Gage, Apr. 27, 1771, Thomas Gage Papers, American Series, vol. 102; Peter Way, "Rebellion of the Regulars: Working Soldiers and the Mutiny of 1763–64," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 57 (2000): 777–79; Paul E. Kopperman, "The Stoppages Mutiny of 1763," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 69 (1986): 241–54.

[74] Quotation from Capt. Samuel Wllyamoz to Col. Henry Bouquet, Sept. 9, 1761, in *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, ed. Stevens et al., 5:740; Wellbore Ellis to Lieut. Gen. Jeffery Amherst, May 20, 1763, Amherst to Maj. Gen. James Murray, Aug. 4, 1763, and "List of Royal American Officers Who form the First and Second Battalions of the Royal American Regiment, Agreeable to the New Establishment," n.d., War Office 4/987/18, 34/3/202–3, and 34/100/49; Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage to Murray, Feb. 17, 1766, Thomas Gage Papers, American Series, vol. 48; John Millan, *A List of the General and Field-Officers, as They Rank in the Army. A List of the Officers in the Several Regiments of Horse, Dragoons and Foot, &c.* (London, 1765), 3–4.

W. DesBarres, who advised their comrades about the availability of suitable real estate. Greater financial resources and prior experience with bringing German troops to the New World allowed brother officers to pool their assets for plantation development.[75] Captain George Adam Gmelin, for instance, headed a consortium which proposed spending ten thousand pounds to resettle one hundred European households in the Maritimes and sustain them for one year. Families from the Reich, Yorkshire, New England, and Pennsylvania ultimately populated such Bay of Fundy estates. In less than a decade after arrival in the colonies, soldiers of fortune had been transformed from mere wayfarers in the migration stream to substantial landowners in need of their own new homesteaders.[76]

Royal American involvement with the chain migration process was not limited solely to tenant acquisition and relocation. Business enterprises that relied upon foreign Protestant labor for a servile work force also had a strong military connection. Peter Hasenclever's "American Company," whose New York and New Jersey holdings produced pig iron, flax, madder, hemp, and potash for export to the United Kingdom, provides a good illustration of this partnership. Although it is unclear whether James Prevost was the agent used to interest Queen Charlotte's household in contributing towards the initial subscription of forty thousand pounds or was a shareholder in the consortium itself, his handiwork is evident in the choice of John Jacob Fesch to secure indentured servants

[75] "By the King: A Proclamation," Oct. 7, 1763, in *British Royal Proclamations*, ed. Brigham, 215; "Memorial of Ensign Benjamin Strodtman," n.d., War Office 1/986/647–48; Hugh Wallace to Col. Frederick Haldimand, Apr. 10, 1765, and Wallace to Haldimand, Jan. 11, 1767, Add. MSS 21,679, 5, 18; "Proposals for the Effectual Settlement of the Valuable Colony of Nova Scotia by Lt. J. F. W. DesBarres," n.d., Amherst Manuscripts, U 1350/O57; "Purchase in Elysian Fields from George Fesch and Jacob Muller," Feb. 2 and Apr. 14, 1768, Manuscript Group 23, ser. F1–5, vol. 15, pp. 2922–27, Library and Archives Canada; Geraint N. D. Evans, *Uncommon Obdurate: The Several Public Careers of J. F. W. DesBarres* (Salem, MA, 1969), 27–32, 43; Esther Clark Wright, *The Petitcodiac: A Study of the New Brunswick River and of the People Who Settled along It* (Sackville, NB, 1945), 23–37.

[76] Capt. G[eorge] A[dam] Gmelin to Maj. Gen. Jeffery Amherst, Oct. 29, 1760, War Office 34/4/33; "Memorial of Michael Francklin, Joseph Pernette, and J. F. W. DesBarres on Behalf of Themselves, George A. Gmelin and Others," Sept. 3, 1763, Colonial Office 217/20/267; Hugh Wallace to Brig. Gen. Frederick Haldimand, May 19, 1766, Add. MSS 21,679, 8; "Gmelin Patent, Maccan and Napan, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia," Nov. 27, 1771, Manuscript Group 23, F1–5, vol. 15, pp. 2953–54, Library and Archives Canada; Margaret Ells, "The Philadelphia Merchants and the Petitcodiac," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 11 (1991): 102–11; Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1986), 361–90; Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961), 112, 122–23.

from the Holy Roman Empire. The Fesch clan had already demonstrated great ability recruiting for the colonial defense force at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, and it is no surprise that comparable veterans with families were a consequential part of the 535 men contracted to work for this company in 1764. Supervision of these newcomers was entrusted to former Royal Americans like Lieutenants Frederick von Weissenfels and Daniel Wriesberg, whose abilities made them ideal managers for the iron-manufacturing complexes. Both active duty and retired officers were now well-positioned to take advantage of economic opportunities arising from the Atlantic economy.[77]

The thousand mercenaries who sailed westward as members of the Royal American Regiment between the years 1756 and 1766 challenge assumptions about the dynamics of the foreign Protestant relocation to the New World. Current studies based mainly upon passenger lists, shipping registers, and business correspondence aver that war and its aftermath were merely negative "push" factors in the complex equation of population transfer. While conflict certainly interrupted transatlantic commerce and the supply of traditional bound labor to the New World, analysis of governmental records confirms that the trade in strangers continued despite international tensions. During the mid-eighteenth century, war actually created favorable career and economic conditions that pulled professional soldiers and would-be infantrymen to America. Commanders, who sat atop the regimental hierarchy, received hefty gratuities and left Europe with expectations of further promotions. Volunteers were won to the colors with better wages and provisions than those offered by other powers. Additional inducements, such as land grants plus free transportation across the Atlantic for recruits and some dependents, increased enlistments. This last incentive was especially important for Palatinate troops who wanted to be reunited with kinsman already living in Pennsylvania. Active duty thus became a viable migration agency for those previously unwilling or unable to cross the ocean.

The transit of foreign Protestant officers and men to the west extends

[77] Hugh Wallace to Col. Frederick Haldimand, Feb. 4, 1765, Add. MSS 21,679, 1; *New York Mercury*, July 28, 1766, 1; "An Account of Money Sent by Peter Hasenclever for the Use of Ring Wood and Long Pond Iron Works," Nov. 1, 1767, Colonial Office 5/1074/48–50; Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, 245–51; Bennion, "Flight from the Reich," 241–42; Irene D. Neu, "The Iron Plantations of Colonial New York," *New York History* 23 (1952): 11–17; Gerhard Spieler, "Peter Hasenclever, Industrialist," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 59 (1941): 231–56; Worthington C. Ford, (Boston, 1894), 104, 108; Peter Hasenclever, *The Remarkable Case of Peter Hasenclever, Merchant* (London, 1773), 1–11, 59–61.

the time line of German "family" migration through the Seven Years' War. Although not nuclear in form, the Royal American Regiment was an extended family in substance, furnishing expatriates with a community ethos and support system that permitted gradual acclimation to life in the New World. Colonel James Prevost certainly acted as benevolent patriarch, safeguarding his retainers' interests by way of an effectual transatlantic patronage network that extended from Geneva through most of British North America via the Court of St. James's. Years spent in royal livery, moreover, allowed troops to develop survival skills and personal relationships that were carried over into civilian life after the army's 1763 demobilization. Officers and men could call upon vibrant regimental ties, whether they pioneered rural farms or established residences in more metropolitan environments. It is no coincidence that bonds forged during wartime endured for at least another decade.

Finally, unlike previous European émigrés, military personnel were a heterogeneous lot, representing different status groups from every region of the Holy Roman Empire and points beyond. While the officers were principally Swiss or German professionals, a bare majority of enlistees had been born in locales adjacent to the Rhine River, where the civilian exodus was most pronounced. The remaining troops came from Austria, Bayern, Brandenburg, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Sachsen, Thüringen, and Poland. Daily army routine inculcated Continental redcoats with British sensibilities, including acquaintance with the English language, a sense of duty to the Georgian monarchs, familiarity with Protestant religious rites, and celebrations of battlefield victories over a common French enemy. Expedited naturalization ensured that such immigrants did not remain marginalized members of colonial society, but could become consequential players in Anglo-America. This phenomenon was most evident among the commissioned gentry who rose to higher office in both military and civil capacities. Few other passenger manifests bore the names of individuals who became governors, generals, legislators, and Crown appointees within a decade of landing. Their presence and activities within the English Atlantic world attests to an overlooked military dimension of the German *Auswanderung*, which contemporaries acclaimed a "nursery for soldiers to the whole world."

Cornwall, Ontario ALEXANDER V. CAMPBELL