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THE PREVOSTS OF THE ROYAL AMERICANS

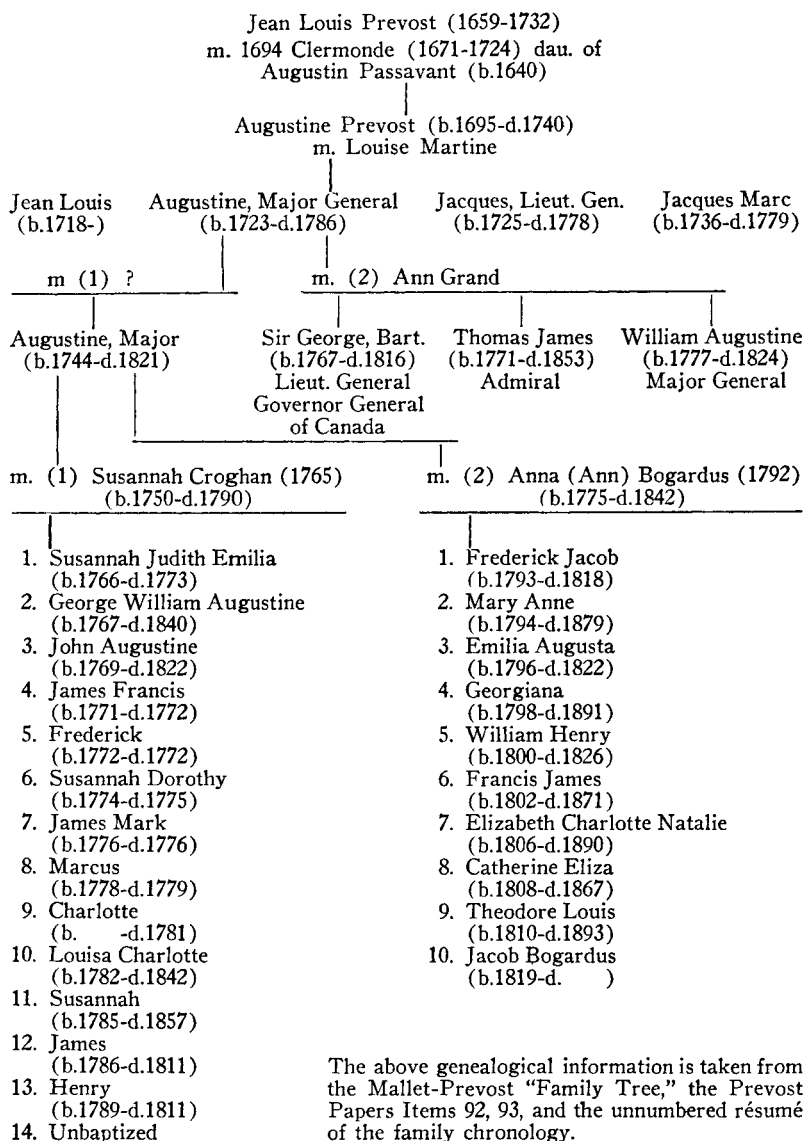
EDWARD G. WILLIAMS

SELDOM in recorded history has there been a group of people who surpassed in adaptability the Swiss soldiers who entered the British army in the middle of the eighteenth century expressly to serve in America against the French. Among the company of officers there stands out a family of three brothers and one nephew, all of whom were exceptional in every phase of military life and personal conduct. The brothers Prevost (pronounced Prevo) left an imprint upon the annals of the British army that would be the envy of many a family historian, and nowhere does greater interest attach to their activities than in Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna River. In fact, there are few parts of western Europe and fewer sections of the English-speaking colonies on this side of the Atlantic Ocean where interest does not attach to their multifaceted affairs.

Ubiquity was the one attribute common to the whole group, and cosmopolitanism, linked with urbanity, was the prime quality that characterized them all. In words of modern expression, "they got around" and "they belonged" in whatever locality, situation, or society they found themselves. Certain members of the family crossed and re-crossed the ocean almost as though modern air travel existed. Two of the Prevosts married American wives, which focused upon the husbands an ephemeral kind of fame.

Along with Henry Bouquet and Frederick Haldimand, each of the Prevosts placed his individual imprint upon the memorial records of the Royal American Regiment, the King's Royal Rifle Corps of the present day. They endured the hardships of campaigns and poured

Mr. Williams, author of numerous articles in this magazine and others, contributes further information about the early history of Western Pennsylvania.
—Editor



out their lifeblood upon the battlefields of two continents, all for the glory of Britain, their adopted country. Always identified with the most consequential people of their environs, they produced, for at least five generations, a procession of officers that included generals and admirals in His Majesty's service.¹ During the American Revolution, others of like loyalties were forced to remove to British-held territories and to forfeit all landed possessions. The Prevosts, except one, chose to remain in the new United States of America and retain their lands too. How all of this was possible is part of this intriguing story.

Ancestry and Family Ties

Of an ancient family traditionally of Poitou, France, it is officially recorded that the Prevosts were admitted to citizenship in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1572, having migrated from old Bossy in the Pays de Gex, a valley between the Jura Mountains and the Alps, then under the counts of Savoy but now included in France. From 1570 to the present, the authentic records of the family, from father to son, are preserved in the Archives of Geneva. They soon became syndics (mayors), professors, bankers, and doctors of that fair city.² Without tracing the lineage in detail, we note that Jean Louis Prevost (1659-1732) married Clermonde, daughter of Augustin Passavant,³ and a son of this

1 Prevost Family Papers, item 194 (hereafter cited as Prevost Papers). For a notice regarding this cache of edifying source manuscripts, refer to the acknowledgments at the end of this article.

Detailed genealogical data is presented in Severo Mallet-Prevost, *Historical Notes and Biographical Sketches Regarding the American Branch of the Mallet Family* (New York, 1930) and appendix, "Genealogical Tree of the Prevost Family" (hereafter cited as Mallet-Prevost).

2 Mallet-Prevost, 83-84; Peter Townend, ed., *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage* (London, 1967), 2041-42 (hereafter cited as *Burke's Peerage*). Location of Gex, Department of Ain, France, is given in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed., 10: 319 (not repeated in later editions).

3 Mallet-Prevost. The genealogical tree of the Passavant family, which the writer has seen and inspected, antedating the year 1000 and continuing unbroken to the present day, kept and preserved by the Swiss, German, and French branches of the family, concurs exactly with the Prevost family record — that Jean Louis Prevost (b. 1659-d. 1732) married in 1694 Clermonde Passavant (b. 1671-d. 1724), daughter of Augustin (or Augustine) Passavant (b. 1640) and Clermonde Guanier of Geneva, married in 1668.

This lineage is corroborated in detail by Sir Bernard Burke and Ashworth P. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain* (London, 1906), 1368-69 (hereafter cited as Burke and Burke, *Landed Gentry*). Both of these records of lineage are quoted from the Archives of Geneva, preserved from 1570. The present (1967) baronet is Sir George James Augustine Prevost.

marriage was Augustine Prevost (1695-1740) who became the father of Augustine Prevost (1723-1786), major general in the British army and head of a succession of Augustines — John Augustine, George Augustine, William Augustine, Augustine James, etc. Thus Augustin Passavant was the progenitor of many generations of that name in the Prevost line to the present day.

The name of Passavant bears a special connotation for the inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania and especially for Pittsburgh, where the philanthropies of Dr. William Alfred Passavant have been part of the Pittsburgh scene since the 1840s. The family ancestor, Claude de Passavant, with his wife and small son, migrated from his native Burgundy in France, in 1594, to Basel, Switzerland. About the beginning of the eighteenth century, part of the family removed to Frankfort am Main, Germany, while the rest of the kindred continued in Switzerland. Philip Louis Passavant of Frankfort settled in Zelenople, Butler County, Pennsylvania, in 1806, whither his father-in-law, Detmar Basse, had preceded him. Philip's son, Dr. William A. Passavant, visited his relatives in Basel and maintained a continuing correspondence with them.

To Pittsburghers, the name of Passavant most readily calls to mind the memory of the founder of one of its great hospitals. After a century and a quarter of community service and several relocations in the city, this institution has come to rest in the North Hills area of metropolitan Pittsburgh and functions under the name of North Hills Passavant Hospital. It represents the culmination of the founder's dream carried forward by many far-visioned successors. This, with an array of Passavant homes, orphanages, clinics, and educational institutions in Western Pennsylvania and Chicago, forms a list of sixty-eight philanthropical, social, and charitable institutions of which he was founder or cofounder. The most recent accession to the list, and one of the finest, has been marked by the dedication of the Passavant Center complex at Thiel College in Greenville, Pennsylvania, a highly progressive institution of modern learning and science which Passavant cofounded.⁴

4 G. H. Gerberding, *The Life of William A. Passavant* (Greenville, Pa., 1906), 18. The migration of the Passavants to Switzerland, if it occurred in 1595 as Gerberding relates, had nothing to do with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes 87 years later (Oct. 8, 1685), and not in 1598 as he says.

Another, less heralded annal of the family history, older and more modest than the above publication, is *Some Account of Dettmar [sic] Basse and the Passavant Family and Their Arrival in America* (privately printed, n.d.) by Zelig Jennings, their granddaughter. This charmingly written

The brothers Prevost first came upon the stage of the American drama at the outset of the French and Indian War, or the Seven Years War on the European stage. Augustine, the eldest of the three, was the second of the name; yet family chronologists have called him Augustine I, probably denoting the first of the name in America.⁵ In many of the family papers he is styled Major General Augustine, or simply General, and his son, Major Augustine.⁶ Narration of the General's part in this scene of action will be deferred while we follow the role played by another brother in the formation of the Royal American Regiment.

Jacques Prevost

The brother next junior to Augustine by two years was Jacques, carried on the British *Army Lists* as James Prevost, Colonel Commandant. It is likely that he followed the same route as his elder brother, with Henry Bouquet,⁷ Frederick Haldimand,⁸ and other Swiss gentlemen of spirit, into the service of the Sardinian king, Charles Emmanuel III.⁹ This was a very natural sequence of events, since the border line of the Duchy of Savoy, part of the kingdom of Sardinia, lay only five miles from Geneva's city limits. Savoy had been the ancestral home of the Prevosts, and becoming involved in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), Sardinia offered a fertile field for gainful employment and military advancement to ambitious and

little account, possessing much personal grace and appeal, recites the story as given to her by her grandmother, Zélie Basse Passavant. It records the date of the migration as 1594.

5 Prevost Papers, typewritten résumé of persons mentioned in the Prevost Papers with places of birth and dates of death (not numbered).

6 Prevost Papers, item 194.

7 *A List of the Officers of the Army and the Royal Marine Corps, Published by the Secretary at War* (London, 1754-1866), published yearly (hereafter cited as *British Army Lists*), William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich., one of the few complete sets found in this country; William Smith, *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, in the Year 1764, Under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq.*, ed. Francis Parkman (Cincinnati, 1868), xvii-xxiii, translation of the biographical sketch of Bouquet from the edition in French published in Amsterdam in 1769 by C. G. F. Dumas.

This sketch is reprinted in S. K. Stevens, Donald Kent, Autumn Leonard, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg, 1972), 1: xxiv-xxviii (hereafter cited as *Bouquet Papers*). Bouquet's early life and career are traced in the included account by Mr. P. M. Schazmann.

8 Sir Frederick Haldimand's career is traced in the *Makers of Canada Series* (London and Toronto, 1926) by Jean N. McIlwraith in "Sir Frederick Haldimand," 3: 1-10.

9 *Bouquet Papers*, 1: xxi-xxii; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed., s.v. "Charles Emmanuel III," with family tree of the House of Savoy.

eager young men. The final campaigns of this war were fought in the Low Countries of Belgium and the Netherlands, and the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands, being in dire need of experienced officers and the war having subsided to the eastward, many Swiss officers transferred from the Sardinian army to that of their Dutch ally. Among these were the Prevost brothers. There is, however, some question about the directness of the transition of Jacques Prevost, for he seems to have spent a short time in the army of France, the enemy of the Sardinian, Dutch, and English allies.

William of Orange was organizing a household regiment at that time, really a bodyguard, patterned after the Royal Foot Guards and the Horse Guards of his royal father-in-law, George II of England. Like their British counterparts, the officers of this élite regiment received special advantages in that lieutenants ranked with captains and captains with lieutenant colonels in the regular line establishment of the army.¹⁰ With variations, this also was the contemporary practice in France and other continental European services.

The War of the Austrian Succession (King George's War as Americans knew it) ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, or Aachen, in 1748, and the professional soldiers experienced a few years of inaction. The year 1755, however, brought disastrous events to Holland's chief ally, Britain, in that yet undeclared war in America that expanded into the titanic struggle with their traditional enemy, France, for mastery of the North American continent east of the Mississippi River. General Braddock's fine British army had suffered near annihilation at the hands of a few French and a larger band of Canadians and Indians. The news spread rapidly over Europe. The challenge of successful, savage bush fighting against the then modern, volley-firing fighting machine sent European military pros and tyros into a flurry of tactical theories. Hundreds of suggestions for innovations in both organization and fighting methods were advanced in Europe and America. Many were the claimants, nearly all after the fact, to the wholly adventitious plan set in motion by Jacques Prevost and finally put in effect by the British army in America. Prevost happened to be at the right place at the right time to gain access to the right ear.

The most credible account concerning the origin of the scheme

10 *Bouquet Papers*, 1: xxiii; Edward E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1926), 25 (hereafter cited as Curtis, *British Army Organization*).

adopted seems to be that a Monsieur von Harbot, a Swiss gentleman, broached the nucleus of the plan to Jacques, a fellow countryman, who found means to communicate an expanded proposal to the Princess of Orange, daughter of King George II of England, also sister of the Duke of Cumberland, commander in chief of all of the British armies. The Duke liked Prevost's presentation and directed Sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister to the Netherlands, to transmit the plan to the War Office in London.¹¹ It is a matter of record that Jacques Prevost had a glib tongue, for the tradition in the innermost family ran that, "with all due respect to the family honor . . . it was generally told . . . that Augustine did all the fighting and James [Jacques] all the talking."¹² This singularity in his character was amply demonstrated by succeeding events that set him apart from the rest of the family.

The scheme, simply stated, was: to form by recruitment and transfer of personnel a new regiment, to be numbered the 62nd; to be called the Royal American Regiment; to be composed of four battalions of a thousand men each; and each battalion to be commanded by a colonel commandant capable of independent command on detached duty. The original intention was to raise these troops among the predominantly German and Swiss population of Pennsylvania and Maryland, but recruits were sought in Virginia, New Jersey, New York, and the Carolinas.¹³ In addition, 250 enlisted men were transferred from Sir William Pepperrell's and General William Shirley's disbanded 50th and 51st regiments, thus reducing the regimental numerals above them by two numbers, so that the 62nd became the 60th after March of 1757. The act of Parliament for establishing and activating

11 Lewis Butler, *The Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps* (London, 1913), 1: 2-3, 288-89 (hereafter cited as Butler, *Royal Rifle Corps*); *Bouquet Papers*, 1: xxvi-xxvii.

12 Mallet-Prevost, 88.

13 Sir John W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 30 vols. (London, 1899-1930), 2: 289; Butler, *Royal Rifle Corps*, 1: viii, 369. "The Act of Parliament 29 George II, Cap. 5 [Act of February 1756, 29th year of the reign of George II, Caput, or chapter, 5]" was a sensational stroke of policy pointed directly at the weakness of the Pennsylvania government: "Whereas . . . the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania, the natural born subjects of which last-mentioned Province do in great Part consist of the People called Quakers, whose backwardness in their own defence exposes themselves, and Part of America, to imminent Danger . . ."

Thomas F. Gordon, *The History of Pennsylvania from its Discovery by Europeans to the Declaration of Independence, in 1776* (Philadelphia, 1829), 338-39.

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Col. John Reid (1721-1807), afterward general, born Perthshire, Scotland, officer in the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment (Black Watch), veteran of continental European wars and campaigns in the West Indies, was second-in-command of Bouquet's 1764 expedition against the Ohio Indians and was briefly in command at Fort Pitt. He was nonetheless an accomplished musician and composer of music, concerts of which for many years were played annually at the University of Edinburgh.

The accompanying marches were written for the Royal American Regiment, probably in the 1770s prior to which (and long after) the Grenadiers March was played by all of the marching regiments of Foot. [DNB, s.v.]

MARCH FOR THE FIRST BATTALION, 60TH REGIMENT.
GENERAL HALDIMAND'S.

CORNEL.

SECONDO.

PRIMO.

BASSO.

Slow

tr

tr

tr

This musical score is for a march titled 'March for the First Battalion, 60th Regiment, General Haldimand's'. It is arranged for four parts: Cornet, Second, Primo, and Basso. The music is in common time (C) and features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as trills (tr) and a slow section. The score is divided into three systems. The first system includes the initial measures with a 'Slow' marking for the Basso part. The second system continues the melody with trills in the upper parts. The third system concludes the piece with a repeat sign and a final cadence.

342 THE KING'S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS

This musical score is arranged in three systems, each containing four staves. The first two staves of each system are for vocal parts, and the last two are for piano accompaniment. The music is written in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The first system begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The piano part features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The third system concludes the piece with a double bar line and repeat dots. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs.

344 THE KING'S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS

This musical score is for a piece titled "THE KING'S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS", numbered 344. It is arranged for a four-part vocal ensemble (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and piano accompaniment. The score is written in common time (C) and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The piano part is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The vocal parts are written in four staves. The score is divided into three systems. The first system consists of four measures. The second system consists of four measures. The third system consists of four measures and ends with a double bar line. Trills (tr) are indicated above the final notes of the Soprano and Alto parts in the first and third systems. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more varied bass line in the left hand.

this regiment, passed in February of 1756,¹⁴ provided for employment of a number (up to 50) of experienced foreign officers able to command the troops in their own native German and Swiss languages. The command of one of these battalions Jacques Prevost took care to retain for himself.

That Colonel Jacques Prevost had no intentions of going into the American wilderness to fight Indians became immediately apparent — at least he would not go yet. Let Bouquet, Haldimand, and his brothers go to march in the mud and savage-infested woods. He had other ideas. He had put forth a clever proposal, and the Duke was pleased with him. Now he had still another project in mind. Furnished with £4,800 in advance funds, he would travel through the many petty states and principalities of Europe, particularly in Germany, as he had done during his brief French service, to find recruits among the deserters that thronged the cities and towns.¹⁵ It is a shockingly significant fact that there were in central Europe, in 1757, an authoritatively estimated 10,000 deserters, principally from the armies of the French king.¹⁶ When we consider that there were over 52,000 foreign troops in the armies of France at the time of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, most of them German and Swiss,¹⁷ we can better understand that there was no such emotion as patriotism in central European armies during the eighteenth century. There was no German nation, and no Italian nation, and there was no French nation as it is known today. Any loyalty was owed to the king alone. Men were held in the ranks of the armies of Frederick the Great only by greater fear of their officers than of their enemies' fire and bayonets.¹⁸ Of the 132,000 soldiers in his armies in 1751, approximately 82,000 were foreign troops.¹⁹ It is clear that the military vocation was a way of life for a very large segment of the population, and loyalties swayed as the petty warlords leaned toward one or the other great thrones of Austria, France, or Prussia.

Colonel Jacques Prevost was a product of his times and took his advantages where he found them. In the British army, however, there

14 Butler, *Royal Rifle Corps*, 1: 33, regimental music, appendix 5; S. M. Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in North America* (New Haven, 1933), 146 (hereafter cited as Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun*).

15 Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun*, 61-66.

16 Frederick Kapp, *The Life of John Kalb* (New York, 1870), 27.

17 Ibid., 21.

18 Jay Luvaas, *Frederick the Great and the Art of War* (New York, 1966), 15-16, 78.

19 Ibid., 31.

was an esprit de corps and a far different sentiment of loyalty than Prevost had ever experienced. He finally came to join his battalion in America in 1757, but he soon proved incapable of commanding troops, so irascible as to be thoroughly hated by all of his fellow officers and even guilty of insubordination toward his superiors, especially the commander in chief, Lord Loudoun.²⁰ General James Wolfe wrote of him: "He is most universally detested by all ranks of people He is fit for no sort of command, and does not know how to obey."²¹ Bouquet, Haldimand, and his brothers, all were concerned lest all of the Swiss officers should be stigmatized.²² Jacques went to England in 1759, and when he returned to America the following year, General Jeffery Amherst refused to permit him to serve.²³ Nevertheless, Colonel Prevost received automatic advancement by seniority, becoming a major general in 1762 and a lieutenant general in 1772, with the honorary title and emoluments of Lieutenant Governor of Antigua.²⁴ In the meantime, he continued to act with characteristic presumption when, after marrying the daughter of General Alexander Mackay and the prolonged absence of his father-in-law, Prevost assumed the title of Lord Mackay, also his estates, although it was said that this was "by courtesy." Thenceforward, he was called, in family papers, "General Mackay Prevost." He died in 1778.²⁵

Marc Prevost

It is necessary to defer again the sketches of the Augustines, father and son, in order to proceed to the next eldest brother, Marc, and his interest-provoking family. Confusion has often arisen, because seldom does it occur that two brothers should bear the same first name. Jacques Marc, more often James Mark or J. Mark, and carried on the *Army Lists* as Marcus, helped solve the difficulty by signing all of his correspondence, J. M. Prevost.²⁶ He entered the Royal American

20 S. M. Pargellis, *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765* (New York and London, 1936), 323, 354-61, 377-79 (hereafter cited as Pargellis, *Military Affairs*).

21 Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun*, 317.

22 *Bouquet Papers*, 1: 83; Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, 328-29.

23 Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun*, 318 n.

24 1775 British *Army List*.

25 Mallet-Prevost, 88 (the "Genealogical Tree" evidently has a misprint, 1770 for 1778), both Butler and Pargellis give 1778 as the year of his death.

26 The case of two brothers having the same first given name, Col. James (Jacques) and Capt. James Mark (or Jacques Marc) Prevost, has been confusing. The British *Army Lists* generally carried the latter as Marc before he went on captain's half pay in 1765 and as James Mark after his

Regiment with the rest of the Swiss officers as a captain with commission dated January 17, 1756.²⁷ He was wounded in the disastrous British attack upon Fort Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758.²⁸ In the summer of 1760, Captain Prevost probably accompanied Bouquet's expedition composed of Royal Americans, Virginians, and Pennsylvanians to establish the British post at Fort Presqu' Isle (present Erie, Pennsylvania), and apparently spent some time at Fort Niagara.²⁹

In 1763, Marc Prevost married a charming, talented, intelligent, and interesting young woman in New Jersey who will engage our attention later in this narrative. In October of that year General Jeffery Amherst sent Captain Marc to Charleston, South Carolina, and his young wife accompanied him, traveling by land while the three companies of Royal Americans, one of which he commanded, sailed from Philadelphia. By the end of January 1764, he was requesting to be sent back to New York, because his wife was pregnant and wished to be near her mother. Captain Prevost's replacement wrote a letter which was carried to New York by the Captain and bears the endorsement, "rec'd 21st June." Nine days later he had arrived at Fort Loudoun on the frontier of Pennsylvania, prepared to march with Bouquet's expedition into Ohio.³⁰

On the march of the army against the Indian towns of the Muskingum Valley, Colonel Bouquet appointed "Capt. Marcus Prevost of the 60th . . . Major for this campaign . . . to be acknowledged and obey'd as such."³¹ After the long march over the mountains

return to active duty in 1773. He always signed his name "J. M. Prevost" to all army correspondence.

The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet (mimeographed, Harrisburg), British Museum, Additional Manuscript series 21649 (parts 1 and 2), 21650 (parts 1 and 2), 21651 (hereafter cited with appropriate Add. Mss. series and folio numbers from the British Museum and page in the printed transcription).

Butler (*Royal Rifle Corps*, 1: 366, n. 19) was in error when he wrote "Jean Marc," since the Prevost Papers, item 194, call him "James Marcus."

27 1756 British *Army List*.

28 Thomas L. Montgomery, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th ser. (Harrisburg, 1906), 1: 240 (hereafter cited as *Pa. Archives*); E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* (Albany, 1858), 10: 728.

29 John B. Linn and Wm. H. Egle, eds., *Pa. Archives*, 2nd ser. (Harrisburg, 1878), 7: 413-29, *Journal of Colonel James Burd*.

30 All these events are reported in letters printed in B.M. Add. Mss. 21649, Pt. 2, f. 352 (p. 57); f. 407 (p. 100-101); f. 491 (p. 167); Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 22 (pp. 14, 16); f. 222 (p. 152-53); f. 305 (p. 206).

31 Bouquet's army en route to Ohio received the following orders: "Camp at Fort Loudoun, August 14, 1764. Morning Orders, 9 in the Morning . . . Capt. Marcus Prevost of the 60th . . . Major for this campaign . . . to be

and return and the winter in New York, in April of 1765 Captain Marc made an exchange with an officer on half pay so that he could remain with his young family. During the next eight years, the Prevosts had two sons and three daughters. By 1773, he was again on active service in the West Indies and Florida, now with the rank of major dating from July 23, 1772. From August 29, 1777, he ranked as lieutenant colonel, meriting many mentions in official dispatches during the campaigns of the American Revolution in South Carolina and Georgia under his brother Augustine, by that time a major general commanding the Southern Department.³² Lieutenant Colonel Marc Prevost went to command a detachment against the insurgents in Jamaica at the end of 1779 and received wounds which caused his death. He was eulogized in the "Memoir of Major Patrick Murray" as a diligent and efficient officer — by the American Patriots whose towns he burned, not so kindly.³³

Our mention of the service and loyalty of Marc Prevost to his adopted country, albeit inimical to the well-being of the United States, is in order to point up the loyal attachment of the members of this family to Britain, while at the same time maintaining close ties to the family and the soil in America. Probably the best avenue to an insight into this man's character is through the nature and temperament of his remarkable wife, nee Theodosia Bartow, daughter of Theodosius Bartow, a lawyer of Shrewsbury, New Jersey, and of a long line of distinguished ancestry in America. Theo's father had died before her birth, and her mother had married a British officer, Captain Philip De Visme. Theo grew up to be one of the rare women of her times when women seldom read, much less studied, books. She was widely conversant with history, philosophy, literature, and biography, and could discuss the authors and subjects with authority. She was nearly ten

acknowledged and obey'd as such" (Bouquet Orderly Book, 1764, Clements Library).

32 J. M. Prevost's letter to Bouquet, Apr. 19, 1765, announced the transaction with another officer on half pay. Add. Mss. 21651, f. 263 (p. 195).

The *British Army List* for 1774 shows Prevost again on the active list as of Sep. 13, 1773; Butler, 1: 298-311, Maj. Patrick Murray's "Memoir" narrates the operations of the 2nd Battalion of the 60th Regiment in the West Indies in 1773-74 and through 1778 in Georgia and South Carolina, with emphasis on Maj. Marcus Prevost's services under his brother Gen. Augustine.

33 Butler, *Royal Rifle Corps*, 1: 371. Although the plate entitled "Morts Sur le Champs d'Honneur" shows J. Marc Prevost, Lieut. Col., as having died in Jamaica in 1780, all other accounts state 1779. Since he died of wounds, he may have received them near the end of 1779.

years younger than Marc, having been born in 1746.³⁴ That he should have been the husband of such a woman and the father of her fine children ought to speak much regarding the man. That he should have left her to pursue what he conceived to be his duty, to die in far away Jamaica, fighting in arms against her native country, leaving her alone to face her inflamed and vindictive neighbors, and to convince them of her patriotism in the American cause, was another matter.

That the widowed Theodosia Prevost should have attracted such a man of the world, a distinguished soldier and brilliant intellectual as Aaron Burr, bespeaks the unusual quality of the lady. Both his father and maternal grandfather had been presidents of Princeton College (then the College of New Jersey). That he should have written that he owed the polish of his manners for which he was famed, conspicuous ornament of society that he became on two continents, all to Theo's influence; that he should have written that "it was from knowing her that he had first learned to believe in the understanding of woman," — all reflect an image of her as endowed with a high degree of urbanity, poise, and accomplishment in the social amenities.³⁵ Aaron Burr and Theodosia Prevost were married in 1782. Her two sons by Marc Prevost, Augustine James Frederick and John Bartow, were even then in the British army, having followed their father into the Royal American Regiment in 1780 at the tender ages of sixteen and fourteen. They did not stay long in the British army but soon returned home to become citizens of the United States.³⁶ Thenceforward they became the pupils of Burr who assumed the responsibility of their education, a role in which he delighted as much as if they had been his own sons. They both became proficient in the law in their own rights. Later, tiring of the law, Frederick became the proprietor of fine landed estates in Westchester County, and John Bartow became a judge in New York City until President Jefferson appointed him a judge of the Federal Superior Court of Louisiana, at New Orleans. He married Miss Fanny Smith, daughter of Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, president

34 Samuel H. Wandell and Meade Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr*, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1925), 2: 89-91 (hereafter cited as Wandell and Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr*). The authors have researched the Bartow-Stillwell family connections thoroughly.

35 James Parton, *The Life and Times of Aaron Burr* (Boston, 1866), 1: 135-36 (hereafter cited as Parton, *Aaron Burr*).

36 Wandell and Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr*, 1: 97, 103, 131. Both of the boys entered the Royal American Regiment as ensigns, Frederick on Sep. 25 and John on Dec. 29, 1780. They were gone from the army lists by the time of the disbandment of two battalions at the end of 1783 (1784 British *Army List*).

of Princeton, and died in Lima, Peru, where a daughter had married well, and where a numerous progeny still survives.³⁷

An anecdote, that seems never to have reached the realm of historical common knowledge, relates to Theodosia and General George Washington and his immediate staff, and illustrates colorfully the force of her character. Consider that she and her family were the center of suspicion in Bergen County and surrounding New Jersey. She was the wife of an enemy officer in active service against the United States, her husband's brother was a major general directing the campaign in the South (Lord Cornwallis would not arrive until a year later),³⁸ her other brother-in-law was a lieutenant general in England, and her mother was the wife of a former British officer — all of these facts combined to place Theo in the category of the Loyalists at the very time when all suspected persons were being herded within the British lines at New York and their estates forfeited. The only logical answer to the enigma seems to be that a complete break had occurred when Marc had returned to active duty with the British army — or she may have sought to convey that impression. She must convince her neighbors that she was herself a loyal American. She was figuratively teetering on a tightrope, and she knew it.

The time was at the beginning of July 1778 when, after the tensions of the pursuit of Clinton's British army across New Jersey and the awful excitement of the battle of Monmouth on June 28, when men dropped dead from sheer heat and exhaustion,³⁹ that Washington and his officers and soldiers were in dire need of rehabilitation and relaxation. They found it momentarily in the cooling shade amid the

37 Parton, *Aaron Burr*, 1: 136, 298; 2: 46. Mallet-Prevost, 88; *Dictionary of American Biography* (1959 ed.), s.v. "Smith, Samuel Stanhope"; Stephen Hess, *America's Political Dynasties* (New York, 1966), 247, 579 n.28, 241, genealogical tree shows William Lewis Breckenridge's relationship to the family. Prevost genealogical tree indicates that John Bartow died in Peru.

Dr. Thomas Bartow, ed., *The Bartow Genealogy* (privately printed, 1875), is in error in stating that Frances Prevost married John C. Breckenridge. The latter was a nephew of William Lewis Breckenridge.

38 Hugh F. Rankin, "Charles Lord Cornwallis: Study in Frustration," *George Washington's Opponents*, ed. G. A. Billias (New York, 1969), 202-3. Cornwallis returned from England July 21, 1779, and arrived in South Carolina in Feb. 1780 according to C. Stedman, *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War* (London, 1794), 2: 177.

39 William S. Stryker, *The Battle of Monmouth* (Princeton, 1923), 201; William B. Willcox, *The American Rebellion, Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative* (New York and London, 1954), 96: "Besides the slain in action, heat destroyed us fifty-nine more."

rainbow mists and rocks of the cataract at Passaic Falls. A little farther along at Paramus the quartermaster general had chosen a house for headquarters, but a pressing invitation arrived from the mistress of the Hermitage, a Mrs. Prevost, which changed the arrangement. The place was really the home of Mrs. De Visme, her mother, and Theo was the gracious hostess.

It was an occasion of great satisfaction when, in the course of the preparation of this paper, the director of the William L. Clements Library, Mr. Howard H. Peckham, placed in my hands the original manuscript diary of Dr. James McHenry (later Secretary of War), then an assistant secretary on Washington's staff,⁴⁰ which expatiated upon this diverting episode. He found time to record some pages of frivolous, idle banter about how the young bloods "talked and walked — and frolicked — and gallanted away four days and four nights," while his commander in chief was a prodigiously busy man. The evidence is the mass of letters, reports to Congress on the battle, outlines of plans, messages to state governors, correspondence about his spies, and general orders written by Washington and expedited during this time from his "Head Quarters, Paramus," all in addition to appointments to the court-martial board for the trial of General Charles Lee. A vivid impression can be conjured up of flurried aides and dispatch-riders arriving and galloping away in clouds of dust from the Hermitage during these frantic days.⁴¹

Needless to say, Mrs. Theodosia Prevost did not thenceforth need to fear reprisals from her jealous Patriot neighbors. She was probably a Patriot herself, but she did not prevent both of her very young sons from entering the British army within two years.⁴² Her death occurred in 1794.

Brief note must be taken of the only child of Theodosia and Aaron Burr, also named Theodosia, a child prodigy who at nine read French so avidly they could not get her enough books and who at ten read Latin, Greek, and philosophy. She loved her big half-brother, Frederick Prevost, as few sisters love a full brother. Theodosia grew

40 John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Spirit of the Revolution* (Boston and New York, 1924), 76. McHenry was appointed assistant secretary on Washington's staff May 15, 1778.

41 John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 39 vols. (Washington, 1931-44), 12: 165-82. All of Washington's letters, orders, plans, etc., from July 10-14, "Head Quarters, Paramus," were written from the Hermitage.

42 1782 *British Army List*. The lists from America arrived too late to be gazetted in the 1781 list for the first weeks of the year.

up to be a talented and brilliant hostess for her father, married Governor Joseph Alston of South Carolina, and was a tower of strength to Burr in his adversity. Her tragic loss in a shipwreck was the last and greatest calamity her father suffered.

General Augustine Prevost

Having postponed the notice of General Augustine Prevost until this point, the records of the two Augustines, father and son, may be viewed together. It has been suggested that the elder Augustine may have entered the British army at an earlier time, although this has been negated by Lewis Butler. Confusion may have resulted from the fact that there had been a still older brother, Jean Louis (born in 1718), who was in the British service much earlier and who had died while a prisoner at Pondichéry in India, probably when the British unsuccessfully laid siege to the place in 1748.⁴³ Augustine was wounded at Fontenoy in 1745, while fighting the French, under whatever banner he fought. This would indicate that he was in the Dutch service earlier than his brothers.

Augustine Prevost was commissioned a major in the Royal American Regiment January 9, 1756.⁴⁴ Dangerously wounded in the head by a musket ball while with Wolfe's army near Quebec in 1758, a trepanning (modern trephining) operation was successfully performed by the army surgeons. He convalesced at New York and returned to the Third Battalion in Canada and sailed with them to the West Indies, where he led them at the sieges of Martinique and of Havana in 1761. Promoted to lieutenant colonel the same year, he later returned to New York and to England in 1763, where the Third Battalion was disbanded.⁴⁵ In 1774 and part of 1775, he was in Europe on a mission to raise a battalion, which he took to Florida. During 1778 and 1779, he commanded the British troops in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina against the combined French and Americans. For his successful operations he was promoted to major general as of February 19, 1779. His defense of Savannah against the French fleet and the American ground forces won him honor, and his brother, Lieutenant Colonel Marc, and his son, Major Augustine, both serving under him, also won

43 Mallet-Prevost, "Genealogical Tree"; Butler, *Royal Rifle Corps*, 1: 323.

44 Butler, *Royal Rifle Corps*, 1: 323-26.

45 Ibid., 1: 77, 293, 324. "The chief and only capital operations were amputations and trephining." Lewis C. Duncan, *Medical Men in the American Revolution, 1775-1783* (Carlisle, Pa., 1931), 7 (hereafter cited as Duncan, *Medical Men*).

distinction. Although loved by his troops and lauded by the Frenchmen who were his prisoners, he gave the Americans little cause to love him.⁴⁶ Years of exposure to the unhealthy climate in the deep South had undermined his health, and he withdrew to Hertfordshire, England, where he owned an estate which was the very scene of a memorable battle of the Wars of the Roses. He died in 1786, having had the longest military career in America of any of his family.⁴⁷

Major Augustine Prevost

It is an unexplained anomaly that the family tree, also the *Dictionary of National Biography*, evidently following that schematic representation, should have omitted entirely the whole line of the progeny of General Augustine Prevost's eldest son by his first marriage,⁴⁸ usually called in family circles, Major Augustine. The Major and his first wife, Susannah Croghan, have a claim to the interest of the reading public of Western Pennsylvania.

Briefly, we shall notice the other three brothers of Major Augustine, sons of the General by his second marriage to Mlle. Ann Grand, daughter of General Chevalier George Grand, a Swiss officer in the Dutch service, identified both as of Lausanne and as of Amsterdam.⁴⁹ It is markedly noticeable that the family correspondence and the Mallet-Prevost *Historical Notes* always refer to all of the sons of the General as though they had been full brothers.

The next eldest after Major Augustine was George James Marc (1767-1816), commissioned in the Royal American Regiment when he was little more than twelve years old, and captain as of June 9, 1783. He was twice wounded on the island of Saint Vincent, was promoted colonel, in 1798, and brigadier general the same year, major general in

46 Butler, *Royal Rifle Corps*, 1: 325. Both his own troops and his French prisoners, who thought him a generous and honorable foe, presented Gen. Augustine Prevost with a distinguished memorial.

B. J. Lossing, *Field Book of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York, 1855), 2: 505, 526-27, 554-55.

47 Butler, *Royal Rifle Corps*, 1: 325-26.

48 "Genealogical Tree"; Prevost Papers, item 194: "My Grandfather Maj Genl Prevost served in America & West Indies — My Grandfathers two brothers Genl Mackay [James] Prevost & Jas Marcus Prevost a Colonel also served in America."

49 The Severo Mallet-Prevost *Historical Notes* are composed of two accounts written by different members of the family. The first mentions Gen. Augustine's second wife as Miss Grand of Amsterdam, the second as Miss Grand of Lausanne (pp. 85 and 87 respectively). The "Genealogical Tree," names her "Ann, dau. J.G.J. Grand of Lausanne." *Burke's Peerage* (1967 ed.), p. 2041, calls the father, Chevalier Grand.

1805, and lieutenant general in 1808. In 1805, he was created a baronet (hereditary), and in 1808, lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia. In 1811, Sir George was made governor general of British North America. He died in England in 1816.⁵⁰

The next brother was Thomas James (1771-1853), who became an admiral in the British navy. The youngest was William Augustine (1777-1824), who rose to the rank of major general in the British army.⁵¹

Returning to the eldest, Major Augustine (1744-1821), our interest centers mainly on him because of his visits to and associations with Western Pennsylvania. Born in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1744, sent to an English military school at an early age, he received an ensign's commission a month and five days prior to his fourteenth birthday, in 1758. It was usual for commissioned boys to defer joining their regiments for years,⁵² hence it is uncertain when Augustine came to America. His lieutenant's commission, dated May 6, 1761, was undoubtedly purchased for him by his father, since only the original cadre of officers of the 60th were given commissions. When the Third and Fourth battalions of the 60th were disbanded, at the end of 1763, young Augustine was reduced to half pay on the inactive list. By May 10, 1764, he had arranged an exchange⁵³ with an officer then on active duty and marched with Bouquet's expedition against the Ohio Indian towns at the end of July, receiving many mentions in the Colonel's orders during the campaign.⁵⁴

When Lieutenant Augustine Prevost of the First Battalion of the Royal Americans marched down the long hill, past the site of abandoned old Shannopin's Town (about Thirty-first Street, in Pittsburgh,

50 *Dictionary of National Biography* (1917 ed.), s.v. "Prevost, Sir George."

51 *Ibid.*, 16: 320-21; Mallet-Prevost, where he is named Thomas James; Prevost Papers, item 194; *Burke's Peerage* (1967 ed.), 2041. All call him simply Admiral James, R.N. His eldest son by his second marriage was Admiral James Charles.

Burke and Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 1369; "Genealogical Tree."

52 "... An extraordinary amount of energy within the officer corps was spent in trying to climb the military ladder by circumventing the rules" (John Shy, *Toward Lexington* [Princeton, 1965], 370). "An officer could [have his son carried] on the regimental roll as a gentleman volunteer . . . but never be present for duty. His father . . . would get the colonel to recommend his son for an ensigncy. If they were lucky, perhaps he got one at ten" (*Ibid.*, 370-71); Curtis, *British Army Organization*, 26.

53 His father, Augustine Prevost, then lieutenant colonel, paid the difference between half pay and full pay in this exchange of commissions. B.M., Add. Mss. 21650, Pt. 1, f. 194 (p. 133). The cost was £200. General Orders, Apr. 4, 1764, Bouquet Orderly Book.

54 Memorandum of Services of Our Family, Prevost Papers, item 194.

near the river), and along the beautiful Allegheny, he was quite probably surprised to find himself approaching a large, well-planned, well-constructed fortress, even by European standards, here in the American wilderness. It had acutely angular bastions connected by curtain walls of brick and stone — the side first presented to view — and the entire work surrounded by a wide and deep ditch. Outside of the main works were several blockhouses, or redoubts, designed to sweep the ditch and parapets with protective flanking fire. One of these small buildings, pentagonal in plan and two stories in height, was nearing completion of its brick walls. In the top courses, just under the eaves of the roof that was soon to cover the structure, the brick mason placed a sandstone block on which he inscribed: "A* D* 1764— [second line] Coll= Bouquet." (In the modern restoration, the datestone has been placed over the doorway.)⁵⁵

The details of that celebrated expedition have been related by historians on both sides of the ocean. Upon the return of the small army from the Muskingum to Fort Pitt, Lieutenant Prevost went to Lancaster with Captain John Schlosser's company to spend the winter. There he met and married (on April 15, 1765) Susannah Croghan,⁵⁶ the daughter and only heir of Sir William Johnson's deputy Indian agent, George Croghan, the greatest Indian trader in the field, also the owner or associate owner of several millions of acres of fine lands spread over present West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York

55 Alfred P. James and Charles M. Stotz, *Drums in the Forest* (Pittsburgh, 1958), 158-88, has formal and complete plans of Fort Pitt, according to the system of Vauban, the French military engineer. Illustrations 30 and 31 show the engraved date stone placed over the doorway of the restored Blockhouse redoubt. The original position of this at the top of the wall is clearly visible in the old cut of the redoubt in Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1843), 78.

56 Nicholas B. Wainwright, "Turmoil at Pittsburgh: Diary of Augustine Prevost," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 85 (1961): 111-19 (hereafter cited as Wainwright, "Turmoil at Pittsburgh," *PMHB*), has given a concise sketch of Augustine Prevost, Jr.'s life, with emphasis on the middle years, which will be followed, with certain exceptions as noted, and with concern for due credit. The marriage is mentioned on p. 113. A reproduction of the marriage certificate accompanies this article, courtesy of the Crawford Co. Historical Society, Meadville, Pa. It should be noted that the certificate bears no evidence as to where the ceremony was performed, being signed only by the officiating minister, Rev. Thomas Barton, missionary at Lancaster and assistant chaplain to the R[oyal] A[merican] R[egiment].

Item 92 of the Prevost Papers, written by one of the family, states: "Augustine Prevost, Born 29th Aug.st 1744, & Susannah Croghan. Born May 1750, were married together, at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, by the Rev^d Mr. Thomas Barton, the 15th of April, 1765."

By the Tenor of these Presents, be it known unto all
 whom it may concern, that aient Augustus Prevost
 of the first Battalion of the Royal A. Regt. &
 Miss Susanna Croghan, were lawfully married
 on Monday the 10th Day of April, in the Year
 of our Lord 1763 - Agreeable to the Form prescribed
 by the Church of England, in the Book of
 Common Prayer, before a sufficient Number of
 Witnesses — by

Mr Barton

Missionary at Lancaster,
 And Assistant-Chaplain to the B. A. C.

Courtesy of the Crawford County, Pennsylvania, Historical Society

Marriage certificate of Augustine and Susannah Croghan Prevost. It is notable that the certificate does not specify where the ceremony took place; Prevost family papers state that they "were married together, at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania."

states.⁵⁷ Small wonder that the match was considered the most auspicious of the season and Prevost a very fortunate man. Just two weeks later, the Royal Americans marched from Lancaster to Albany, and Susannah Prevost went with her husband; henceforth, she would be an army wife. The route of her travels from Albany, to Canada, to Jamaica, to Georgia, and to South Carolina is traced by the birth records of her numerous children and, sadly, by the grave markers of most of them.⁵⁸

From 1767 to 1772, Augustine Prevost enjoyed living the life of a country gentleman on a 6,000 acre tract on Lake Otsego, New York, which his father-in-law had given the couple. For nearly five years Lieutenant Prevost appears on the half-pay lists, having effected an exchange with Lieutenant James Hughes of the 94th Regiment, as of October 9, 1767. He retained his commission, however, so that he returned in 1773 with the same rank and seniority he held before going on the inactive rolls.⁵⁹ The £200 that the exchange from half pay to full pay status cost him, he borrowed from Sir William Johnson, and he also received a loan from the same source of £40 to replenish the livestock on his farm. There were other debts, and he offered Sir William some of his choice land either as security or to purchase. Sir William's will in 1774 bequeathed to his nephew, Dr. John Dease, "two thousand acres of land lying near to South Bay, or Lake Champlain, which tract was purchased by me of Lt. Augustine Prevost . . ." Very probably, this was the land transaction under consideration.

57 Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959), 308-9 (hereafter cited as Wainwright, *George Croghan*). The whole book relates Croghan's fabulous land deals, fully documented. Total grants and purchases from the Indians on Croghan's personal account approach 8 million acres, in addition to his large interest in the Vandalia project involving 20 million acres. His vast illusory dreams were far ahead of his times.

58 Wainwright, "Turmoil at Pittsburgh," *PMHB*, 85: 113; B.M., Add. Mss., ser. 21651, f. 281 (p. 206), Lieut. Hutchins to Bouquet Apr. 30, 1765.

Birth and burial records of Susannah Prevost's children are in the Prevost Papers, item 92.

59 F. W. Halsey, *A Tour of Four Great Rivers, Being the Journal of Richard Smith* (New York, 1906), 33-35. This has the best firsthand description of Croghan's and Prevost's Otsego Lake settlement. Smith visited the Prevosts in 1769.

The British *Army Lists* only show Prevost on the half-pay rolls for three of these years due to the lag in time for information between America and London. See also Augustine Prevost to Sir William Johnson, Nov. 6, 1771: ". . . having Some ½ pay coming to me." Prevost's undated note to Adjutant General Maitland, received at headquarters Oct. 12, 1767, detailing positively the arrangement for the exchange, is in the Gage Papers, Clements Library, under that date.

Even though his reinstatement in the army dated from June 15, 1771, Prevost managed to stay on at Lake Otsego through the following winter; but in March of 1772 he wrote from Croghan's Forest, "... another letter from Head Quarters renews their injunctions on me to join with dispatch." Nevertheless, on July 7 he received "a short Leave of Absence in Consequence of which I set off for Pittsburgh early tomorrow."⁶⁰ The visit to Pittsburgh, residence of his father-in-law, was productive of nothing but more financial complications, and Augustine joined his battalion in Jamaica before the end of the year, taking his remaining family with him, two children having died within the year.

In an effort to aid his financially embarrassed father-in-law, Augustine at this time must have agreed to mortgaging the whole of the Otsego tract, including the Prevosts' own estate, to William Franklin (Benjamin Franklin's son), governor of New Jersey. This obligation Franklin then assigned to a Burlington, New Jersey, group of speculators. By August 26, Croghan had determined to retrieve his waning fortunes by the sale of all of his New York lands.⁶¹

Croghan's affairs had gone from crisis to crisis, and his multi-million-acre land empire had deteriorated to the point of his borrowing from one creditor to partially pay another, until the whole fabric was crumbling away. For various reasons the New York lands had not been sold, and in the spring of 1774 Lieutenant Prevost's father, and commanding officer, gave his son a recruiting assignment in Pennsylvania, so that he might again attempt a financial arrangement with Croghan in Pittsburgh. During his three-week stay at Croghan Hall, he visited Semple's tavern near Fort Pitt, dined several times and went on squirrel and duck hunting jaunts with His Lordship, the Earl of Dunmore, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, who was then on his way to hold his famous conference with the Indians in Ohio,

60 James Sullivan, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, eds., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 14 vols. (Albany, 1921-65), 8: 315 (hereafter cited as *Johnson Papers*). Prevost to Sir William Johnson Nov. 10, 1771: "... what you have so generously advanced for my exchange" Refer to note 53 re prices of exchanges as given in General Orders Apr. 4, 1764, Bouquet Orderly Book.

Johnson Papers, Will of Sir William Johnson, 12: 1072, 8: 532; Prevost to Johnson, July 7, 1772, "... set off for Pittsburgh tomorrow." Sir William Johnson, Bart., was superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern half of British America, wealthy, powerful, residing on the Mohawk.

61 A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Western Movement* (Cleveland, 1926), 281-82, 284 n.406 (hereafter cited as Volwiler, *Croghan*).

following the sanguinary battle of Point Pleasant. On the day (September 24) that Augustine Prevost left Pittsburgh, Croghan ordered the sale of the whole of the Otsego lands; but just two months later Lieutenant Prevost, writing from Jamaica, authorized Barnard Gratz of Philadelphia to purchase for him his 6,000 acres, should the sale occur, even though he should be forced to sell his army commission to raise the money. As it happened, the land was not finally disposed of until 1786. The only accomplishment of his tour of duty in Pennsylvania was a file of ignominious recruits which he conducted to Jamaica.⁶²

Through the war of the American Revolution, Augustine the younger kept the field under his father's command along with his uncle, Lieutenant Colonel Marc, in Florida, South Carolina, and Georgia. He received mention in dispatches to the War Office for brilliant conduct and won appointment as major and inspector general of the Loyalist militia of South Carolina and Georgia.⁶³

When the Prevosts came north is quite uncertain, but they must have gone to New York by sea with the British army evacuating Charleston, South Carolina, in November 1782. Croghan had died at the end of August at his last impoverished abode in Passyunk Township, now South Philadelphia, and been buried in St. Peter's Episcopal churchyard in Philadelphia, to which his faithful caretaker had borne his body, as recorded by the sexton.⁶⁴ This was undoubtedly James Forrest to whom Croghan willed one thousand acres of land, besides his wages, in consideration of his care and attendance during his last illness. The Prevosts could not have gone to Philadelphia, for the provisional peace treaty, although concluded on November 30, 1782, was not known in America until March 12, 1783, and the definitive peace treaty was not ratified by Congress until January 14, 1784. As late as May 29 and June 14, mass meetings of militia and irate citizens were held in the Statehouse (later called Independence Hall) in Philadelphia, authorizing peremptory reprisals against attainted and

62 Wainwright, "Turmoil at Pittsburgh," *PMHB*, 85: 119-44, presents Prevost's diary from the time he left Jamaica, Apr. 16, till he left Pittsburgh, Sep. 24, 1774, with most interesting events of the journey and sojourn in Pittsburgh.

Volwiler, *Croghan*, 284, 286, and n.412.

63 Butler, *Royal Rifle Corps*, 1: 308-9.

64 D. S. Freeman, *George Washington*, 7 vols. (New York, 1948-57), 5: 428 (hereafter cited as Freeman, *Washington*); Wainwright, *George Croghan*, 310; Nicholas B. Wainwright, "George Croghan's Journal," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 71 (1947): 312.

prescribed persons who were attempting to return to repossess their property.⁶⁵ New York and Pennsylvania had enacted severe attainder and forfeiture laws, still in force against enemy sympathizers and especially imposing the death penalty on those who had borne arms.⁶⁶ Prevost certainly had borne arms and still carried the king's commission. Hence, the Prevosts would have flaunted an uncommon amount of temerity to have appeared in the vicinity of Philadelphia during these times.

Augustine devoted himself to retrieving something of his wife's patrimony. They estimated the remainder of Croghan's estate at £140,000 (probably between \$700,000 and \$1 million in today's figures).⁶⁷ They turned first to Aaron Burr, now Theodosia's husband and a top-ranking attorney among the new republicans of New York. It was in 1785 and early 1786 that Barnard Gratz, the chief executor of Croghan's estate, William Franklin, and the Prevosts, with Aaron Burr as legal counsel, were aligned against William Cooper (James Fenimore Cooper's father) and the associates of the Burlington Company, with Alexander Hamilton as their attorney, in a futile attempt to rescue the Otsego estate for the Prevosts and their creditor, Franklin. The Cooper-Hamilton combination proved too wily, if at all within the law.⁶⁸

That same year, 1786, the Prevosts entered upon another noteworthy real estate transaction by purchasing from "Samuel C. Morris of the City of Philadelphia Merchant by Indenture bearing date the

65 Francis Wharton, *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (Washington, 1889), 6: 96-99 (provisional peace treaty signed at Paris) (hereafter cited as Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*); L. H. Butterfield et al., eds., *The Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, 3 vols. (New York, 1964), 3: 82; Freeman, *Washington*, 5: 438 (arrival of the news in America); Robert L. Brunhous, *The Counter Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790* (Harrisburg, 1942), 140 (mass meetings); W. H. Siebert, *The Loyalists of Pennsylvania* (Columbus, 1905), 82.

66 A. J. Dallas, *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1797), 1: 726-28. New York and Pennsylvania acts of attainder of treason and forfeiture of property: Pennsylvania, Feb. 11, 1777, "... guilty of treason shall suffer death . . . estate forfeited"; this law was in force until the peace.

A. J. Dallas, 4 vols., *Reports* (Philadelphia, 1790), 1: 233; New York Division of Archives and History, eds., *The American Revolution in New York* (Albany, 1926), 348-53, citing *Laws of the State of New York*, 1: 173-84; Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1: 754.

67 Prevost Papers, item 194, second page, patents to lands given by the General to his son Augustine; Wainwright, *George Croghan*, 317, n.17, Prevost's estimate of Croghan's estate.

68 Volwiler, *Croghan*, 330.

eighth day of February" a tract of 285 acres on both sides of Perkiomen Creek, five miles west of Norristown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, which contained a double gristmill under one roof and a sawmill, besides several farm buildings and a large and beautiful stone mansion. The tract also contained lead mines which were worked during the Revolution, producing large quantities of musket balls for the Continental army. Neither Prevost nor Morris seems to have worked the mines, but a later owner produced the first white lead in America and made paint during the time of the embargo of the War of 1812.⁶⁹ The place, appropriately named Mill Grove, has become a famous landmark, due to events presently to be mentioned. Four of Susannah's children were born here; the last died unbaptized, and Susannah herself passed away on December 24, 1790, presumably the result of childbirth.⁷⁰ James and Henry, the twelfth and thirteenth of the Prevost children, became officers in General Sir Edward Pakenham's army in Portugal, where both died of wounds in 1811, and were buried there. Sir Edward's letters of condolence, extolling the individual gallantry and bravery of each, were treasured documents among the family archives.⁷¹ Their elder brother, Colonel John Augustine, perished in a shipwreck off the coast of Ireland in 1822. Susannah's eldest son, Colonel George William Augustine (called Augustine) lived until 1840, his seventy-third year.⁷² The bearers of the name of Augustine carried on.

The Prevosts sold Mill Grove, the indenture bearing the date of March 8, 1789; but the new owner not wishing to take possession until much later, the Prevosts seem to have stayed through that year and the next, since Susannah was buried in the cemetery of St. James Church in Evansburg, only six miles from Mill Grove, during the last week of 1790.⁷³

This ten-year interlude in the career of Augustine Prevost.

69 Indenture, Samuel C. Morris to Augustine and Susannah Prevost, Deed Book 3: 197, Montgomery Co., Pa.; Francis H. Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist* (New York, 1917), 1: 102 n., 103, has a description of Mill Grove and its resources (hereafter cited as Herrick, *Audubon*).

70 Wainwright, "Turmoil at Pittsburgh," *PMHB*, 85: 116, n.16. Mr. Wainwright has seen Susannah Prevost's tombstone bearing the above date in the cemetery of St. James Church, at Evansburg, Montgomery Co. Children's names, place of birth, date of death, etc., are listed in the Prevost Papers, item 92.

71 Prevost Papers, items 92 and 194.

72 Ibid.; Mallet-Prevost, 85, 86, 87.

73 Indenture, Prevost to Jean Audubon, Montgomery Co. Deed Book 4: 288-90 (No. 1031). Evansburg is just 6.3 miles by the road, directly north, from Mill Grove.

1780-1790, has been the subject of misunderstanding and some misstatements, beginning with the assumption by Theodore Bean in his *History of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, that Prevost was a French planter. There also has been confusion with regard to the whereabouts of the family after the return to the north. Here the three-page Memorandum of the Services of Our Family (item 194 of the Prevost Papers) supplies long neglected information. After enumerating the activities of Augustine as major and adjutant general of British forces in South Carolina and Georgia, particularly at the siege of Savannah, for which he received favorable mention in the *Political and Parliamentary, Military and Naval Journal*, of London, the family chronologist adds: "My father also acted under Sir Guy — General Carlton [*sic*] as deputy Insp [deputy inspector general] of his Majesty's forces in America (see Gen Carltons [*sic*] letter & orders)." ⁷⁴ Now, the only time that Sir Guy Carleton (soon to be Lord Dorchester) commanded all of the troops in America was when he returned to New York in May of 1782, after an absence from the army of four years, to take over the command from Sir Henry Clinton and to evacuate the army from America and the refugees from New York and Charleston. The evacuation of New York did not occur until November 25, 1784 — so, Major Prevost had been serving His Majesty at New York until near that time, by the family's own records.⁷⁵

Again, the family papers furnish a chronological sequence of the Prevosts' moves during this interim. That they were living at Mill Grove in the spring of 1785 is authenticated by Prevost Paper, item 92: "11th [child] Susannah, born at Mill Grove, on Perkiomen State of Pennsylvania, the 27th of June, 1785."

Yet another time Major Augustine Prevost traveled the familiar roads to Western Pennsylvania. This was still during the residence at Mill Grove and three years after the death of his father (1786, in England). The trip was undertaken for the purpose of inspecting and reporting on the state of General Sir Frederick Haldimand's lands near Huntingdon and Bedford. Frederick Haldimand had been a close friend of the elder Prevost, and especially of Bouquet whose chief legatee and executor he became. Sir Frederick had retired to England

74 Prevost Papers, item 194, pp. 1 and 2, undated and written by an unidentified member of the family.

75 Paul H. Smith, "Sir Guy Carleton, Soldier-Statesman," *George Washington's Opponents*, ed. George A. Billias (New York, 1969), 130; Wilbur C. Abbott, *New York in the American Revolution* (New York, 1929), 279; Prevost Papers, item 194.

after having served as governor general of Canada, had been knighted by the king, and soon would return to his native Switzerland. The valuable lands in question were fine farms within seven miles of Huntingdon, Huntingdon County, on Crooked (then Vineyard) Creek, around the village of McConnellstown. A reminiscent survival of the past is the large spring at McConnellstown yet called Bouquet's Spring.⁷⁶ The other tract, which Prevost identified as nine miles from Bedford, is actually ten and a half miles, near the present village of Osterburg, and both tracts were bequests to Haldimand from (then General) Henry Bouquet. Consonant with Prevost's character for thoroughness and devotion to duty, he provided these tracts with dependable tenants on improvement agreements, having first divided the land into several farms, and so reported to his old friend and countryman, Sir Frederick. Most important, he freed the properties from the threat of sheriff's sale for taxes. One wonders that the alert and avid alien property commissioners of Bedford County had not realized the identity of the real owner of this land.⁷⁷

The next owner of Mill Grove was a former French naval officer and merchant from Haiti, Jean Audubon, who desired to bring a tenant farmer to the place and later to bring there from France his son, John James Audubon, the future great naturalist and artist of American bird life. The youth arrived in the spring of 1803, and there he began his drawings that made him a world-renowned ornithologist, and brought fame to Mill Grove.⁷⁸ In these modern times, almost a century and three-quarters after John Audubon's sojourn there, the peaceful acres on the Perkiomen that nurtured his nascent talent have become a fitting memorial to his life's work in the form of the beautiful Audubon Wildlife Sanctuary, a museum of Audubon's art in his own studio, also nearly six miles of woodland hiking trails in this still peaceful wildlife refuge. Surrounded here by the madly speeding traffic of many superhighways, the visitor to Mill Grove may well realize

76 G. D. Scull (Oxford, England), "General Sir Frederick Haldimand in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 8(1884): 300 (hereafter cited as Scull, "Haldimand," *PMHB*); *Bouquet Papers*, 1: xxvi; J. F. Meginness, ed., *The Historical Journal of Northwestern Pennsylvania*, 1(1888): 237, mentions "Bouquet's Spring" at McConnellstown, 5 miles from Huntingdon, Pa.; William Y. Brady, "Captain John Brady," *Now and Then*, 6(1940): 234.

77 Scull, "Haldimand," *PMHB*, 8: 300; Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1965), 182.

78 Herrick, *Audubon*, 1: 98-100. In an otherwise well-researched account, Herrick has used the name Henry Augustine Prevost, for no apparent reason, since it does not appear on the deed to Audubon or elsewhere.

the overpowering sense of relief that Augustine and Susannah must have felt at finally coming to rest in this rural paradise after their years of frantic marching and sailing north, south, and north again with the campaigning army. The Prevosts must have loved this beautiful retreat, their home for more than six and a half years.⁷⁹

A strange set of circumstances was introduced as a consideration to the agreement of sale of Mill Grove. Buried deeply in the maze of legal jargon, we find the following: ". . . Subject to the payment of the Sum of Twelve Hundred pounds current money as aforesaid [Pennsylvania currency] which Samuel Stringer lately recovered Against the said Augustin Prevost before the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania together with the Interest Accruing thereon from the date hereof . . ." The date of the indenture, as mentioned before, being March 28, 1789, the time, "lately," of the judgment may reasonably have been late in 1788. A search of all of the court records has failed to turn up this decision or judgment. But we question: who was Samuel Stringer, and why would he have sued Augustine Prevost? Dr. Samuel Stringer, formerly of Maryland, studied medicine in Philadelphia, became an army surgeon during the French and Indian War, was present at the disastrous attack upon the French breastworks before Fort Ticonderoga in July 1758, and practiced medicine at Albany. During the Revolution he was appointed medical director of the Northern Department of the Continental army until removed in 1777 by the Continental Congress after disagreements, when he continued to practice in Albany.⁸⁰ Before the Revolution, he had been a close friend of Sir William Johnson and was one of the executors of his estate.⁸¹ A suggestion is here put forward, that Prevost may not have repaid all of his loans before the death of Sir William in 1774 and could not have done so under the war conditions in New York. The high rate of interest, the outrageous inflation of the currency, plus the high rate of exchange from sterling to Pennsylvania currency, all might well have augmented a relatively small principal sum to the amount of twelve hundred pounds in seventeen years.⁸² Legal authority has advised that an executor would

79 *Mill Grove, the Audubon Wildlife Sanctuary*, pamphlet prepared by the Montgomery Co. commissioners.

80 Deed Book 4: 289; Duncan, *Medical Men*, 84, 103-4.

81 The will of Sir William Johnson probated July 25, 1774, designated Samuel Stringer of Albany one of the executors. *Johnson Papers*, 12: 1075-76; "Abstracts of Wills-Liber 9," *Collections of the New York Historical Society* (New York, 1899), 191.

82 In 17 years, at only 6% interest, the amount would have more than doubled.

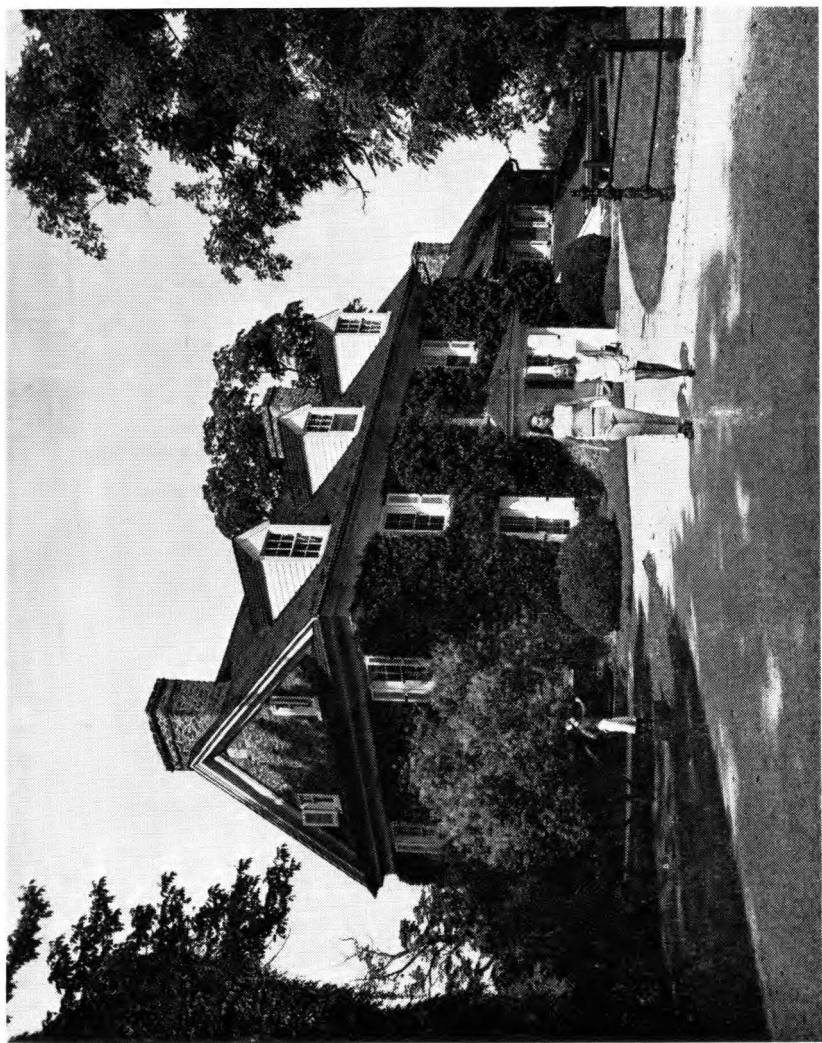
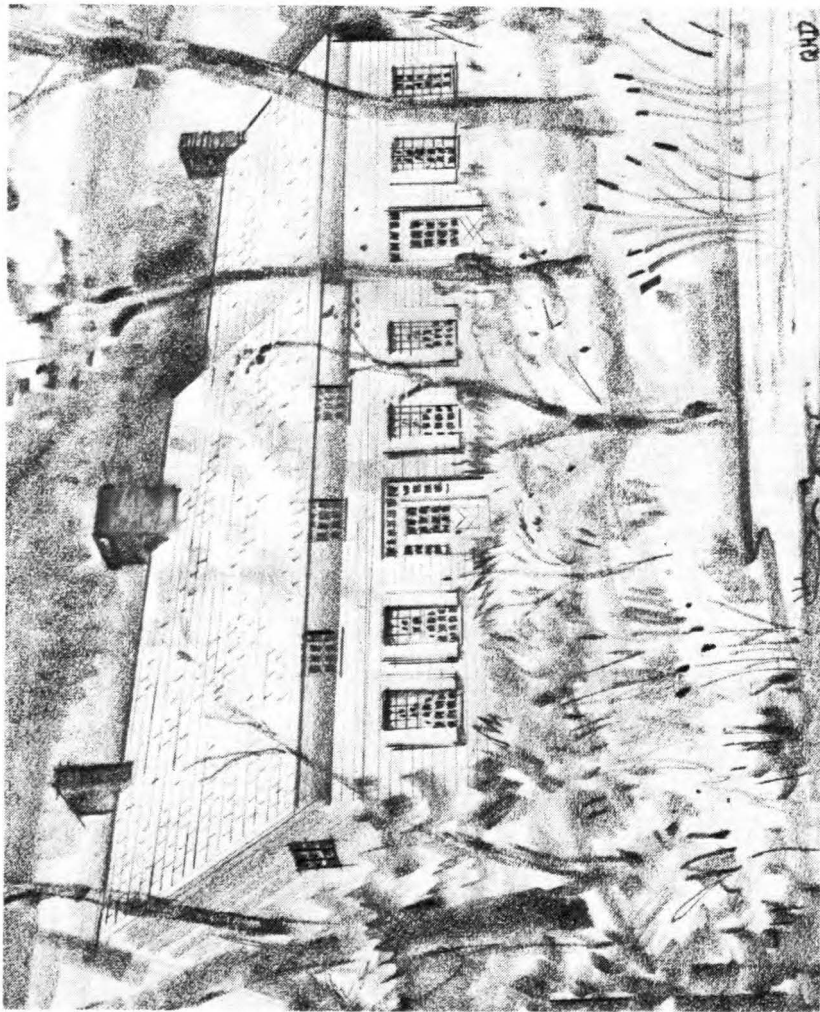


Photo courtesy of the Montgomery County Board of Commissioners

Mill Grove, home of the Prevost family on the Perkiomen, which Augustine Prevost sold to Jean Audubon, father of John James Audubon the famous artist of American birdlife. Three miles north of the King of Prussia interchange of the Pennsylvania Turnpike and an equal distance from Valley Forge Park, it is today preserved as the Audubon Wildlife Sanctuary.



Sketch courtesy of Q. H. Douden from camera shots

Hush-Hush, near Greenville, Greene County, New York, nestles amid the Catskill foothills in a peacefulness reminiscent of its name.

have entered suit under his own name. At any rate, the financial burden was too great for Prevost, and it can be believed that he therefore reluctantly sold Mill Grove.

With his small remaining family of four motherless children, the eldest of the group less than eight (the two oldest sons were past twenty and in the British army), Augustine Prevost turned his attention to the only ground he could now call his own, the 7,000-acre tract that had been patented to his father and himself (5,000 and 2,000 acres, respectively) by the crown under the king's proclamation of October 7, 1763, benefiting British officers and soldiers who had served in America during the French and Indian War. Augustine had applied for and received confirmation of the grant from the secretary of the executive council of the state of New York as of July 22, 1786.⁸³ This tract abutted on, the north, the great Van Rensselaer manorial estate. The fact that the General gave all of his share plus other land titles, to be noted later, to Augustine lends credence to the observation that the latter held a prior claim to his father's affections.⁸⁴

Immediately, Augustine began improving his land, building a sawmill, tenant houses, a gristmill, later a bark mill for a tannery, and opened a land office to sell part of his tract. This may explain why he, at first, paid arrearages of quitrents only on 1364½ acres, probably expecting the buyer to pay the quitrents on the rest of the acreage with the purchase price.⁸⁵ He married, in 1792, Ann Bogardus, a descendant of the first Dutch minister in New Amsterdam. They had ten children, two of whom lived to see the great West settled, one having been buried in Michigan and another in far away California.⁸⁶ In 1794, the good frame house Augustine built half a mile west of

Anne Bezanson et al., *Prices and Inflation During the American Revolution, 1770-1790* (Philadelphia, 1951), 327-30, 346.

83 The king's proclamation of Oct. 7, 1763, is printed in William Kingsford, *The History of Canada*, 10 vols. (London, 1887-99), 5: 142-45.

Among the Prevost Papers is an imposing document, the original patent issued by the royal governor on application of Lieut. Col. Augustine Prevost and his son, Lieut. Prevost, in 1764 for 7,000 acres of land, confirmed by endorsement of the secretary of state of New York, July 22, 1786.

84 Mallet-Prevost, 85.

85 Prevost Papers, item 87; J. B. Beers Co., eds., *History of Greene County, New York* (New York, 1884), 298 (hereafter cited as Beers, *Greene County*).

86 Prevost Papers, item 93, also typewritten résumé of the Prevost Papers, detailing birth and death dates and place of residence at time of death, filed with the papers; J. Van Vechten Vedder, ed., *History of Greene County, New York*, 2 vols. (Cornwallville, N. Y., 1927), 1: 89 (hereafter cited as Vedder, *Greene County*).

Greenville, New York, was ready for the family's occupancy, although he later made additions. He named the place Hush-Hush.⁸⁷

The house at Hush-Hush is not architecturally pretentious but is a sturdy example of a mid-eighteenth century English country gentleman's estate house. The ample family room with a very large walk-in fireplace formerly served as the kitchen and family room together, before the addition of a newer kitchen. There the visitor is received before a great burning log which sends forth its pungent, piney redolence as it dispels the chill of an early autumn morning. The George V. Vanderbilts, the present owners, are gracious hosts who exercise a conscientious stewardship as effectually as could any of the long-departed Prevost family. Mr. George Vanderbilt's father, who had close ties of friendship with the Prevosts, bought Hush-Hush early in the present century (about 1904). Regrettably, Mr. George V. Vanderbilt passed away during 1972. Virginia born and reared, Mrs. Vanderbilt is still in possession of the fine old place.

One senses a certain feeling that pervades all old eighteenth century houses, an impression of a lot of living having taken place here. One is conscious of the adventurous spirits that emanated from here to foreign shores and battlefields and of the noted visitors who came to this quiet spot. To the right of the central stair hall one sees the spacious drawing room-type parlor with its fine antique English and early American furniture. Mrs. Vanderbilt points out especially a Chippendale slant-top desk with ingeniously designed interior pigeon-holes and secret compartments where Aaron Burr was wont to write during his trips to Hush-Hush.

Visions of vast estates to be claimed in the New World still buoyed the hopes of the indomitable Prevost. This time the object of Augustine's quest lay beyond the Forks of the Ohio, in fact, on the banks of the far Mississippi where the elder Prevost, his father, had grants from the crown of 10,000 acres in what now are Mississippi and Louisiana.⁸⁸ The richest land lay near Natchez and in the Bayou country, where many British officers held claims.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Beers, *Greene County*, 298. I visited Hush-Hush farm in the autumn of 1971. The porch, shown by Vedder in the cut of the house, has been removed, restoring the original lines of the house. The original locust grove has grown so thickly that it was impossible to take a good photo.

⁸⁸ Prevost Papers, item 194, contain the statement that the General gave the patent papers to the Louisiana and Mississippi lands to his son; item 110 is a list of these lands, their acreage, and location.

⁸⁹ Lawrence H. Gipson, *The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1775* (New York, 1954), 156.

Years of tedious correspondence and litigation consumed much of Augustine's energy and resulted in great expectations unrealized. It did not come amiss that Cousin Augustine James Frederick (called Frederick but often referred to as A. J. Prevost) was a highly skilled attorney in land affairs under his stepfather, Aaron Burr; also Frederick's brother, John Bartow Prevost, was judge of the Federal Superior Court of Louisiana.⁹⁰ There is a letter, also, which intimates that Frederick knew and talked with Judge Washington⁹¹ (a justice of the United States Supreme Court, favorite nephew of General George Washington, to whom the General had bequeathed Mount Vernon). Nothing, however, availed. Although the family version that the failure of the Mississippi claims was due to prior Spanish grants, the fact remains that Britain, having won the Floridas from Spain during the French and Indian War and the peace of 1763, lost them again to Spanish arms in the war of the American Revolution and the peace of 1783. The Spanish king, by two separate proclamations, required British grantees to appear and take possession in order to perfect their titles.⁹² This the Prevosts apparently had not done.

Life went on at Hush-Hush. The Major lived the life of a country gentleman, in the English mode. Retired he may have been from camp life and incessant marching, from fighting and carnage, and the constant threat of surprises; but this project of making Hush-Hush support his family equaled any campaign in its activity. There was the house to build, with all of the trials of obtaining the refinements in this remote location to make it livable, the task of converting a wilderness into productive farmland, roads to build and maintain, the gristmill, the sawmill, and the bark mill and tannery to supervise, and the all-important land office to tend in order to furnish the money to carry on all the rest. There were all of the difficulties with tenants and servants. The multitudinous legal details relative to the disappearing Croghan estates and the many lawsuits arising therefrom were an intolerable load. The legal maze involved in the hoped-for Mississippi bonanza was time-consuming. There were many horseback and chair

90 Wandell and Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr*, 1: 179, 316.

91 Prevost Papers, item 114, is a letter of Augustine Frederick to Maj. Augustine, mentioning a conversation with Judge Washington.

92 *The Journal of Andrew Ellicott* (Philadelphia, 1803; reprinted Chicago, 1962), 154. Ellicott, commissioner for surveying the boundary between the United States and Spanish Florida in 1802, says: "... old British grants, which became forfeited to the crown of Spain by their owners or attorneys not appearing and occupying them agreeably to the tenor of two proclamations or edicts, issued by his Catholic Majesty, one dated 1786"

trips to Albany, nearly thirty miles, where Burr and the Prevost boys maintained their reputations as dominant oracles of the law in upstate New York. Matters that had to be transacted on the local level necessitated a ride to Catskill, the new county seat on the Hudson, an eighteen-mile ride. We have not considered the complexities of raising and educating a large family of active and spirited children. In this department, Ann Bogardus proved a worthy consort. For the education of the children he built a small schoolhouse, hired a teacher, and admitted the families of his neighbors for instruction at no expense to them.

With advancing years, the Major became a sort of patriarch for the enlarging community. He donated land for a church and for an academy in the growing village of Greenville, of which his name appears as one of the incorporators.⁹³ Important travelers found at Hush-Hush a haven of urbanity and culture, a refreshing respite from the boorishness of country taverns. One such tourist, the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, while on his way to Canada in 1802, has left a realistic description of the place and its owner. A few facts relative to Prevost's earlier life he has understood wrongly, but he characterizes the Major as having "all the frankness of an honest Switzer and of a genuine honest Englishman . . . He is beloved by his neighbors, seems just and impartial in his opinions, speaks well of the American government, and is a good-natured and agreeable man." Liancourt mentions that the Prevosts were decidedly pro-British in their sentiments.⁹⁴ Notwithstanding several allusions in the literature of the times relating to the family's ties of sympathy and consanguinity with their British service, never have we found an instance of resentment or of mistrust of them among their neighbors. The Major's father-in-law (by his second marriage), Jacobus Bogardus, saw service in the New York militia during the Revolution, as did two of his wife's brothers, yet there is evidence of perfect harmony among them.⁹⁵ The answer to the enigma of the Prevosts, enemy aliens, landowners

93 Beers, *Greene County*, 298-99.

94 The Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States of North America . . . and Upper Canada, 1795-1797*, 4 vols. (London, 1800), 3: 432-38.

95 Vedder, *Greene County*, 1: 86-87; James A. Roberts, comp., *New York in the Revolution* (rolls taken from Archives of the Colony and State of New York: Albany, 1898), 71, 232. A letter dated 1792, item 47 of the Prevost Papers, to the Major from the redoubtable Joel Munsell of Albany leaves no doubt of the compatibility and solid status of Prevost and that of his father-in-law, Jacob Bogardus, in the community.

and residents in a yet generally hostile country, must lie in the fact that they were sober, forthright, community minded, and thoroughly likable people. It was a matter of reciprocal attitudes.

Augustine died and was buried in the family graveyard at Hush-Hush in 1821, without having gained more than his own acres out of all his vast expectations. Ann, his widow, survived until 1842, and a son, Theodore, lived at Hush-Hush until 1893.⁹⁶

* * * *

A great deal of very interesting material collected during the preparation of this paper must be passed over, due to economy of space, and because it bears only peripheral concern to the present subject. For invaluable aid and personal interest in opening depots of treasured material a debt is owed to many persons and institutions, personally visited, in widely separated parts of the country. Thanks are extended to the Albany Institute of History and Art which, through its director, Mr. Norman S. Rice, and its librarian, Mr. Kenneth MacFarland, made available the Prevost Papers among their collections of manuscripts and lore of the Hudson River country. The William L. Clements Library of Ann Arbor, Michigan, through its director, Mr. Howard H. Peckham, permitted the use of their British *Army Lists* (the most complete in the country), also of the General Thomas Gage Ms. Papers. The Henry E. Huntington Library of San Marino, California, surrounded by its fabulously beautiful Botanical Gardens while housing its manuscript treasures, permitted perusal of the Loudoun Papers, especially the Ms. journal notebooks of Lord Loudoun. The Burton Library of the Detroit Public Library aided in the matter of genealogical works. The New York Public Library's Local History Division aided with county histories, while the Lennox Library of the same institution permitted the use of their British *Navy Lists*, formerly owned by Admiral, the Duke of Clarence, afterwards His Majesty King William IV. Mr. Talbert Fowler of the Law Library of the University of Pittsburgh gave great help in researching legal questions. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania kindly aided with histories of eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey counties, also manuscripts relative to George Croghan. The Cleveland Public Library was helpful with its extensive store of English local history and eighteenth century military works. The Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh has been an un-

⁹⁶ Prevost Papers, item 93, also the typed résumé (unnumbered), record the dates of the family by the Major's second wife, Ann Bogardus, till 1893, with Theodore Louis the last survivor.

failing source of general reference material, and its Pennsylvania Division, through its head, Mrs. Julia Cunningham, has supplied specialized information. Mrs. W. Howard Pollard, associate editor of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, gave great aid and much of her time in making a very difficult manuscript more readable. Grateful acknowledgment is made of the aid rendered by Mrs. L. Mae Jamison, Deputy Recorder of Deeds of Montgomery County, in finding and furnishing copies of the interesting indentures herein cited.

Special mention is due to Mr. Charles S. Passavant III in acknowledgment of rare genealogical data gathered from the Passavant family in Germany, France, and Switzerland; also to Mrs. Passavant for permitting study of the Morris family tree, which is very remarkable. Thanks are expressed to the Crawford County Historical Society of Meadville, Pennsylvania, for making possible the reproduction of the Augustine Prevost-Susannah Croghan marriage certificate. The friendly aid rendered by all of these people and institutions will long be remembered.