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Immigrant Imperialism: Germans and the Rise of the British Empire

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Immigrant Imperialism: Germans and the Rise of the British Empire

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Abstract

Immigrant Imperialism: Germans and the Rise of the British Empire

By Andrew Zonderman

"Immigrant Imperialism" reframes the British Empire as a transnational endeavor and connects German-speaking Europe to the eighteenth-century world. The expanding imperial project relied upon the labor of not only growing pools of metropolitan Britons and exploited indigenous and enslaved peoples, but also continental Europeans who carried over skills desired by imperial officials, as well as their own agendas. The migrants' activities in the empire also belie enduring narratives of German-speaking Europe and its peoples as provincial prior to the formation of the German state and empire in the mid-nineteenth century. Rather, these migrants participated in the world-altering phenomena of global trade, settler colonialism, European overseas expansion, and Atlantic political revolutions.

The dissertation analyzes four distinct migrations to explore the Germans' backgrounds, engagements with British officials as well as indigenous and enslaved populaces, and the application of their labor to constructing the British Empire. The first study examines the Lutheran missionaries educated and employed at the University of Halle and the Francke Foundations in Prussia and their increasingly close ties with, and work for the British East India Company (EIC) as chaplains, school administrators, and translators. The second case probes the EIC's recruitment of thousands of Central Europeans for military service in South Asia, and their role in helping make the EIC the dominant power on the subcontinent. The third considers how German migrants moving to state-planned borderland settlements in colonial South Carolina and New York sought to transform these projects for imperial defense into opportunities for personal enrichment. The final study investigates the German merchants of colonial Philadelphia and their role in integrating themselves and their immigrant community into British systems of credit, consumption, and law.

"Immigrant Imperialism" examines how eighteenth-century British imperial actors and institutions recruited German-speaking peoples into their colonies or sought to co-opt those already abroad to address the empire's defense needs, demographic instability, and labor shortages. German immigrants sought to leverage their status as fellow Europeans and Protestants, as well as British desires and anxieties, to shape imperial projects to fulfill their own economic, social, and spiritual needs.

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The librarians and archivists at the American Philosophical Society, British Library, German Society of Pennsylvania, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Lambeth Palace Library, Library Company of Philadelphia, National Archives (UK), New-York Historical Society, New York State Archives, *Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv-Hannover*, School of Oriental and African Studies, South Caroliniana Library, *Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke*, University of Pennsylvania, William L. Clements Library, and Winterthur Library all helped me to explore their rich collections. At Emory University, the Robert D. Woodruff Library's history subject librarians—Erica Bruchko, Alain St. Pierre, and Chella Vaidyanathan—and Interlibrary Services located for me everything from the latest scholarly monographs to small-run, century-old, sub-regional genealogical periodicals from Central Europe.

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Spending the past academic year as a Woodruff Library Subject Librarian Graduate Fellow allowed me to complete the dissertation, apply the expertise I had developed over my graduate studies to new areas, and develop new skills I hope to apply to my future teaching and scholarship. The Humanities Team graciously incorporated me into the unit, answered all my professional and technical questions, and entrusted me with a variety of exciting projects.

I am extremely grateful to my dissertation committee—James V.H. Melton, Dawn Peterson, Jonathan Prude, and Jonathan Strom—for generously sharing their time and energy in reading numerous and lengthy drafts, sharing detailed notes, and raising stimulating questions. I have benefited greatly from their specialized expertise to help me grasp many issues within this wide-ranging project. My advisor, James V.H. Melton, has guided me through my graduate education and this dissertation with a steady hand and a warm smile. I will be forever appreciative of his many moments of thoughtfulness, honesty, and kindness. He has always

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My parents, Patty Williams and David Zonderman, have nurtured my love of history since my earliest days—sharing fun facts, taking me to obscure historical sites, tolerating my compulsion to read the label for every artifact at museums. They have always provided wise counsel and unyielding support for my endeavors, and this dissertation was no exception.

My deepest thanks and appreciation belong to my beloved wife, Julia, whom I met for the first time as I had just started typing out the dissertation's first sentences. She has been a most patient, generous, and encouraging colleague, editor, and sounding board. The dissertation's chapters may be complete, but I am excited to see what new chapters, literal and metaphoric, we will write together.

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Introduction

Over the eighteenth century, thousands of Germans[1] boarded ships and made perilous transoceanic voyages to British colonies around the world. These German migrants risked their lives to move abroad for many reasons—to seek economic opportunities beyond what they could hope to achieve in their native towns and villages, to escape debts, to spread the Gospel, or to heed orders from their sovereigns. Despite their differences in backgrounds and motivations, these migrants shared much in common. They were outsiders entering new economic, political, social, and cultural landscapes, navigating their roles within their newfound colonial settings, most frequently with British officials. German migrants transformed the British Empire in a host of ways, whether or not they were always cognizant of those changes.

For British officials, German immigrants seemingly offered solutions to a variety of concerns. Wars with European rivals globalized. The Mughal Empire's collapse triggered waves of violent struggles among successor states and other polities on the Indian subcontinent for land

[1] This dissertation uses the term 'German' to describe a variety of German-speaking peoples originating throughout Central Europe. Scholars continue to debate the value and accuracy of the term, especially before the nineteenth century, to describe a host of peoples who came from numerous polities and had strong regional and local linguistic and cultural distinctions. I use the term in the context of migration and settlement in the British Empire for several reasons. First, the idea of a German people or nation had already been discussed since the fifteenth century. Second, while German-speaking peoples often migrated and settled with neighbors and families, the process of migration, interactions with other German-speaking peoples as well as other populations, and Britons framing of them as a homogenous people, largely with the term 'Palatine,' did breakdown some regional identities and lead immigrants to self-identify as German. As will be discussed throughout the dissertation, the overwhelming majority of these eighteenth-century immigrants were Protestants. Friederike Baer, *The Trial of Frederick Eberle: Language, Patriotism, and Citizenship in Philadelphia's German Community* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 12-13; Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 74-76; Philip Otterness, *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 2-3; A.G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 32, 41; Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Hanoverians, Germans, and Europeans: Colonial Identity in Early British India," *Central European History* 43, no. 2 (June 2010): 224-226; Hermann Wellenreuther, "Image and Counterimage, Tradition and Expectation: The German Immigrants in English Colonial Society in Pennsylvania, 1700-1765," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, vol. 1, *Immigration, Language, Ethnicity*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 86-87.

and revenue streams. Indigenous North Americans challenged British claims to their homelands and the empire's aggressive colonization of the continent. Imperial elites believed that these conflicts demanded the deployment of massive armies around the globe, and support networks that could supply and move these forces.

Throughout the eighteenth century, British officials acknowledged the British Isles' relatively small population compared with other imperial powers and overseas regional states.[2] Contemporary political arithmetic and economic thought in Europe assumed that an expanding population facilitated the growth of markets, output, and consumption, as well as strengthened states' armed forces with a larger pool of recruits.[3] While foreign European immigration to the British Isles remained a controversial topic, British political leadership reached a general consensus that such migration to the colonies, if managed properly, would enhance the empire's economic and military fortunes without draining the metropole's populace. German immigrants, therefore, offered a means to close the demographic deficit with rival empires and spur further colonial production and consumption for the metropole's benefit. As soldiers or militiamen, they would also help defend the empire against European rivals, South Asian polities, and Native American nations.[4]

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[2] In 1800, France had an estimated population of twenty-nine million people, while England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales had an estimated population of just over sixteen million people. Anne E.C. McCants, "Historical Demography," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750*, vol. 1, *Peoples and Place*, ed. Hamish Scott, online ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), table 4.1; Stephen Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, 1740-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 6.

[3] Julian Hoppit, "Political Arithmetic in Eighteenth-Century England," *Economic History Review* 49, no. 3 (August 1996): 525-528; Steven Pincus, "The Making of a Great Power? Universal Monarchy, Political Economy, and the Transformation of English Political Culture," *The European Legacy* 5, no. 4 (July 2000): 536-537; Daniel Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen: The Controversy over Immigration and Population, 1660-1760* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 38-65; William O'Reilly, "Working for the Crown: German Protestants and Britain's Commercial Success in the Early Eighteenth-Century American Colonies," *Journal of Modern European History* 15, no. 1 (January 2017): 142-143.

[4] H.T. Dickinson, "The Poor Palatines and the Parties," *English Historical Review*, 82, no. 324 (July 1967): 464-485; O'Reilly, "Working for the Crown," 130, 144; Alison Olson, "The English Reception of the Huguenots, Palatines and Salzburgers, 1680-1734: A Comparative Analysis," in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of*

The imperial institutions and actors who recruited thousands of Germans into their colonies or sought to co-opt those already overseas also viewed German immigrants as a potential force for controlling non-European laborers within the empire. The empire's reliance on millions of enslaved African, Asian, and Native American women, men, and children in settlements ranging from Bencoolen (present-day Bengkulu City) to Boston enabled the British to intensify their exploitation of overseas lands they claimed.[5] Yet, the growing numbers of enslaved peoples within the empire, especially in southern North American and Caribbean colonies, heightened security concerns for British officials and colonists. Through additional migration of Europeans, Britons hoped to reverse these demographic trends, which they believed would snuff out potential mass resistance to their rule.[6]

Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550-1750, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 481, 488; Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen*, esp. 194-222. Governor of Carolina John Archdale went so far as to claim that two thousand white colonists were worth one hundred thousand at home in Britain at the turn of the eighteenth century. Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration: A British Government Redemptioner Project to Manufacture Naval Stores* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1937), 26-27.

[5] For overviews of the Atlantic slave trade and British involvement in the trade, see David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Philip D. Morgan, "Slavery in the British Caribbean," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, *AD 1420-AD 1804*, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 378-406; David Richardson, "The British Empire and the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1660-1807," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 440-464. For examinations of Native American slavery and English and British involvement with these practices, see Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540-1715* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 194-254; Robbie Ethridge, "Introduction: Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone," in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 1-62; Allan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Margaret Ellen Newell, *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015). For discussions of slavery and the slave trade within early modern British possessions in the Indian Ocean, see Richard B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015), esp. 24-50, 83-106, 133-62; Virginia Bever Platt, "The East India Company and the Madagascar Slave Trade," *William and Mary Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (October 1969): 548-577.

[6] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 9, 122, 143-144; Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 52-53; Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 36, 143-144.

In the Madras Presidency in southern India, British East India Company (EIC) officials envisioned that German Lutheran missionaries' schools would prepare cohorts of disciplined South Asian and Eurasian laborers, resolving decades of labor disputes and shortages in company enclaves across the region.[7] Similarly, British officials around the globe envisioned that armed Germans would help ease the empire's reliance on indigenous warriors in both North America and South Asia. Furthermore, Germans might serve as models of loyal behavior for indigenous troops, or as a failsafe against indigenous soldiery's potential acts of disloyalty to the British cause.

Why did eighteenth-century British officials turn towards German-speaking Europe for potential collaborators in constructing the British Empire? One central appeal for Britons was the ability to secure Protestant immigrants. Even before the establishment of England's first Atlantic colonies in the early seventeenth century, English and later British proponents of empire framed the endeavor as a Protestant one. While the details of that enterprise often remained ambiguous, there was consensus around its anti-Catholic stance, including a check on Catholic power globally. There was the desire to maintain adherence to the Protestant faith among even the most far-flung colonists.[8] At a time when political and religious identities and loyalties were seen as

[7] For discussions of the British East India Company's attempts to attract and control labor in early modern South Asia, see Ravi Ahuja, "Labour Relations in an Early Colonial Context: Madras, c. 1750-1800," *Modern Asian Studies* 36, no. 4 (October 2002): 793-826; Ravi Ahuja, "The Origins of Colonial Labour Policy in Late Eighteenth-Century Madras," *International Review of Social History* 44, no. 2 (August 1999): 159-195; Prasannan Parthasarathi, *The Transition to a Colonial Economy: Weavers, Merchants and Kings in South India 1720-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundation of the British Empire in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 39, 84, 87, 100.

[8] The degree and nature of ideological Protestantism for the early British Empire remains contested into the present moment. For Linda Colley, a strong Protestant identity permeated the British metropole and visions of the empire over the long eighteenth century, rooted in narratives of the continuation of the Reformation and the providential trials and blessings of the British-cum-Israelites. David Armitage argues that ideologically, Protestantism in the early modern British Empire was weak and fragmented. For Armitage, the idea of Protestantism was not a driver of imperial ideology and identity. Rather it was largely a stand-in for anti-Catholicism and for a biblically-justified dispossession of non-Christians throughout the Atlantic basin. David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8-9, 64-66; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the*

inextricably linked, imperial officials assumed that Protestant migrants from Central Europe would be loyal to the British state or EIC and their fellow Protestants, despite being non-Anglicans. Similarly, Britons hoped that Protestant German immigrants would side with them in conflicts with European Catholic powers, indigenous states and peoples, and enslaved blacks.[9] Furthermore, because Germans were natural-born subjects of polities without oversea empires, Britons believed they would not have conflicting allegiances while abroad during times of inter-imperial warfare.

These German migrants were also willing to go abroad. Many of the earliest Germans who elected to resettle in British North American colonies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were members of religious minorities like Mennonites, Quakers, and Labadists. Facing religious persecution, they hoped to find a more peaceable environment, especially in Pennsylvania under William Penn's promise of freedom of conscience.[10] Yet, the vast majority of the sixty-five thousand to one hundred ten thousand German-speaking people who migrated to British North America prior to the War of American Independence (1775-1783)

Nation 1707-1837 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 11-54; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 22-25, 164.

[9] For discussions of early modern European presumptions and anxieties about religious minorities, religious conversion, and political disloyalty, see G.J. Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists: The Case of the Sepoys in the Early British Indian Army, 1750-1800," *War in History* 7, no. 1 (January 2000): 8; Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714-1780: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993), 3-4; Stern, *The Company-State*, 38-39, 52. The linkages of faith and political identity were further bound for many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Protestants by the idea of the Protestant International, or Protestant Interest, a global network of Protestant states and believers envisioned to band together to stop the threat of Roman Catholicism's global expansion. Owen Stanwood, "Between Eden and Empire: Huguenot Refugees and the Promise of New Worlds," *American Historical Review* 118, no. 5 (December 2013): 1323; Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 112, 114, 131-132.

[10] Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times* (1901; repr., New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), 24, 29; Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 5; Johannes Herbergs, *Brave New World: Rhinelanders Conquer America*, ed. Dieter Pesch (Nümbrecht: Martina Galunder Verlag, 2001), 12-13; Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), xxviii.

relocated for economic reasons.[11] In North America, Germans hoped to acquire land and access to trade, which would enable them to find financial stability and prosperity after facing increasing economic uncertainty from market forces and state interventions in their homelands. Similarly, in India, German soldiers and officers presumed greater opportunities for advancements in rank, higher wages, and prize money.[12]

The German migrants to British North America overwhelmingly came from the Holy Roman Empire's southwestern states, concentrated around the upper Rhine, Neckar, and Main rivers as well as from the German-speaking Swiss cantons, Alsace, and Lorraine.[13] This region

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[11] Günter Moltmann estimates that colonial-era migration of Germans was likely between sixty-five to seventy-five thousand people while conceding the total may have been up to one hundred thousand migrants. Aaron Fogleman estimates the number of migrants at eighty thousand. Georg Fertig places the number at one hundred thousand between 1683 and 1800 using extrapolations from the Port of Philadelphia's ship lists records. Hans Fenske estimates one hundred twenty-five thousand Germans migrated to North America, including Canada and French Louisiana, as well as the Guyana colonies. Marianne S. Wokeck also uses the Port of Philadelphia's ship list records as well as some additional ship lists that were not included in the earlier 1934 compendium of Ralph Beaver Strassburger and William John Hinke to estimate that one hundred eleven thousand German arrived in British North America during the colonial era. Hans Fenske, "International Migration: Germany in the Eighteenth Century," *Central European History* 13, no. 4 (December 1980): 344-345; Georg Fertig, "Transatlantic Migration 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 P. Canny (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 202; Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 6; Günter Moltmann, "Three Hundred Years of German Emigration to North America," trans. William D. Graf in *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983*, ed. Günter Moltmann (Stuttgart: Eugen Heinz Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 1982), 9; Ralph Beaver Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers: A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia From 1727 to 1808*, ed. William John Hinke, 3 vols. (Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1934); Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, xiii.

[12] "Stamm Rolle von den Infanterie Regiment von Stockhausen, wie viel Mann nach bekant machung der Ordre, vom 5ten Aprill a.c. sich gemeldet haben, bey den neuen Regimentern freywillig zudienen," April 18, 1782, Münden, *Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv-Hannover* (hereafter NLA Hannover) Hann. 38 C, C nr. 13, f. 103, Hannover, Germany; "Actum Hannover in des Herrn Feld Marschalls v Reden Hause," January 10, 1786, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 15, f. 50; Jährliche Einname des Obersten, der Stabs Officiere, und Compagnie Cehfs vom 15den Hannoverschen Infanterie Regiment zu *Madras* und *Arcoth* nach allen Abzügen; exclusive *Batta*, und so weit die übrige Einname fixirt warden können," *Stats-Anzeigen* 10, no. 38 (1787): 150-151; Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India* (Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 40-41.

[13] James Boyd, "Merchants of Migration: Keeping the German Atlantic Connected in America's Early National Period," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 1, *From the Colonial Economy to Early Industrialization, 1720-1840*, ed. Marianne S. Wokeck (German Historical Institute, last modified February 12, 2015) http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=229; Fertig, "Transatlantic Migration from the German-Speaking Parts of Central Europe," 232; Farley Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America, 1709-1920* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 21, 90-91; James Horn and Philip D. Morgan, "Settlers and Slaves: European and African Migrations to Early Modern British America," in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, ed. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 40; Marianne S. Wokeck, "German Immigration to Colonial America: Prototype of a

of German-speaking Europe became the center of transatlantic migration for a number of reasons. First, the Holy Roman Empire's southwest portion had a long-standing practice of landholdings being equally divided among living heirs, creating an increasing stratum of rural society that was too land-poor to sustain itself solely through agriculture as the population expanded beyond its pre-Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) levels. These people saw limited economic prospects in their homelands, but often had enough property to sell to make the transatlantic voyage and reestablish themselves in the British colonies. Second, transatlantic migration fit with familiar patterns of long-distance migration to access land and incentives offered by a range of Central European polities seeking to repopulate after the devastation of the Thirty Years' War. Germans who resettled in British colonies were often the progeny or near relations of seventeenth-century immigrants who crossed political borders in Central Europe to farm abandoned lands or practice crafts in depopulated cities and towns.[14] Third, increased state control at the local level in these regions generated further economic and social instability over the eighteenth century. Regional states, with their expanding bureaucracies and armies, winnowed feudal privileges, raised taxes, and removed established exemptions from military service.[15] Finally, geography, specifically the proximity of the Rhine River, played a significant role in funneling potential migrants towards Atlantic ports as opposed to other destinations.[16]

Transatlantic Mass Migration," in Trommler and McVeigh, *America and the Germans*, 1:3, 7-8; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, xxviii, 44, 51.

[14] Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 24-25, 27, 35; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 7-15, 17-19, 21-25; A.G. Roeber, "In German Ways? Problems of Potentials in Eighteenth-Century German Social and Emigration History," *William and Mary Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (October 1987): 754-755, 760-762**;** Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 36-38; David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 15-16.

[15] J.H. Clapham, "Karl Ludwig, Elector Palatine, 1617-1680: An Early Experiment in Liberalism," *Economica* 3 (1940): 393; Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 46-47; Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America*, 8; Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, 28, 42-43; Meinrad Schaab, *Geschichte der Kurpfalz*, vol. 1 *Mittelalter* (Cologne: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1992), 137, 139; Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis," *Historical Journal* 35, no. 2 (June 1992): 432; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 48.

[16] While the migration of German-speaking peoples to British North America was a large and significant one, numerically it was a small part of long-distance German migration during the eighteenth century. Just one-in-five to

The river offered comparatively fast and cheap transportation to Dutch ports. There would-be migrants found well-traveled sea lanes to Britain and its empire, and often chartered ships or found space on vessels already bound for Philadelphia and other British North American ports.

Germans from across Central Europe also found their way into the eighteenth-century British Empire. Both the British state and EIC began actively recruiting German-speaking soldiers into their ranks or as auxiliary forces for service overseas, tapping an infrastructure and legal framework that had been in place since the fifteenth century. British state and private recruiters and contractors fanned out across the major cities of Central Europe, attracting a mix of recent rural arrivals, tenuously employed urbanites, criminals, adventure seekers, and orphans to enlist.[17] Similarly, the scores of German missionaries who traveled to British India in the eighteenth century came from across the Holy Roman Empire to study at the esteemed

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one-in-ten German-speaking peoples who participated in a long-distance migration during the eighteenth century traveled to settle in British North America. Hapsburg Hungary saw between a quarter million and three hundred fifty thousand migrants arrive during the eighteenth century. An additional fifty thousand migrants moved to Habsburg Poland. Besides a shorter distance to travel with its related advantages in costs and bodily risks, resettlement in Habsburg Hungary was heavily subsidized with tens of thousands of people traveling the Danube River free of charge. In contrast, only a small portion of German migration to British North America was subsidized by British colonial or metropolitan governments. Similarly, the Prussian and Russian monarchies offered migrants a variety of incentives to resettle in their lands, like exemptions from military service and taxation, aid for building homes, religious toleration, and guarantees of the right to speak and conduct business in German. Prussia attracted approximately three hundred thousand Germans, particularly to Pomerania, Kurmark, and Neumark. Over thirty-five thousand Germans migrated to the lower Volga River or near the Black Sea in the second half of the eighteenth century. Fenske, "International Migration," 344-346; Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America*, 8; William O'Reilly, "Bridging the Atlantic: Opportunity, Information and Choice in Long-Range German Migration in the Eighteenth Century," in *Menschen zwischen zwei Welten: Auswanderung, Ansiedlung, Akkulturation*, ed. Walter G. Rödel and Helmut Schmahl (Trier: Wissenschaftler Verlag, 2002), 25-43; Hermann Wellenreuther, "Contexts for Migration in the Early Modern World: Public Policy, European Migrating Experiences, Transatlantic Migration, and the Genesis of American Culture," in *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 24-25; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 8.

[17] John Haberkorn to Peter Mitchell, November 20, 1770, Hamburg, India Office Records (hereafter IOR) E/1/54, f. 378r, British Library (hereafter BL), London; John Casparis, "The Swiss Mercenary System: Labor Emigration from the Semiperiphery," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 5, no. 4 (Spring 1982): 597-599, 603-606; L. Forrer, "A Few Notes on Swiss Officers and Mercenary Regiments in the Pay of England," *British Numismatic Journal* 25 (1947): 216; John McCormack, *One Million Mercenaries: Swiss Soldiers in the Armies of the World* (London: Leo Cooper, 1993), 93, 102, 126; Peter H. Wilson, "The German 'Soldier Trade' of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Reassessment," *International History Review* 18, no. 4 (November 1996): 766-767; Peter H. Wilson, "The Politics of Recruitment in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *English Historical Review* 117, no. 472 (June 2002): 543, 548-549.

University of Halle in Prussia, and then perhaps work at the neighboring Lutheran charitable complex, the Francke Foundations.[18]

Not every Briton was enamored with the active recruitment or toleration of German-speaking migrants within the colonies. Influential political leaders, ranging from Benjamin Franklin to Charles Cornwallis, Marquis Cornwallis, expressed concerns about continental Europeans within the empire. Franklin and others worried that the unchecked flow of German-speaking immigrants to Pennsylvania would swamp the colony culturally and politically, ultimately subverting English liberty and constitutional governance. Even more troubling was the possibility that the migrants would fail to defend the colony in a time of war, or would work as a fifth column for the French.[19] Cornwallis, for his part, believed in the need for a robust European troop presence in British India. But he doubted the effectiveness and loyalty of non-British European soldiers, especially when weighed against the costs of their recruitment and maintenance.[20] Yet, the empire's desire for labor, frequent imperial crises, and the migrants' ability to alleviate these concerns neutralized calls for limiting the German-speaking presence within the empire.

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[18] Jürgen Gröschl, "Missionaries of the Danish-Halle and English-Halle Mission in India," in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vol. 3, *Communication between India and Europe*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 1497-1527.
[19] Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, Philadelphia, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 4, *July 1, 1750, through June 30, 1753*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 477-486; John Watts to William Johnson, October 8, 1764, New York, in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, vol. 4, ed. Alexander C. Flick (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1925), 564; Benjamin Franklin, *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c*, in William Clarke, *Observations on the Late and Present Conduct of the French, with Regard to Their Encroachments upon the British Colonies in North American: Together with Remarks on the Importance of These Colonies to Great-Britain: To Which is Added, Wrote by Another Hand: Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c* (Boston, 1755), annex p. 14; Dietmar Rothermund, "The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 84, no. 1 (January 1960): 4.
[20] "Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors," November 16, 1787, Ganges, IOR F/4/3/634, BL; Earl Cornwallis to William Fawcett, December 30, 1790, [Madras], in *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, vol. 2, ed. Charles Derek Ross (London: John Murray, 1859), 64.

Germans came to British colonial shores with their own economic, social, and spiritual agendas. They sometimes found their assigned responsibilities, whether producing naval stores in pine forests or serving as emissaries for the British at Indian courts, to be at cross-purposes with their own aims. Germans deployed a variety of strategies to bend imperial projects and roles to meet their desires, and used their status as fellow Protestants, Europeans, and even British subjects to maximize their leverage. Migrants and their children refused to work on assigned tasks. They petitioned imperial administrators. They deserted lands and military units. Some even took up arms and went into open rebellion. More often than not migrants were able to ameliorate what they saw as the most galling policies. On other occasions, the inability to come to an agreement led to the migrants' begrudging acquiescence or ultimately their participation in the permanent fracturing of the empire.

Germans within the empire continued to view themselves as culturally and socially distinct from other people they interacted with. Frequently the new arrivals worked to preserve their distinctive identity through a range of practices, from forming families with other German-speaking colonists to establishing German-language churches and schools. Germans in the British Empire were divided over how their Germanness fit within their newfound imperial contexts. In North America in particular, many German colonists saw their identity as compatible with their status as British subjects. Other migrants viewed their Germanness as a key factor in their self-conception as outsiders to the empire, even as they resided and worked within it.

The German migrants' experiences within the British Empire were also deeply shaped by their interactions and negotiations with Native Americans, South Asians, and peoples of African descent. The Germans' Protestant beliefs, including ideas of spiritual brotherhood, often framed

first contacts with non-Europeans.[21] Germans and Native Americans in some parts of North America forged ties to check British power and authority over them. In India, German Lutheran missionaries worked closely with indigenous mission workers, from pastors to housemothers, to operate constellations of congregations and schools.[22] More often than not, however, German immigrants carried over or embraced ideas of Protestant, European, and white superiority. They accepted developing colonial hierarchies that ensured their own access to resources and privileges denied to indigenous and enslaved populaces.

German immigrants participated in the settler colonial project in eastern North America, (re)establishing farmsteads and villages on contested lands, often in territory previously seized by force of arms from indigenous peoples, or in areas abandoned in the face of epidemics and

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[21] South Carolina colonist, militia officer, and trader, John Plight, brought over two Creek men to German-speaking Europe in 1720 and organized paid exhibitions of the two men. These Creeks are the first recorded Native Americans in German-speaking Europe. It is likely that many Native American sailors, especially those serving on whaling vessels, spent time in north German ports in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Similarly, the presence of Africans and their descendants in early modern German-speaking Europe was largely limited to several hundred people at any one time. They concentrated almost entirely in princely and other noble courts and elite merchants' households where they served as servants, musicians, and soldiers. Some may have been de facto or de jure slaves and almost all of them reached Europe as enslaved peoples. Colin G. Calloway, "Historical Encounters across Five Centuries," in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, ed. Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Germünden, and Susanne Zantop (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 70; Misha Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann, "Introduction," in *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250-1914*, ed. Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 3; Anne Kuhlmann, "Ambiguous Duty: Black Servants at German Ancien Régime Courts," in Honeck, Klimke, and Kuhlmann, *Germany and the Black Diaspora*, 58, 60, 63-64; Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "There Are No Slaves in Prussia?," trans. Elizabeth Bredeck in *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680-1850*, ed. Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2016), 111-113, 118-121; Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "Verhandelte (Un-)Freiheit: Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft und innereuropäischer Wissentransfer am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43, no. 2 (July-September 2017): 349; David Northrup, *Africa's Discovery of Europe*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 120, 124-125.

[22] For examples of studies highlighting German-Native American alliance building, see Philip Otterness, "The Palatine Immigrants of 1710 and the Native Americans," in *A Peculiar Mixtures: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, ed. Jan Stievermann and Oliver Scheidling (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 58-82; James W. Paxton, "Kinship, Communities and Covenant Chains: Mohawks and Palatines in New York and Upper Canada, 1712-1830" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 2006); David L. Preston, *The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2009), 61-115, 178-215; David L. Preston, "'We intend to live our lifetime as brothers,' Palatine and Iroquois Communities in the Mohawk Valley," *New York History* 89, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 179-189. For a detailed study of South Asian mission workers and their relations with German Lutheran missionaries in India, see Heike Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India: The Local Co-workers of the Tranquebar Mission, 18th to 19th Centuries*, trans. Rekha V. Rajan (New York: Routledge, 2018).

Europeans' threats.[23] Some German colonists forged close social, religious, and familial ties with indigenous peoples and even sought to preserve indigenous claims' to lands.[24] Yet many more, with or without British state support, sought to make their own claims in indigenous territory and to push Native Americans farther into the continent's interior.

Germans within British North America also expanded the reach of slavery and supported the plantation complex in the British Atlantic. They carried enslaved peoples to the empire's western reaches, where they settled by the thousands in state-planned communities. German colonists' surplus foodstuffs, from the Mohawk River valley in New York to the banks of the Savannah River in Georgia and South Carolina, frequently flowed to plantations in the Caribbean and lower South. These growing streams of cheap calories enabled planters to concentrate their lands and their enslaved laborers' efforts on producing cash crops and expanding their numbers of slaves.[25] German merchants residing in British ports around the Atlantic marketed these

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[23] Ethridge, "Introduction: Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone," 1-62; Allan Greer, *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires and Land in Early Modern North America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1-62; Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 387-409.

[24] Otterness, "The Palatine Immigrants of 1710 and the Native Americans," 58-82; Paxton, "Kinship, Communities and Covenant Chains;" Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 61-115, 178-215; Preston, "'We intend to live our lifetime as brothers'," 179-189; Carola Wessel, *Delaware-Indianer und Herrnhuter Missionare im Upper Ohio Valley, 1772-1781* (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 1999); Rachel Wheeler, *To Live Upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

[25] James Glen, *A Description of South Carolina*, in *Colonial South Carolina: Two Contemporary Descriptions by Governor James Glen and Doctor George Milligen-Johnston,* ed. Chapman J. Milling (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), 45; George Milligen Johnston, *A Short Description of the Province of South-Carolina, with an Account of the Air, Weather, and Diseases, at Charles-Town. Written in the Year 1763* (London, 1770), 28; Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America; Containing Its Natural History, And A Circumstantial Account of its Plantations and Agriculture in General, With the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Commercial State of the County, The Manners of the Inhabitants, and Several Curious and Important Remarks on Various Subjects*, trans. John Reinhold Forster, vol. 2 (London, 1771), 245-246; Thomas M. Doerflinger, "Commercial Specialization in Philadelphia's Merchant Community, 1750-1791," *Business History Review* 57, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 24-25, 39-40, 43-44; S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 148, 258; Cathy Matson, *Merchants & Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 183-202.

foodstuffs, along with an array of slave-produced goods, into the furthest reaches of North America and Europe.

In India, German labor and expertise helped make the EIC the subcontinent's dominant power by the early nineteenth century. Throughout the eighteenth century, Central Europeans enlisted with the EIC or served in other military units supporting the company, strengthening its ranks of Europeans. These fresh troops often arrived at moments of crisis for the company, when hostile forces threatened company possessions and when other Europeans were unavailable or unwilling to serve halfway around the world in what they believed to be an insalubrious environment. German missionaries found themselves supporting company rule through their pastoral and educational efforts, socially disciplining the company's subjects and employees and developing nascent colonial societies along European norms of race, class, and gender. They not only operated the first sustained Protestant missions to South Asia and helped form the first enduring Protestant South Asian communities, but also paved the way for the further entanglement of Protestant missions and the British Empire over the long nineteenth century.

This study of Germans' colonial presence and their wide-ranging activities and impacts beyond Europe challenge prevailing scholarly conceptions of the British Empire, colonial North America, and early modern German-speaking Central Europe. "Immigrant Imperialism" reframes the eighteenth-century British Empire as a transnational endeavor, reliant upon and shaped by German-speaking Protestants. Historians such as Linda Colley and Kathleen Wilson view the eighteenth-century empire as a nationalist and nationalizing endeavor, binding together the peoples of newly formed Great Britain, driving domestic politics, and stimulating the

formation of a distinct British imperial culture.[26] This view of the British Empire fits in with established notions of early modern overseas empire-building as intertwined with the consolidation of metropolitan states and the solidification of national identities.[27] While many scholars focus on English, and progressively more Scottish, Welsh, and Irish hands guiding the empire over the eighteenth century, "Immigrant Imperialism" insists that peoples from across Central Europe also had a hand on the wheel.[28]

Several scholars, such as Mark Häberlein and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, have begun to address the German-speaking and wider continental European presences within the eighteenth-century empire. These studies, however, frequently focus on small numbers of economic and intellectual elites, or individual military units, and do not address the wider impact of German migration on the empire.[29] Stephen Conway's *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans*

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[26] Colley, *Britons*, 56-71, 101-146; Marie Peters, "Early Hanoverian Consciousness: Empire or Europe?," *English Historical Review* 122, no. 497 (June 2007): 632-668; Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, 22-25, 140, 153-162, 164, 167-176, 194, 201-202, 274-277, 284, 332, 338, 418, 439-440.

[27] Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, 15, 29-32; John Breuilly, "Modern Empires and Nation-States," *Thesis Eleven* 139, no. 1 (April 2017): 11-21; Krishan Kumar, "Nation and Empire: English and British National Identity in Comparative Perspective," *Theory and Society* 29, no. 5 (October 2000): 577-580, 588-592; Krishna Kumar, "Nation-States as Empires, Empires as Nation-States: Two Principles, One Practice?," *Theory and Society* 39, no. 2 (March 2010): 124-138.

[28] While scholars like Linda Colley, P.J. Marshall, T.M. Devine, John M. MacKenzie, and George K. McGilvray disagree about the empire's ability to drive the development of Britishness and overshadow regional self-identifiers, they all (and others) accept a growing presence of Scots and Irish within the eighteenth-century empire, including in imperial administration, and their centrality to the empire's operations. Colley, *Britons*, 101-146; T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003); P.J. Marshall, "A Nation Defined by Empire, 1755-1776," in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, ed. Alexander Grant and Keith Stringer (New York: Routledge, 1995), 208-222; George K. McGilvray, *East India Patronage and the British State: The Scottish Elite and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008); John M. MacKenzie, "Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 215-231; Lowri Ann Rees, "Welsh Sojourners in India: The East India Company, Networks and Patronage, c. 1760-1840," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45, no. 2 (2017): 165-187.

[29] Alexander V. Campbell, *The Royal American Regiment: An Atlantic Microcosm, 1755-1772* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); Mark Häberlein, "Migration and Business Ventures: German-Speaking Migrants and Commercial Networks in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World," in *Transnational Networks: German Migrants in the British Empire, 1670-1914*, ed. John R. Davis, Stefan Manz, and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 19–38; Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority: German Merchants in London, Naturalization, and Global Trade, 1660-1815*, trans. Cynthia Klohr (New York: Berghahn, 2015); Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, "German Merchants and the British Empire during the Eighteenth Century," in Davis, Schulte Beerbühl, and Manz, *Transnational Networks*, 39–58; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*.

and the British Empire, 1740-1800, represents the most comprehensive evaluation to date of continental Europe's influence on the eighteenth-century empire. He concludes that Germans and other foreign Europeans were augmentations to British imperial projects, and that continental European migrants Anglicized themselves culturally and adapted to British goals and outlooks.[30] "Immigrant Imperialism," through intensive case studies rooted in English- and German-language sources, reveals that British imperial officials did not move German migrants around the colonies like chess pieces. Rather, the migrants often had a great deal of agency and complex feelings towards their roles and responsibilities within the empire. They used their status as European Protestants and the empire's need for specialized labor to engage in negotiations with British officials. Germans collaborated with peoples from the British Isles to build the British Empire and German migrants tried to accrue advantages from its construction. Furthermore, their acts of resistance caused certain schemes to collapse and the empire to eventually fragment.

A critical reason for historians ignoring or underestimating German immigrants' impact on the eighteenth-century British Empire is the failure to explore rigorously the imperial dimensions of early modern German migration to North America. Studies since the tricentenary of the founding of Germantown, Pennsylvania (1683) have focused on the social, economic, and cultural dimensions of these immigrants' lives: where they came from and settled, why they emigrated, what their familial and social demographics were, what practices and material culture they preserved, and how transatlantic transportation and credit systems facilitated their movements.[31] Bernard Bailyn's framework of the "peopling" of British North America, by which

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[30] Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries*.

[31] Georg Fertig, *Lokales Leben, atlantische Welt: Die Entscheidung zur Auswanderug vom Rhein nach Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert* (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 2000); Georg Fertig, "Transatlantic Migration from the German-Speaking Parts of Central Europe," 192–235; Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*; Lehmann, Wellenreuther, and Wilson, *In Search of Peace and Prosperity*; A.G. Roeber, "'The Origin of Whatever Is Not English 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: The University

economic influences dominated the processes of immigration and settlement, guides many of these works.[32] Yet, as shall be explored in the following chapters, British imperial officials, from proprietary colonies' governors to the Board of Trade in London, encouraged German migration to North America to meet imperial objectives and shaped settlement locations and migrant experiences. The new arrivals from Central Europe also in turn sought to engage British imperial power to secure and protect their claims to land and other property as well as their political rights. German migrants also independently entangled themselves in imperial issues, launching transatlantic trade ventures or squatting on indigenous lands that provoked tensions with Native Americans and other Europeans.

The transformative actions of eighteenth-century German immigrants in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean basins stand in stark contrast to enduring narratives of German provincialism. These accounts routinely point to the fact that until the late nineteenth century, no German polity established sustained overseas colonies or global trading enterprises. Since German-speaking peoples lacked these institutional connections to the extra-European world, they supposedly relied on alternative forms of mediated global engagement. In his foundational work *Orientalism*, Edward Said concluded that German orientalism was distinct from those of Western metropolitan societies as it "was almost exclusively a scholarly, or at least a classical, Orient: it was made the subject of lyrics, fantasies, and even novels, but it was never actual, the way Egypt and Syria were actual for Chateaubriand, Lane, Lamartine, Burton, Disraeli, or Nerval."[33]

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of North Carolina Press, 1991), 220-283; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers.* Some scholars, especially those addressing the 'Poor Palatine' migrations to New York in 1710, address how the migrants fit within British imperial designs, in large part because of the centrality of naval stores production in British officials' plans for the migration and the migrants' lives for their first few years in North America. Andreas Brinck, *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18 Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 53-64; Knittle, *The Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 72-74, 79, 82-83, 86, 89-96, 98-114.

[32] Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Knopf, 1986).

[33] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 25th anniv. repr. (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 19.

Susanne Zantop echoed this view, declaring "that *it was precisely the lack of actual colonialism* [italics mine] that created a pervasive desire for colonial possessions and a sense of entitlement to such possessions in the minds of many Germans."[34] Yet, Germans did not engage with the early modern world solely as "armchair conquistadors" producing literary fantasies, scholarly texts, and second-hand accounts derived from Western European metropolitan sources.[35]

More recent scholarship on the early modern period has sought to recover the global dimensions of German history by highlighting economic ties and information networks. Studies in this vein have described how German merchants invested in everything from sixteenth-century exploratory voyages by the Portuguese and Spanish crowns to the transatlantic slave trade.[36] German merchants, scientists, and Christian missionaries also served as critical conduits for

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[34] Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 7.

[35] Russell A. Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Robert P. Goldman, "Indologies: German and Other," in *Sanskrit and 'Orientalism': Indology and Comparative Linguistics in Germany, 1750-1958*, ed. Douglas T. McGetchin, Peter K.J. Park, and Damodar SarDesai (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004), 27-40; Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire : Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *Der romantische Mythos vom Ursprung der Deutschen. Friedrich Schlegels Suche nach der indogermanischen Verbindung*, trans. Markus Lemke (Gottingen: Wallstein, 2009); Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 17 (quote).

[36] Stephen Conway, "British Governments, Colonial Consumers, and Continental European Goods in the British Atlantic Empire, 1763-1775," *Historical Journal* 58, no. 3 (September 2015): 714-717; Honeck, Klimke, and Kuhlmann, "Introduction," in Honeck, Klimke, and Kuhlmann, *Germany and the Black Diaspora*, 1-14; Christine R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 88-195; von Mallinckrodt, "Verhandelte (Un-)Freiheit: Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft und innereuropäischer Wissentrasfer am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts," 347-380; Schulte Beerbühl, "German Merchants and the British Empire during the Eighteenth Century," 39-58; Panikos Panayi, *The Germans in India: Elite European Migrants in the British Empire* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2017), 6-9; Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority*; Margrit Schulte Beerbühl and Klaus Weber, "From Westphalia to the Caribbean: Networks of German Textile Merchants in the Eighteenth Century," in *Cosmopolitan Networks in Commerce and Society 1660-1914*, ed. Andreas Gestrich and Margrit Schulte Beerbühle (London: German Historical Institute, 2011), 53-98; Anka Steffen and Klaus Weber, "Spinning and Weaving for the Slave Trade: Proto-Industry in Eighteenth-Century Silesia," in Brahm and Rosenhaft, *Slavery Hinterland*, 87-107; Klaus Weber, "Atlantic Commerce and the Rise of Central European Rural Industry," in *The Sea in History: The Early Modern World*, ed. Christian Buchet and Gérard Le Bouëdec (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 66-77. Presumably more will be published on German-speaking Europe's connections to the transatlantic slave trade and early modern slavery with the conclusion of the University of Bremen's "The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and its Slaves" project under Rebekka von Mallinckrodt in 2020.

globally-sourced news and materials sent directly to Central Europe without refractions or relays from metropolitan societies.[37]

"Immigrant Imperialism" explores an entirely different dimension of early modern Germans' global engagements. It focuses not on economic and intellectual elites who remained primarily in Europe, but on diverse groups of transoceanic migrants who circulated throughout the British Empire. In the process I look at how Germans, through their own labor and expertise, helped construct what would become the dominant European global empire by the early nineteenth century. German territorial states of the early modern period may have lacked overseas possessions and global trading companies of their own, but that did not preclude Germans as individuals from having direct and intimate connections with the processes of building and sustaining early modern empires overseas.

"Immigrant Imperialism" examines four distinct migrations of Germans within the eighteenth-century British Empire. Such a range of cases makes it possible to explore the

[37] Rainald Becker, *Nordamerika aus süddeutscher Perspektive. Die Neue Welt in der gelehrten Kommunikation des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012); Ulrike Gleixner, "Expansive Frömmigkeit. Raum und Erfahrung im Netzwerk der hallischen Indienmission Mission," in *"Aus Gottes Wort und eigener Erfahrung gezeiget." Erfahrung—Glauben, Erkennen und Handeln im Pietismus. Beiträge zum III. Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung*, ed. Christian Soboth and Udo Sträter, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2012), 851-861; Ulrike Gleixner, "Fürstäbtissin, Patronage und protestantische Indienmission. Das Stiften sozialer Räume im 'Reich Gottes'," in *Der Hof: Ort kulturellen Handelns von Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Susanne Rode-Breymann and Antje Tumat (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2013), 157-176; Ulrike Gleixner, "Remapping the World: The Vision of a Protestant Empire in the Eighteenth Century," in *Migration and Religion: Christian Transatlantic Missions, Islamic Migration to Germany*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), 77-90; Galaxis Borja González and Ulrike Strasser, "The German Circumnavigation of the Globe: Missionary Writing, Colonial Identity Formation, and the Case of Joseph Stöcklein's *Neuer Welt-Bott*," in *Reporting Christian Missions in the Eighteenth Century: Communication, Culture of Knowledge and Regular Publication in a Cross-Confessional Perspective*, ed. Markus Friedrich and Alexander Schunka (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017), 73-92; Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World*, 88-195; Heike Liebau, "Controlled Transparency: The *Hallesche Berichte* and *Neue Hallesche Berichte* between 1710 and 1848," in Friedrich and Schunka, *Reporting Christian Missions in the Eighteenth Century*, 133-147; Alexander Schunka, "Representing Catholic and Protestant Missions in German Periodicals of the Early Eighteenth Century," in Friedrich and Schunka, *Reporting Christian Missions in the Eighteenth Century*, 169-185.

socioeconomic and geographic diversity of the migrants' backgrounds, their varied negotiations and engagements with British officials as well as indigenous and enslaved populaces, the global range of their presence within the empire, and the various ways their labor and their skills helped construct the empire. The first two studies examine German migrants in South Asia and their roles in supporting the British East India Company's sovereignty. While often bristling under the EIC's employ, the migrants' economic dependence on the company as well as shared Protestant and European identities kept them from actively subverting its agenda. The last two studies center on British North America and the ways migrants sought to expand, consolidate, and occasionally challenge British authority on the continent. These studies concentrate primarily on the migrants' engagements with British officials and their labors for themselves and the empire. Through these activities, it becomes clear how Germans were not merely servants of the British, but partners in its expansions and often instigators of its fissures across the globe. As European Protestants, Germans enjoyed greater opportunities to modify their responsibilities within colonies than the rest of the empire's non-metropolitan work force and engage in tasks and occupations denied to non-Europeans. Chronologically, these studies largely run parallel to one another, starting at various points in the first half of the eighteenth century and continuing for decades into the early nineteenth century.

Focusing on Lutheran missionaries formerly educated and employed at the University of Halle and the Francke Foundations in Prussia, chapters one and two explore the clergymen's evolving relationship with the British East India Company. The missionaries' connections with the company reveal that Protestantism was more than a watchword in the eighteenth-century British Empire. Through the missionaries' labors, religious identity became a potent tool for imperial control and social cohesion halfway around the world from the nearest bishopric or

theology faculty. Chapter one examines how the German-run mission, initially established in the Danish enclave of Tranquebar (present-day Tharangambadi) in southern India in 1706, came to rely on the EIC for logistical and financial support. This aid proved critical as the first German missionaries engaged in a bitter jurisdictional dispute with local Danish East India Company officials. The German missionaries, with the support and encouragement of the Anglican reform organization known as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), established a second mission in the EIC's Madras Presidency in 1728. For EIC officials, the missionaries represented a well-educated and motivated pool of clergymen who could help the EIC fulfill its self-ordained sovereign responsibilities of promoting Protestantism as well as checking Roman Catholic influence within its possessions. The missionaries' educational efforts also offered the promise of a more orderly and obedient body of company employees and potential South Asian laborers. The Carnatic Wars (1744-1763) between the EIC and its French counterpart, the *Compagnie des Indes*, further cemented the missionaries' relationship with the EIC. Each saw the other as an ally in the struggle to contain both French and Catholic expansion on the subcontinent.

Chapter two explores the missionaries' relations with the EIC from the end of the Carnatic Wars through the transfer of the two missions in the 1820s. Starting in the 1760s, the missionaries began to serve the EIC as salaried employees, formalizing some of their earlier voluntary work for the company as chaplains, translators, and school administrators. The British continued to rely on the missionaries' linguistic skills, pedagogical experiences, and credibility with indigenous polities and peoples. Here the missionaries undertook a variety of tasks designed to discipline company employees and subjects, as well as facilitate the establishment of a new racial hierarchy that elevated Europeans above all others. Yet they grew increasingly ambivalent

about the EIC and their relationship with the company in the late eighteenth century. The missionaries felt that the EIC had failed to recognize God's providential support for their expanding empire by the Germans' evangelizing. Moreover, the company's often extortive and bellicose diplomacy as well as its employees' putatively "sinful" activities—fornication, drunkenness, blasphemy—seemed to the Germans to undermine the credibility of Christianity's message with South Asian audiences. Despite their criticisms, the missionaries recognized their dependence on the EIC. They continued to hope that they could temper the company's abuses while continuing to rely on the EIC's influence and wealth to evangelize the subcontinent. While the missions' fortunes faded at the turn of the nineteenth century, they left an influential legacy with a new generation of British evangelical organizations that followed them into India. International Protestant networks, the EIC, and the British state continued to hope that Western-style education might create docile and productive Indian subjects who might ultimately embrace Christianity.

Chapter three, the second study, examines how Germans backed the EIC's claims to sovereignty as soldiers fighting for the company in India. The midcentury Carnatic Wars spurred EIC officials to rapidly expand the company's ranks of European and indigenous troops. Contemporary British officials viewed European troops as essential to ensuring the effectiveness and loyalty of the EIC's even larger corps of Indian soldiers. Unable to legally recruit in Britain until the last years of the century, the company turned to German-speaking Europe. The company struggled to secure German-speaking recruits in the face of competition from rival states and trading companies in Europe. EIC officials nonetheless were able to recruit thousands of Central Europeans who participated in a variety of military operations over the eighteenth century as the EIC rose to be the dominant power on the subcontinent. Their service in India as

well as their letters home sparked new interest in India, and contributed to Central Europe's emergence as a center of Indology at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Chapter four shifts the focus to the Atlantic basin in the first half of the eighteenth century, when thousands of Germans settled in state-planned schemes on the fringes of British North America. These schemes underscore that factors beyond labor markets and land markets drove German transatlantic migration. Imperial administrators' anxieties about invasions, internal subversions, and shortages of war materiel motivated them to seek out Central Europeans to resettle in North America. Specifically, the study compares plans for settlements in the Hudson and Mohawk River valleys in the 1710 and 1720s with the South Carolina townships of the 1730s. In these sites, Germans bent the schemes to meet their own desires for economic security through protecting land rights and establishing economic ventures. By midcentury, British officials concluded that the settlements were failing to fulfill their original security objectives for the empire. The migrants' economic desires meanwhile led them to forge relationships with local indigenous peoples, but then frequently instrumentalize or subvert them as they squatted on lands, fraudulently secured land claims, aggressively marketed alcohol, and expanded the grazing ranges of their livestock herds. Similarly, despite initial shock at the treatment of enslaved peoples in British North America and the belief in the spiritual equality of Africans and their descendants, Germans in these borderlands helped carry chattel slavery into the empire's farthest corners. Yet the migrants' pursuits of their own prosperity did support the empire in unexpected ways as they diversified their home colonies' economies and bolstered the British Atlantic's food security.

The final study, consisting of chapters five and six, examines colonial Philadelphia's German-speaking merchant community and the merchants' role in integrating themselves and

their fellow German settlers into British systems of credit, consumption, politics, and law through their commercial and civic activities. The merchants also helped ease British fears that the growing German presence in Pennsylvania might undermine English liberty or actively support the French in a future conflict. Chapter five details the emergence of a merchant community in the wake of large-scale German migration to Pennsylvania in the mid-eighteenth century. Unlike other contemporary German merchant communities around the Atlantic, these Philadelphians did not come from established merchant and manufacturing families. Instead, these middling men's fortunes rose with that of the city itself, as they took advantage of the possibilities available to them as European Protestants. These opportunities included the ability to secure British subjecthood through the 1740 Naturalization Act. As naturalized subjects, these Philadelphians began engaging in legal transatlantic commercial ventures and using British courts to support their businesses. The German merchants developed customer bases among their co-linguists throughout the Mid-Atlantic, and they shifted their immigrant clienteles' tastes and consumptive patterns towards British norms. Through these commercial exchanges, the merchants bound their fellow Germans to Philadelphia and the metropole through lines of credit, consumer goods, and legal instruments.

Chapter six examines how as the German merchants grew wealthier, they became more civically engaged and politically active. Many became involved in the German Society of Pennsylvania. The organization sought to protect German arrivals from the predations of ship captains and new employers, as well as to provide them with material support and legal counsel to aid their transitions into British colonial society. This chapter also analyzes how these well-integrated merchants paradoxically became some of the most vocal critics of British imperial policy and later supporters of American independence. The merchants perceived the post-1763

imperial reforms as threats not only to their businesses, but also to their hard-earned status as naturalized British subjects. These envisioned threats spurred the merchants to fight for and finance the nascent American republic.

The epilogue traces how these eighteenth-century German migrations paved the way for new waves of German migration into the British Empire in the nineteenth century, where again Germans continued to facilitate the British Empire's expansion. It also briefly addresses how World War I forced a new reckoning with Germans' roles within the British Empire, and catalyzed the erasure of German migrants from narratives of the British Empire in the early twentieth century.

Through these studies, "Immigrant Imperialism" reveals how German migrants' labor around the world helped construct the British Empire and shape its course over the eighteenth century. The British Empire in practice was a transnational project reliant on continental Europeans. These Germans could also bargain with imperial officials as fellow Protestants and Europeans in ways that non-Europeans never could. Germans in British colonies shaped the wider world as well through their participation in settler colonialism, global trade, political revolution, and worldwide missionizing. Their actions reveal how early modern German-speaking Europe and its peoples created global connections and help build an empire—Britain's—long before Germany was ever a nation of its own.

Chapter One: German Lutheran Missionaries, The British East India Company, and the Entangling of Mission and Empire

On July 9, 1706, two young men came ashore on the beaches of Tranquebar (present-day Tharangambadi) on the Coromandel Coast, the Indian subcontinent's southeastern edge. Seven months earlier, the pair had embarked at Copenhagen on the ship *Princess Sophia Hedwiga* to make the transoceanic voyage. These two new arrivals, Heinrich Plütschau and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, were ordained Lutheran ministers originally from Mecklenburg and Saxony, respectively. Plütschau and Ziegenbalg made the crossing not to serve as ministers to the scores of Danes, Germans, and other Europeans living in Tranquebar, the Danish East India Company's primary possession in southern India. Rather, the pastors had come to spread the Gospel to the city and surrounding villages' non-Christian population. They had come to establish a permanent Protestant mission.[1]

Over the first half of the eighteenth century, the almost exclusively German[2] missionaries came to rely deeply on the British East India Company (EIC) for support of their evangelical endeavors. They also came to actively participate in the company's development, bolstering its authority and control over its employees and subject populations. The EIC provided vital logistical and material support. EIC ships carried correspondence between the missionaries and

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[1] Arno Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar: The Story of the Tranquebar Mission and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India Published to Celebrate the 250th Anniversary of the Landing of the First Protestant Missionaries at Tranquebar in 1706* (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1956), 3-4, 7, 12; D. Dennis Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil Evangelical Christians, 1706-1835* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 1.

[2] Of the fifty-six men who served as missionaries for the Royal Danish-Halle and Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge missions, six were Danish, one was Swedish, and the rest were native German-speakers. Jürgen Gröschl, "Missionaries of the Danish-Halle and English-Halle Mission in India," in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vol. 3 *Communication between India and Europe*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Fransckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 1497-1527; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 111; Heike Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras: Pietistische Waisenhaus-pädagogik und englische Appropriationen in Indien," *Comparativ* 15, no. 1 (January 2005): 33.

their supervisors back in Europe, as well as contributions from European supporters to the subcontinent. Loans and donations from people living in the Madras Presidency[3] and other EIC enclaves kept the mission's network of schools and congregations growing and its often precarious finances solvent. The EIC would open its own borders to the missionaries and their evangelical efforts permanently in 1728 through a second mission under the aegis of the Anglican reform organization, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK).

Company officials in Great Britain and southern India saw the missionaries as well-educated and well-trained figures whose ministerial and pedagogic activities could strengthen the EIC's authority. The missionaries helped conduct religious rituals that displayed the company's prestige. EIC leaders believed mission schools improved future indigenous workers' human capital and work discipline. Missionaries' evangelizing might also check Roman Catholic influence in EIC possessions, instill loyalty to the company, and restrain EIC employees and subjects from engaging in drunkenness, gambling, and blasphemy.

The Carnatic Wars (1744-1763) between the EIC and its French rival, the *Compagnie des Indies* and their allied local polities, reinforced the benefits the missionaries and the Company saw in working with one another. The missionaries viewed the EIC as a protective force and a providential tool in the ongoing global struggle against Roman Catholicism. For EIC officials, the wars confirmed the dangers of Roman Catholicism and the need to inculcate Protestantism

[3] In the summer of 1639 Thomas Day and Andrew Cogan negotiated the sale of a small strip of land near the mouth of the Cooum River with two local rulers, Damarla Aiyappa, the Nayak of Poonamallee, and his brother Damarla Venkatappa. In 1640 the first East India Company employees and soldiers arrived to settle the site, what they would call Madras, and establish a fortified factory. By 1652, company leaders named the settlement as a presidency city, giving its local company leadership control over other company enclaves and factories throughout southern and eastern India. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Madras was the company's primary settlement in South Asia. Elizabeth Susan Alexander, "Social and Political History of Madras in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: An Overview," in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vol. 1, *The Danish-Halle and the English-Halle Mission*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 296; Charles Thomas Nagy, *Catholic Shrines in Chennai, India: The Politics of Renewal and Apostolic Legacy* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 15.

for the security and stability of the company's possessions. The conflicts also served as a crucible wherein the German missionaries proved their loyalty to the EIC, and their willingness to take on roles as chaplains on behalf of the company and British armed forces that went beyond their primary objective of proselytizing indigenous non-Christians.

These German missionaries, their local mission workers, and their international Protestant backers viewed the work in India as building the Kingdom of God. Yet, while attempting to build this spiritual kingdom, the missionaries were also increasingly bound to the British Empire in India. Their efforts to build Christian communities around the subcontinent would also ideally prepare congregants to serve as obedient, skilled laborers for the company, and to accept the racial and gender norms of emerging British colonial society.

Starting in the mid-twentieth century, scholars began to frame the Royal Danish-Halle and SPCK missionaries as non-colonial actors. East German missionary and missiology professor, Arno Lehmann's, and Anglican missionary and bishop of Tirunelveli, Stephen Neill's accounts emphasize the eighteenth-century missionaries' origins in countries without overseas empires. They also note that a multinational, ecumenical network of Germans, Danes, Britons, and others joined together to spread the Gospel through these two missions.[4] The missions' multinationalism and ecumenical structure resonated in a moment of consolidating nondenominational mission movements (Neill was an early leader of the World Council of Churches) and post-World War II waves of decolonization. Here were ostensible examples of how global Christian proselytization could be done independently of European state power.

Subsequent generations of historians, missiologists, and religious studies scholars have continued to make the case that the early Protestant missions to India were non-colonial or even

[4] Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*; Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

anti-colonial institutions. They claim the missions operated in lands under the moribund Danish East India Company and its successor, the Danish Asiatic Company, as well as for decades before the British East India Company's (EIC) rapid territorial expansion starting in the 1760s.[5] In their view, the relationship between the German missionaries and the European trading companies was limited and often acrimonious. A major factor in the divide between the missionaries and the companies was said to be the Danish and British East India companies' indifference to matters of religion or even anti-evangelical sentiments. Company officials feared that evangelization would undermine their commercial and political relations with the subcontinent's peoples and polities.[6] Many of the missionaries' own writings reinforced this view. These eighteenth-century texts highlighted the struggles by missionaries to convince European authorities in India to assist them in evangelizing, and emphasized how the companies' policies and the behavior of their European employees undermined the evangelical endeavor.[7]

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[5] Robert Eric Frykenberg, "Christians in India: An Historical Overview of Their Complex Origins," in *Christians and Missionaries in India: Cross-cultural Communication since 1500, with Special Reference to Caste, Conversion, and Colonialism*, ed. Robert Eric Frykenberg and Alaine Low (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 50-51, 59-60; Neill, *A History of Christianity in India,* xx.

[6] Jacob S. Dharmaraj, *Colonialism and Christian Mission: Postcolonial Reflections* (Delhi: Indian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1993), 41; Frykenberg, "Christians in India," 50-51; Robert Eric Frykenberg, "Christian Missions and the Raj," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 109; Neill, *A History of Christianity in India,* xx; Samuel Nelson, "A Global Millennium: Empire and the Invention of Evangelicalism on the Margins of the Confessional State, 1688-1745" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2013), 226; Israel Selvanayagam, "Encountering the Hindus: The Legacy of Ziegenbalg," in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vol. 2, *Christian Mission in the Indian Context*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 910.

[7] For a sampling of the Royal Danish-Halle and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge missionaries' complaints, see Johann Zacharias Kiernander and Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, October 11, 1755, Cuddalore, *Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke, Missionsarchiv mit der Indien- und der Amerikaabteilung* (hereafter AFSt/M) 1 B 45:38, *Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke*, Halle, Germany; Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff to Gotthilf August Francke, January 8, 1756, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 45:21; Report of the Year 1757 by Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt, January 1758, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 13:4; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, February 16, 1767, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 56:39; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann and Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, December 31, 1769, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 59:25; Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Friedrich Sorge, October 20, 1778, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 D 19:1; "Extracts from some Letters written by the late Reverend Mr Schwartz to one of his Majesty's Chaplains and another Friend, in 1779 & 1780," Western Manuscripts (hereafter Western MSS), Additional Manuscripts (hereafter Add MSS) 57313, British Library (hereafter BL), London; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm

This line of scholarship also stresses that the missionaries and their supervisors saw their project as independent of European states and empires and acted accordingly. They frequently cite the writings of August Hermann Francke, the mission supervisor and founder of the education complex where almost all the missionaries trained prior to their overseas travels, and of the Royal Danish-Halle missionary Nikolas Dal. Francke believed the mission was for the glory of God and not of a particular nation. He envisioned that Protestants united through their individual spiritual rebirth, rather than by a denomination, would sustain the mission and his idea of universal Christian reform.[8] Dal was the first Danish missionary sent to Tranquebar, and he trained at the University of Halle, where Francke taught. Dal advocated that nationals not serve in a mission operating in lands claimed by their home nation or associated trading company. He feared that in such cases the missionary would gravitate to local compatriots and worldly affairs.[9]

Beyond the context of the German-run missions to eighteenth-century India, scholars such as Andrew Porter and Brian Stanley, argue that missions and the British Empire were more often at cross-purposes with one another and frequently suspicious or critical of each other's motivations and practices. They observe that many mission societies and their employees

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Pasche, October 10, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:33; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1782, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:4; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1784, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:6.

[8] Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 111-112; Neill, *A History of Christianity in India*, xx; Nelson, "A Global Millennium," iii, 9; For discussions of August Hermann Francke's spiritual rebirth and its influence on his personal life, theology, and worldview, see, Wolfgang Breul, "Theological Tenets and Motives of Mission: August Hermann Francke, Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf," in *Migration and Religion: Christian Transatlantic Missions, Islamic Migration to Germany*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), 48-54; Richard L. Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 139-142; Ulrike Gleixner, "Remapping the World: The Vision of a Protestant Empire," in Becker-Cantarino, *Migration and Religion*,, 83-84; Jonathan Strom, *German Pietism and the Problem of Conversion* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 15-27, 41-46, 48,149. For discussions of global evangelization as part of August Hermann Francke's vision for universal Christian reform, see Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia*, 150-154, 190-191, 193-195 190-191; Gleixner, "Remapping the World," 77; Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 140-143.

[9] Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India*, 1, 186; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 111-112; Anders Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity In India*, 1:188.

avoided seeking the aid of British imperial officials or providing any public support to colonial governments or imperial projects. Some missionaries in the British Empire criticized the racial ideologies that justified imperialism and guided imperial policies. According to Porter and Stanley, imperial officials frequently viewed missionaries as annoyances or complications to their efforts to administer overseas colonies.[10]

Examining the two missions' entire operational histories over the long eighteenth century, rather than just the first generation or two of missionaries, as many other works have done, reveals the two missions' intimate ties with British authority in South Asia. Neill, Lehmann, and others are correct that the German missionaries struggled to preserve their missions' independence and frequently voiced criticism of both the Danish and British East India companies. However, they are wrong to see the missions as distant from British imperialism on the subcontinent. The German missionaries and company officials shared strong anti-Catholic sentiments. Both sides envisioned that the Christianization of EIC employees and subjects would create a more orderly society and eliminate activities they considered "vices"—fornication, blasphemy, gambling, drunkenness. These shared viewpoints helped bind the missions and the EIC together throughout the long eighteenth century, despite the missionaries' and their Central European supervisors' growing concerns about the relationship.

From the earliest years of the first mission in Danish India, the missionaries relied on EIC support to keep the project going, and conducted activities that EIC officials envisioned as important to controlling the subcontinent, its peoples, and their employees. Some tasks, like

[10] Ian Copland, "Christianity as an Arm of Empire: The Ambiguous Case of India under the Company, c. 1813-1858," *Historical Journal* 49, no. 4 (December 2006): 1029-1030; Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004); Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990).

establishing schools for indigenous youths, were already fundamental to the missions. Others, like engaging in diplomatic missions, intelligence gathering, and military chaplaincy among European soldiers, had much more tenuous connections to spreading the Gospel to the subcontinent's non-Christians.[11] Yet, the missionaries found numerous ways, both moral and pragmatic, to justify endeavors seemingly more distant from their evangelical efforts.

My examination of German-operated missions in eighteenth-century India also highlights the centrality of religion and religious figures to the EIC's statecraft and to controlling the company's expanding territories, European employee base, and subject populations. This analysis reinforces recent arguments by Penelope Carson and Philip J. Stern that the EIC was never an areligious commercial institution. Rather, throughout its history the company was deeply engaged with issues of religion on the subcontinent.[12] The German missionaries enabled EIC officials to make robust use of Protestantism and Christian education to express the company's sovereignty as other contemporary states did. Moreover, faith and religious instructions serve as another means of social control and transformation alongside the better

[11] Scholars Ulrike Gleixner and Gita Rajan have focused in recent years on how concepts of "empire," especially around the kingdom or empire of God, and "colony" shaped the discourse of the missionaries, their Halle-based supervisors, and the networks of European supporters who donated to the missions. They have also traced how these conceptions drove the missions' formation and operations. They argue the texts the mission networks generated between India and Europe and their archiving and editing were a colonial project of projecting transformative Christian conversion and eschatological narratives onto the subcontinent. This present study focuses primarily on the missionaries' activities in India and how many of these activities actively supported the British East India Company govern on the subcontinent. Ulrike Gleixner, "Expansive Frömmigkeit. Raum und Erfahrung im Netzwerk der hallischen Indienmission," in *"Aus Gottes Wort und eigener Erfahrung gezeiget." Erfahrung—Glauben, Erkennen und Handeln im Pietismus. Beiträge zum III. Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung*, ed. Christian Soboth and Udo Sträter (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2012), 851-861; Gleixner, "Remapping the World," 77-90; Gita Rajan, "Labyrinths of the Colonial Archive: Unpacking German Missionary Narratives from Tranquebar, Southeast India (1706-1720)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2001).

[12] Penelope Carson, "Christianity, Colonialism, and Hinduism in Kerala: Integration, Adaption, or Confrontation?," in Frykenberg and Low, *Christians and Missionaries in India*, 127; Penelope Carson, *The East India Company and Religion 1698-1858* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2012); Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundation of the British Empire in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

studied mechanisms of military force, legal codes, and bureaucratic monitoring.[13] Mission schools also made indigenous workers more valuable to the EIC, broke down linguistic barriers between company officials and indigenous workers, and prepared the next generations of soldiers, sailors, and servants for loyal service to the EIC. As the century progressed these Lutheran missionaries also supported other mechanisms of imperial control, from serving as company emissaries with indigenous polities and peoples to providing chaplaincy to Europeans bearing arms for the EIC.

This chapter explores how the German missionaries initially sent to Danish India came to forge close relations with the EIC and its employees and expand their evangelizing into British India. The ensuing chapter explores how these missionaries' labors on behalf of the EIC diversified over the second half of the eighteenth century as the company struggled to govern its expanding territories and sought to reorder societies under its occupation. That chapter also explores the missionaries' continual efforts to reconcile some of their activities with the larger evangelical project, and the two missions' influence on later Protestant missions in British India and their roles in bolstering British rule there.

A Tenuous Start: The Founding of the Royal Danish-Halle Mission

The first German Lutheran missionaries to India went out under the Danish crown's orders and operated in the Danish-controlled city of Tranquebar. Yet within a decade of their arrival the EIC and the London-based SPCK became critical to the mission's survival. The limits of Danish shipping and financing, as well as a bitter dispute between the first missionaries and

[13] For examples of the British East India Company's deployment of "local" knowledges to administer and expand its empire in South Asia, see C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*, 1st pbk. ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Danish East India Company officials in Tranquebar over jurisdiction and sovereignty, turned the mission towards seeking relief from British sources. The EIC provided more regular and reliable shipping, as well as access to more competitive local financial markets. The SPCK provided additional material support and helped broker the mission's connections in Britain, including with the EIC's Court of Directors[14] and the royal court. These early interconnections between British institutions and the Royal Danish-Halle Mission laid the groundwork for the German missionaries to operate in British India under the SPCK. The establishment of the second mission further bound the immigrant evangelists to the EIC, as the company retained the right to remove the missionaries from its lands.

At the turn of the eighteenth century and early in his reign, King Frederick IV of Denmark (r. 1699-1730) decided to establish a Lutheran mission to India, a project he had considered since he was crown prince. The king's motivations for evangelizing within the small global Danish Empire[15] were tied to personal piety as well as the expression of authority through the established principle in the Holy Roman Empire of *cuius regio eius religio*. That principle gave territorial rulers sovereignty over their subjects' religion. Frederick IV wished to bring the

[14] From its original charter, a twenty-four-person body served as the company's executive. Originally these men were called "committees" who together formed the Court of Committees with two of the men serving as governor and deputy governor for two-year terms. The unified British East India Company, formed in 1709, continued to have the twenty-four-person executive body with membership limited to those who owned a set minimum value of stock. These men were now called "Directors" and they met as the Court of Directors with a chairman and vice chairman. In addition to the Court of Directors there was also the General Court of Proprietors consisting of all shareholders who owned at least a certain value of stock (in 1698 the requirement was at least five hundred pounds) that met at least quarterly. K.N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company 1600-1640*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1999), 31-32; M. Atchi Reddy, *Trade and Commerce of the English East India Company in India (Madras)* (Ambala Cantt: Associated Publishers, 2006), 41-42; Stern, *The Company-State*, 171.

[15] The Danish Empire at the turn of the eighteenth century included several forts on the Gold Coast in West Africa, St. Thomas in the Caribbean, and Tranquebar on the Indian subcontinent, Norway, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, and Iceland. Dan H. Andersen, "The State of Denmark in 1705," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:81-82.

Gospel and the teaching of true Christianity to all his peoples, to fulfill his duty as sovereign.[16] Working with his German court preacher, Franz Julius Lütkens, the king initially sought Danish Lutheran candidates. When Lütkens was unable to find any willing participants, he turned to his network of fellow Pietists in the Holy Roman Empire to find prospective missionaries.

Pietism was a late seventeenth-century reformist movement within Lutheranism. Adherents believed that despite the return of peace to Central Europe following the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), state-supported churches, and well-educated clergy, most individuals remained superficial Christians, who perfunctorily participated solely in legally and socially required rituals. Early proponents tended to be educated urban-dwellers—lawyers, theology students, merchants—who sought to forge direct personal connections to the Gospel through collective close readings of scripture and listening to edifying sermons that appealed to the heart. Senior Lutheran pastor in Frankfurt am Main, Philipp Jakob Spener became the dominant theological influence in this movement's first decades. His writings offered an alternative interpretation of Lutheran theology, including on missionizing, millenarianism, and eschatology. In his 1675 text, *Pia Desideria*, Spener argued that there was a true church within the larger church, one comprised of people who had turned to God in their hearts and regenerated spiritually. They devoted themselves to live in accordance with Christianity's precepts and avoid worldly temptations. In contrast to Luther, Spener maintained that God would guide this true church into a better state before the End of Days. Furthermore, Spener believed that the Great Commission—the charge from Jesus given in Matthew 28:18-20 to make disciples of all nations through baptism and instruction in his teachings—had not been fulfilled by the Apostles. Instead,

[16] Hans Raun Iversen, "Junctions in 300 Year of Indian-Danish Relations in Christian Mission," in *It Began in Copenhagen: Junctions in 300 Years of Indian-Danish Relations in Christian Mission*, ed. George Oommen and Hans Raun Iversen (Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2005), 6-7; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 3; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 161-162.

Spener maintained an eschatological vision of a Millennium preceded by the conversion of the Jews, the weakening of the Roman Catholic Church, and the reform of the Lutheran Church. This vision created the chronological space to evangelize among nonbelievers and framed missions as a means through which God might fulfill his promises of an improved world.[17] Pietists, much more than orthodox Lutherans, became enthusiastic supporters of global missions.

Joachim Lange, an educator and graduate of the University of Halle, a center of Pietism under Spener's younger confidant August Hermann Francke, responded to his colleague Lütken's call. He recommended two of his former students at the Friedrich Werder Gymnasium in Berlin, Heinrich Plütschau and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg.[18] Plütschau, a native of Mecklenburg, was in his third year at the University of Halle. Ziegenbalg possibly received his invitation thanks to the personal connections he had forged with Spener and Prussian nobleman and Francke patron, Carl Hildebrand von Canstein, while Lange's student in Berlin. He initially hesitated to accept Lütken's offer, citing his youth (he was twenty-three years old at the time), his single semester of university education, and his poor health that had already derailed his theology studies at Halle. Yet his friend Plütschau's acceptance of an offer led Ziegenbalg to agree to join him.[19] The two set out for Copenhagen in October 1705. Thirty of the thirty-two

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[17] Breul, "Theological Tenets and Motives of Mission," 41, 45-47; Jens Glebe-Möller, "The Realm of Grace Presupposes the Realm of Power: The Danish Debate about the Theological Legitimacy of Mission to the Heathen," in Oommen and Iversen, *It Began in Copenhagen*, 161; Gleixner, "Expansive Frömmigkeit," 853; Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 71-73, 77-79, 86-91, 96-97, 237; Philip Jacob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert ([Philadelphia?]: Fortress Press, 1964), 3-7, 76-79; Jonathan Strom, "Problems and Promises of Pietism Research," *Church History* 71, no. 3 (September 2002): 539-541; W.R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (New York: Cambridge University, 1992), 57; Hermann Wellenreuther, "Pietismus und Mission. Vom 17. Bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Geschichte des Pietismus: Im Auftrag der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus*, vol. 4, *Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelt*, ed. Martin Brecht, Klaus Deppermann, Ulrich Gäbler, and Hartmut Lehmann (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 166-167.

[18] Jendris Alwast, "Lange, Joachim," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, online ed., vol. 13 (1982), 548r, https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd118569376.html#ndbcontent; Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 241.

[19] Gröschl, "Missionaries of the Danish-Halle and English-Halle Mission in India," 1497-1499; Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 241-242.

missionaries who followed Ziegenbalg and Plütschau to India prior to 1775, and forty-two of the fifty-six total missionaries who served over the long eighteenth century, also had a direct connection as university students at Halle or as employees at Francke's charitable complex of schools and enterprises, the Francke Foundations. Many had been both at the same time, as Francke offered free meals to university students who agreed to work a certain number of hours in the schools.[20]

The missionary candidates coming out of Halle were therefore both university-educated men with rigorous training in Lutheran theology and a variety of foreign languages, as well as practically-trained pedagogues. They had experience in managing schools and teaching secular and religious subjects to both boys and girls of varied social backgrounds.[21] August Hermann Francke and subsequent generations of mission supervisors, faculty, and directors in Halle vetted potential missionary candidates for their religiosity, their conversion experiences, and their piety. These Halle-based institutions inculcated the belief that to be asked to serve as a missionary to India was a tremendous honor and vital to Pietism's global reforming project.[22] Halle would sustain a pipeline of prospective missionaries for much of the eighteenth century, whereas Danish and later British candidates would be rare. The screening and diverse training at Halle helped the India-bound evangelizers in their spiritual labors, and made them appealing teachers and linguists that EIC officials and employees sought out in subsequent years.

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[20] Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia*, 168-169; Gröschl, "Missionaries of the Danish-Halle and English-Halle Mission in India," 1497-1527; Anthony La Vopa, *Grace, Talent, and Merit: Poor Students, Clerical Careers, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 38-39.

[21] Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia*, 154-158; Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 122-123; Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 61; Wellenreuther, "Pietismus und Mission," 170.

[22] Missionary candidates enjoyed elaborate send-off celebrations at the Francke Foundations. When candidate Christian Wilhelm Gericke departed Halle in 1765 the Francke Foundations organized a day-long fete which included orations and an original farewell poem composed by Gericke's fellow preceptors at the Francke Foundations' school for girls. Farewell Poem by Preceptor of the Girls School of the Orphanage for Christian Wilhelm Gericke on his Departure to Cuddalore, July 27, 1765, Halle, AFSt/M 2 K 16:10.

Heinrich Plütschau and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg needed all their mettle, education, and training to establish the mission in southern India. Some challenges they anticipated, like the struggle to learn local languages and cultures. Others were more unexpected, like their dispute with local Danish East India Company officials over whether the Danish company enjoyed authority and jurisdiction over them. The missionaries struggled to preserve their independence from the local Danish colonial authorities, which they may have seen as a matter of prestige as they were royally-appointed missionaries or as a practical necessity to missionize effectively with limited interference. The first missionaries also constantly labored to secure funds and loans to maintain their new schools and congregation, they turned to local British East India Company employees and officials for support.

Tranquebar, where Plütschau and Ziegenbalg arrived in the summer of 1706, was the most populous municipality under Danish East India Company control. The first Danish East India Company secured its use in 1620 from the Nayaka of Tanjore (present-day Thanjavur), Raghunatha. Raghunatha allowed the Danes to trade within Tanjore lands, collect customs duties in the town, and erect a fortification as well. In exchange, the Danes had to pay an annual rent. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the settlement had some six thousand residents and about twice that number lived in the surrounding villages that were also under Danish control. Tranquebar's European Quarter was placed just outside the fortification of Dansborg.[23]

The vast majority of Tranquebar's inhabitants were Tamils. Tamil was and remains one of the most widely spoken languages in southern India. A part of the Dravidian language family,

[23] Daniel Jeyaraj, "Colonialism and Mission in Tranquebar—Their Relationship to the 'Hindus'," in Oommen and Iversen, *It Began in Copenhagen*, 101; Martin Krieger, "Tranquebar in 1706," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:149, 157; Heike Liebau, "Country Priests, Catechists, and Schoolmasters as Cultural, Religious, and Social Middlemen in the Context of the Tranquebar Mission" in Frykenberg and Low, *Christians and Missionaries in India*, 72.

it is the oldest of the southern Dravidian languages, with evidence of written literature from the first century BCE. Jainism and Buddhism were practiced extensively throughout the Dravidian-speaking south following their emergences in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. Starting in the fourth century CE, the Pallava dynasty that ruled an increasing portion of southern India until its collapse in the ninth century, encouraged Brahmanical Hinduism and invited brahmins from northern India to resettle in their territories. The texts and deities brahmins brought south during these centuries became connected with southern Indian deities and religious narratives. Pallava and later regional rulers embraced Hindu rituals of sacrifice and donations to legitimize their reigns, cement their power-sharing with local notables, and further their support among brahmin religious authorities.[24]

Between the sixth and tenth centuries, a new form of Hinduism also spread throughout Tamil-speaking areas, *bhakti* or devotional Hinduism. *Bhakti* centered on hymns and collective religious practice, as well as deemphasized castes, priests, and earlier rituals. The movement enjoyed widespread support across Tamil-speaking India. Again, Pallava and their successor Chola rulers, adopted *bhakti* ideas and practices into their rituals of statecraft and into the liturgies of many Hindu temples they supported. While *bhakti* employed a rhetoric of equality, Pallava and Chola rulers embraced the movement to consolidate their rule, which included the enforcement of a solidifying caste system in southern India. By the eighth century, castes roughly fell into broad categories of brahmins, non-brahmins, and pariah groupings. *Bhakti* adherents and other Hindus also pushed for the conversion or removal of Jains and Buddhists

[24] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India*, The New Cambridge History of India, part 3 vol. 1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 152, 154; Noboru Karashima, "Kingship and Statecraft," in *A Concise History of South India: Issues and Interpretations*, ed. Noboru Karashima (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 89-91; David Shulman, *Tamil: A Biography* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 2, 5, 21; N. Subrahmanian, *Tamil Social History*, vol. 2, *A.D. 600-c. A.D. 1800* (Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 1999), 1-2.

from Tamil society. These two long-term religious developments led almost all Tamils to practice a form of Hindu worship by the time of European contact with the region.[25]

Tranquebar, like many other eighteenth-century Indian coastal towns and cities, also contained a sizable Eurasian population. In the early eighteenth century, most of southern India's Eurasian population was Indo-Portuguese, a reflection of the centuries' long Portuguese presence in the region and the Portuguese's long-standing promotion of marriages and domestic partnerships between Portuguese men and indigenous women that started after the Portuguese conquest of Goa in 1510. As the Portuguese gained footholds on the subcontinent in the early sixteenth century, they encouraged the spread of Catholicism and invited Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and other religious orders to missionize. The Dutch takeover of numerous Portuguese factories and enclaves in southern India, including Pulicat, Cranganore (present-day Kodungallur), Cochin (present-day Kochi), and Nagapatnam (also now spelled Nagapattinam), in the mid-seventeenth century disrupted the Catholic missionization of southern India. The diminished Portuguese Empire provided fewer resources and fewer clergy to southern India. The limited number of European Roman Catholic priests in southern India concentrated their efforts on converting Thomasist Christians as well as preserving Roman Catholicism among their dispersed Eurasian and Indian flocks.[26] Indo-Portuguese's Catholic faith was an issue that

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[25] Arun W. Jones, *Missionary Christianity and Local Religion: American Evangelicalism in North India, 1836-1870* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2017), 32-35; Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India*, The New Cambridge History of India, part 3 vol. 1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 10-11; Noboru Karashima, "The *Bhakti* Movement," in Karashima, *A Concise History of South India*, 109, 112-113, 113n36, Noboru Karashima, "Religion and Society," in Karashima, *A Concise History of South India*, 147, 149.

[26] The Capuchin Mission Unit, *India and Its Missions* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), 87-89, 94-96, 101, 125-126; Iversen, "Junctions in 300 Year of Indian-Danish Relations in Christian Mission," 6; Francis Marottikaparambil, "Latin Christianity in India (Beginning to the Establishment of Hierarchy)," in *Indian Christianity*, ed. A.V. Afonso (New Delhi: Project of History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture, Center for Studies in Civilizations, 2009), 62-64; A. Mathias Mundadan, "Church and Missionary Works on Indo-Portuguese History," in *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, ed. John Correia-Afonso (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1991), 2; K. Rajayyan, *History of Tamil Nadu, 1565-1982* (Madurai: Raj Publishers, 1982), 90-92.

EIC officials in subsequent decades hoped the German missionaries could address through proselytization and conversion.

As Plütschau and Ziegenbalg began learning Tamil and the local variant of Portuguese, they decided that the most effective way to proselytize would be to converse with and preach with locals as well as establish schools for children. They believed that children were the most likely candidates for lifelong conversion, since most had not yet developed deep commitments towards their ancestral faiths. Drawing on their experiences at the Francke Foundations, the two men implemented a curriculum that included reading, writing, instruction in Christianity as well as vocational training. They also provided the often orphaned and poor student body with material support, from housing and meals to school materials. While the missionaries did not have university students to draw upon to help tutor younger students, they did have their more experienced pupils help oversee and teach their newer ones. Like Francke, they hoped that the pupils they converted to true Christianity would become spiritual and civic leaders who would guide the faith's expansion and wider social reform around the region. More practically, the missionaries hoped graduates might fill needed religious and technical positions within the growing network of rural congregations, schools, and mission stations, severing as catechists, cooks, sextons, and schoolteachers.[27]

The Lutheran-run institutions became noted for their wide-ranging curricula, their presence even at the village level, and their openness to peoples from a range of caste and

[27] Lehmann, *It Began in Tranquebar*, 11; Heike Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India: The Local Co-workers of Tranquebar Mission, 18th to 19th Centuries*, trans. Rekha V. Rajan (New York: Routledge, 2018), 101, 134; Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 34, 36, 39; James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 23; Ulla Sandgren, *The Tamil New Testament and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg: A Short Study of Some Tamil Translations of the New Testament; The Imprisonment of Ziegenbalg 19.11.1708-26.3.1709* (Uppsala: Swedish Institution of Missionary Research, 1991), 92; Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 243, 245; Peter Vethanayagamony, *It Began at Madras: The Eighteenth Century Lutheran-Anglican Ecumenical Ventures in Mission and Benjamin Schultze* (Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2010), 85-87.

spiritual backgrounds, so long as they were Christians or preparing for conversion. Ziegenbalg, Plütschau, and several of their later colleagues in Tranquebar had little success co-opting local schools and schoolteachers into the mission. While the German missionaries abandoned this plan by 1727, they did adopt some practices from local Indian schools, including having students conduct writing and arithmetic problems in the sand, either in copying a lesson or responding to a question from an instructor or more experienced student. But local Tamil schools could not match the breadth of subjects that the missionaries offered.[28]

Roman Catholic clergy struggled to provide the range of educational institutions and curricular diversity as their Protestant counterparts in southern India. Catholic educational institutions in southern India were often seminaries designed for male pupils committed to entering the priesthood. Roman Catholic clergy tended to devote their energies more towards pastoral care for their congregants rather than operating networks of schools. This emphasis was understandable given the size and geographic distribution of Roman Catholics in southern India. The Jesuit Madurai Mission in the late seventeenth century had nineteen priests to care for about one hundred fifty thousand Roman Catholics scattered across a half-dozen polities.[29] While the German missionaries established their own special seminary in Tranquebar in 1716 to prepare schoolteachers, catechists, and pastors, most of their schools were intended to instruct pupils to

[28] Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 34-35, 38-39. Kanapati Vattiyar was one local schoolmaster who did convert to Protestantism (in October 1709) and worked with the Royal Danish-Halle Mission as a copyist and teacher. His father had been Ziegenbalg's first tutor in Tamil and the teacher who initially oversaw the Royal Danish-Halle Mission's first Tamil-language school. Despite working for the mission, the elder Vattiyar never converted and was greatly upset by his son's conversion. Kanapait Vattiyar would later convert to Roman Catholicism before reverting back to the Shaivite Hinduism he practiced early in his life. Richard Fox Young and Daniel Jeyaraj, "Singer of the 'Sovereign Lord': Hindu Pietism and Christian *Bhakti* in the Conversions of Kanapati Vattiyar, A Tamil 'Poet'," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 2:960-961, 964-965.
[29] The Capuchin Mission Unit, *India and Its Missions*, 94, 118-119. In contrast, the Protestant communities had a much lower ratio of missionaries and teachers to converts. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts counted 8,532 Protestants converts including 141 lay teachers, and six SPCK missionaries, when the organization took over the German-operated SPCK Mission in 1825. Daniel O'Connor, "The Church of England and the Mission in India," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:137.

lead a Christian life and prepare them to work both within and beyond the mission station and church. The Lutheran Pietists' willingness to deploy their monitor system amongst pupils, train their own schoolteachers, and occasionally employ more who were not necessarily Protestant, allowed them to establish schools at the village level despite their limited numbers of missionaries. The dearth of Catholic schools, especially at the village level, led some Roman Catholics to attend the Lutheran Pietists' schools and to convert.[30]

Access to education and employment opportunities were likely motivating factors for many of the thousands of Indian and Eurasian converts who joined the German missionaries' congregations over the long eighteenth century. Yet, conversion to Christianity, especially for Indians practicing Hinduism, also meant profound financial and social risks. Protestant converts lost familial and caste social connections and employment, the right to claim inheritances, and the privilege of requesting aid from village and caste organizations. Yet, for people with limited social prestige or economic opportunities under the caste system, including pariahs and widows, Protestantism offered prospects for greater spiritual and social equality and economic support. Converts were eligible to attend mission schools and learn content and skills beyond caste dictates. Moreover, most employment with the mission stations, and, to a lesser extent, Protestant Europeans' households was limited to Protestants. These employers generally offered competitive and regular wages that could provide a dependable source of support to sustain a family. South Asians and Eurasians also recognized a mission school education and testimonials from a missionary would make them competitive for employment with individual Europeans' businesses or with European trading companies. Converts could also appeal to missionaries for

[30] Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India*, 101; Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 39; Délio Mendonça, "Protestant and Jesuit Encounters in India in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *Encounters between Jesuits and Protestants in Asia and the Americans*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Robert Aleksander Maryks, and R.P. Hsia (Boston: Brill Published for the Institute for Advanced Studies at Boston College, 2018), 138.

aid in times of acute crisis. The German missionaries observed rising numbers of converts and pupils in mission schools during times of war, political instability, or economic depression.[31]

The costs of running a network of schools, supporting impoverished congregants, and paying the mission's growing staff of housemothers, preceptors, and catechists led the missionaries to seek additional donations and financing, including from sources in British India and Great Britain. Already by September 1707 Plütschau and Ziegenbalg were pleading to their superiors in Halle for more funds to sustain their mission. Even when the missionaries devoted their annual salaries of two hundred reichsthalers[32] (about forty-five pounds) each for the mission's expenses, it was not enough. Moreover, supplies and money from Europe came infrequently as a full circuit between India and Europe by sea was generally a year or longer. And when goods arrived it did not guarantee the missionaries received them, as when a small boat carrying cargo to the shore capsized and plunged a chest containing one thousand reichsthalers (about 225 pounds) worth of cash donations into the sea.[33]

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[31] Jones, *Missionary Christianity and Local Religion*, 127-128, 178-179, 240-241, 245, 250-254, 265, 267; Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India*, 133-135, 138-139. Beyond the economic factors of conversion, some converts to Protestantism in eighteenth-century southern India were drawn to their new faith as part of a life-long pursuit of a spiritual truth, or as a means to recognize or appreciate previous favors or aid from missionaries or other Protestants, or as a response to coercion from Protestant employers or enslavers. Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India*, 137-138.

[32] The reichsthaler was one of the most commonly used currencies in early modern Central Europe. In the early eighteenth century forty reichsthalers were equivalent to nine pounds. The pounds in this chapter refer to the pound sterling. Georg Heinrich Paritio, *Cambio Mercatorio, Oder Neu erfundene Reductiones derer vornehmsten Europäischen Müntzen* (1717), 6.

[33] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to M. Lange, August 19, 1709, Tranquebar, in *Alte Briefe aus Indien: Unveröffentlichte Briefe von Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, 1706-1719*, ed. Arno Lehmann (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1957), 101; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to August Hermann Francke, December 23, 1710, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 177; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to Professors of Theology at Halle, October 10, 1711, Palleacatta, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 182; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to [August Hermann] Francke, October 16, 1711, Madras, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 186; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 46; Joseph Gnanaseelan Muthuraj, *We Began at Tranquebar*, vol. 1, *SPCK, the Danish-Halle Mission and the Anglican Episcopacy in India (1706-1843)* (Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2010), 42; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 181; Sandgren, *The Tamil New Testament and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg*, 93-94; August Charles Thompson, *Protestant Missions, Their Rise and Early Progress* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), 164.

An even greater challenge for the missionaries and their nascent mission was the growing opposition of Commandant Johann Sigismund Hassius and other Danish East India Company administrators in Tranquebar. Hassius and his superiors in Copenhagen believed the two missionaries were under company jurisdiction, as the company's charter gave it powers in India, including to declare war and make treaties that they believed constituted sovereignty. The two young Germans vigorously maintained that they were royally-appointed missionaries subject to the King of Denmark alone and declined to recognize Hassius' authority over them or the mission. The missionaries further signaled their independence from Hassius by declining his offer to work as schoolmasters in the city's Danish school. Hassius was also concerned that the missionaries' evangelizing efforts would alienate the indigenous population, whose labor and trade were vital to the company's financial viability. The missionaries defended their endeavor, maintaining a providential outlook that God would look after them and those who supported their efforts, and denied that their missionizing would undermine the Danes' trade or security.[34]

The missionaries faced an ambiguous status within Tranquebar in the years prior to their formal relationship with the British EIC, in large part due to the same unreliable shipping between the settlement and Denmark that strained the mission's finances. It was difficult for both sides to communicate with their superiors back in Europe. No ships sailed between Copenhagen and Tranquebar from 1709 to 1713. This gap was likely caused by Denmark's reentry into the Great Northern War (1700-1721) in 1710, a devastating pestilence in Copenhagen in 1711 that killed about a third of the city's residents, and the Danish East India Company's declining trade volume. The lack of orders and directions from home led both Hassius and the missionaries to

[34] August Hermann Francke to [Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler], October 14, 1714, Halle, AFSt/M 1 C 6:87; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 163, 166-167, 169; Nelson, "A Global Millennium," 217.

entrench themselves deeper into their respective positions on the jurisdiction question, and to treat one another with deepening suspicion and growing hostility.[35]

Hassius viewed the missionaries as subversives, going so far as to call Ziegenbalg a "Münster rebel," (recalling Anabaptist prophet John of Leiden's violent revolt and brief rule over the German city in the early sixteenth century).[36] To limit the missionaries' threat to the Danish East India Company's sovereignty and operations, Hassius withdrew his previously granted permission for the missionaries to hold German-language services and catechism lessons for the city's German-speaking soldiers and merchants. The following year the local administration, citing concerns that the missionaries were encouraging a revolt within the city, required all the city's Europeans to take oaths that they would not interact with the missionaries under threat of punishment. They also barred Plütschau from preaching in German entirely. The Tranquebar administration also sought to restrict the missionaries' movement, including returning to Europe on Danish or British vessels. The commandant even found cause to arrest and imprison Ziegenbalg and Plütschau on separate occasions. Danish authorities briefly held Plütschau in early November 1708 on suspicion of conspiring to help kidnap an illegitimate child of a Danish soldier and a local woman. The soldier had placed the child in the care of the mission and a congregant who was a wet nurse, while the child's mother wanted the child raised Catholic and complained to local Danish officials about the removal of her child from her. Hassius arrested

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[35] Letter of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler, September 17, 1712, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 247; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, Johann Ernst Gründler, Polycarp Jordan to Heinrich Plütschau, September 23, 1712, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 260; Andersen, "The State of Denmark in 1705," 83, 86; Krieger, "Tranquebar in 1706," 158; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 172.

[36] Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 68-69, 74-75; Nelson, "A Global Millennium," 218. August Hermann Francke speculated that Johann Sigismund Hassius and other Danish East India Company administrators were intimidated or scared by the missionaries' designation as royal missionaries, and that the missionaries' refusal to be submissive fueled the conflict in Tranquebar. Excerpt of a letter from August Hermann Francke to Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler, October 14, 1714, Halle, AFSt/M 1 C 6:87; Sandgren, *The Tamil New Testament and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg*, 108.

Ziegenbalg less than two weeks later on charges that were never articulated, but which stemmed from Hassius' growing fears that Ziegenbalg and his colleague were attempting to subvert his administration through the pulpit, prayer hours, and proselytizing throughout the city. Ziegenbalg spent over four months confined in a room in Dansborg.[37]

Eventually, members of the Danish East India Company and the newly formed Mission College[38] met in February 1715 in Copenhagen to broker a solution to the dispute. The compromise that emerged from months of negotiations did not resolve the question of whether the Danish East India Company's chartered rights gave it sovereignty over the missionaries. Rather, the company agreed that its employees would not hinder the mission's work, and in exchange the missionaries would agree not to harm the company's interests and to preach loyalty and obedience among its converts. Frederick IV sent his own decree to Hassius and the Council

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[37] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to Professor Lange, December 9, 1711, St. Thomas, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 204-205; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 40-41, 69, 71; Sandgren, *The Tamil New Testament and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg*, 95-100. Johann Sigismund Hassius' concerns about the missionaries' German services may have been particularly acute as Germans comprised a majority of Tranquebar's European forces and were almost a majority of the overall European population within the city, which constituted about 250 people in the early eighteenth century. While Hassius may or may not have been right about the missionaries undermining his authority in Tranquebar, they were certainly trying to undermine him back in Europe. Ziegenbalg and fellow missionary Johann Ernst Gründler wrote to Privy Councilor Johann Georg von Holstein in 1713 accusing Hassius of favoring his private interests over those of the Danish East India Company and its commerce, and claiming a resident who had lived under fourteen commandants in Tranquebar declared Hassius' administration to be the worst he had lived through. In the summer of 1714, Christian Benedikt Michaelis, a professor at the University of Halle and a supervisor to the mission in Tranquebar, wrote to Christian Wendt of the Mission College in Copenhagen that formally oversaw the Royal Danish-Halle Mission to inquire whether King Frederick IV might be able to secure Hassius' removal given his antagonism to the mission. Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Ernst Gründler to Privy Councilor Johann Georg von Holstein, November 15, 1713, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 342; Christian Benedict Michaelis to Christian Wendt, August 28, 1714, Halle, AFSt/M 1 C 6:70; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 163.

[38] Frederick IV established the five-member Mission College in December 1714 to oversee not only the mission to Danish India, but a growing network of missions around the Danish Empire, including to the Sami people in Finnmark. Court Chaplain Franz Julius Lütkens oversaw the Royal Danish- Halle Mission for the king until his death in 1712. After that, Frederick IV appointed two theologians to be the mission's inspectors, Johann Trellund and Jacob Lodberg, but the two men struggled to secure any agreement with the Danish East India Company. The new Mission College incorporated not only theologians, but also government officials, including its new head, Johann Georg von Holstein. Holstein was a Privy Councilor and strong advocate for the mission and his presence gave the Mission College a degree of political influence and power that the previous inspectors lacked. Glebe-Möller, "The Realm of Grace Presupposes the Realm of Power," 164; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 179.

at Tranquebar expressing his disfavor regarding the missionaries' alleged mistreatment, detailed in Ziegenbalg's reports. The king asked that the Council provide the missionaries with assistance and assured the administrators that they would receive his appreciation and its associated bounties should they comply with the decree.[39]

The Royal Danish-Halle Mission's Early Connections to the British East India Company and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

To help resolve persistent logistical and financial issues, as well as to find a possible alternative home for the mission beyond Tranquebar, the German missionaries looked to the British East India Company and its staff. Unlike the Danes who remained exclusively at Tranquebar until the mid-eighteenth century, the English had developed an extensive presence along the subcontinent's coastline since the company's chartering in 1600. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the EIC operated a string of trade factories, ports, and fortified settlements. To administer this growing web of scattered enclaves, the company designated three leading sites as presidencies with governors and councils: Calcutta (present-day Kolkata) in Bengal, Madras (present-day Chennai) on the Coromandel Coast of southeastern India, and Bombay (present-day Mumbai) on the Arabian Sea. From these presidencies and other establishments, they exported pepper, indigo, saltpeter, textiles and other goods to Great Britain, and in return EIC ships carried bullion across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the value of the EIC's annual exports was a million pounds sterling, approximately triple the value

[39] Decree of Frederick IV, King of Denmark and Norway to Johann Sigismund Hassius, 1715, Copenhagen, AFSt/M 2 A 1:4a; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 179-183.

of the company's exports thirty years prior. The EIC's exports doubled in value between 1700 and 1740.[40]

In early 1710 Ziegenbalg journeyed about 150 miles north from Tranquebar to Madras, the seat of the EIC's southern Indian presidency. Ziegenbalg's trip was part of an attempt to travel back to Europe to present the missionaries' position in their ongoing dispute with Hassius and the local Danish administration in Tranquebar. During this trip, he met with the EIC governors of Fort St. David next to Cuddalore and Fort St. George next to Madras. EIC chaplain George Lewis hosted Ziegenbalg during his time in Madras.[41]

Ziegenbalg and the other missionaries fostered these connections with local EIC officials and employees. The German missionaries, Lewis, and his colleague at Fort St. George, William Jennings, corresponded with one another about schools and pedagogical matters. Lewis and Jennings helped ensure that the growing mission correspondence and shipments routed through Madras reached the missionaries at Tranquebar.[42] In 1712 Ziegenbalg and Gründler successfully appealed to the Council of Fort St. George for an extension of credit for the mission. Gründler established a correspondence with Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, Francis Hastings after the

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[40] Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 3rd ed. (New York: Cambridge University, 2012), 45.

[41] Hugald Grafe, "Ziegenbalg and Madras," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:348-349; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 124-126.

[42] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to Anton Böhme, December 27, 1711, Palleacatta, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 207; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, Johann Ernst Gründler, and Polycarp Jordan to Anton Böhme, September 20, 1712, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Breife aus Indien*, 252; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, Johann Ernst Gründler, and Polycarp Jordan to Anton Böhme, October 22, 1712, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 270; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Henry Newman, September 23, 1712, Tranquebar, Western MSS, Add MSS 4299 (Birch 1299), BL; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to William Jennings, March 8, 1713, Tranquebar, *Bestand des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Missionswerks Leipzig* (hereafter ALMW/DHM) 10/21:26, *Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke*, Halle, Germany; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Henry Newman, September 12, 1713, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 C 5:41; Lehmann, *It began at Tranquebar*, 36-37; Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 40.

latter's appointment in 1715, framing the relationship as one between a patron and a client needing support.[43]

These emerging connections with EIC employees reinforced what Ziegenbalg had observed when he made his first visit to Madras in 1710: that the city appeared an auspicious site for evangelizing. The Tranquebar mission's growing debts and conflicts with local officials led the missionaries to consider relocating it to Madras. That city, with over fifty thousand residents by the late 1680s, dwarfed Tranquebar in size and potential converts. As a large, EIC-controlled port, Madras enjoyed a greater volume and regularity of shipping to Europe and other Indian Ocean cities. Madras also gave the missionaries more access to resources, from the EIC's St. Mary's Church's Poor Fund to Tamil merchants, who had the capacity to lend them substantial sums of money and at comparatively low interest rates. The missionaries secured several loans from Madras sources in the 1710s to pay operational expenses when they were already in debt, as well as to construct a new mission house and the larger New Jerusalem Church in Tranquebar.[44]

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[43] Letter of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler, September 17, 1712, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 250; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Henry Newman, September 12, 1713, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 C 5:41; Johann Ernst Gründler to Francis Hastings, September 11, 1715, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 C 7:166; Francis Hastings to Johann Ernst Gründler, September 20, 1715, Fort St. David, AFSt/M 1 C 7:174; Johann Ernst Gründler to Francis Hastings, September 23, 1715, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 C 7:167; Karin Kryger, "The Churches of Tranquebar in the Danish Period 1620-1845," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:253.

[44] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to August Hermann Francke, December 8, 1711, St. Thomas, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 201; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, Johann Ernst Gründler, and Polycarp Jordan to Heinrich Plütschau, January 5, 1713, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 282; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Heinrich Plütschau, October 6, 1713, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 327; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Prof. Michaelis, August 12, 1718, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 516; Letter to Mission College in Copenhagen, November 26, 1718, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 516; Alexander, "Social and Political History of Madras in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 298; Daniel O'Connor, "Lutherans and Anglicans in South India," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 2:778; Daniel O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company, 1601-1858* (New York: Continuum, 2012), 71.

In the meantime the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a London-based Anglican reform organization, encouraged the German missionaries to strengthen their connections to British India and Great Britain.[45] The SPCK first became aware of the missionaries' evangelical project when one of its members, Anton Wilhelm Böhme, a Halle-educated pastor at the German Chapel in St. James's, presented the organization with a publication he had edited entitled *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*. The work was a collection of ten of the missionaries' letters to colleagues in Halle that Böhme had translated into English. Following Böhme's presentation, the SPCK established a new committee to oversee a subscription campaign on the Royal Danish-Halle Mission's behalf in late 1710 and made Ziegenbalg and Plütschau corresponding members.[46]

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[45] Anglican cleric Thomas Bray and four friends formed the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in 1699. Bray modelled the organization on the Roman Catholic *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, founded in 1622, that spread Catholicism through publications and schools around the world (including India). The SPCK contained subscribing members, who agreed to make a set annual donation to the organization, and corresponding members who agreed to circulate materials and information on the organization's behalf. By 1712, the organization had eighty subscribing and 370 corresponding members. Many historians frame the SPCK as part of the so-called "Reformation of Manners," that emerged in the wake of the Glorious Revolution in 1688. This phenomenon is seen as generating a social shift in England wherein clergy and laypeople sought to create a moral transformation alongside the recent political transformation and ensure the true Protestant character of English society. Other historians argue that the SPCK and other newly formed Anglican organizations, like the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), emerged in response to the Toleration Act of 1689 that gave dissenting churches more leeway to operate within English society, thus requiring Anglicans to be more active in convincing people to join or remain members of the Church of England. Still others, like Brent S. Sirota, see the Anglican revival, of which the SPCK was a part, emerging prior to the Glorious Revolution and fitting into the continuity of the 'long Reformation' in Britain. Daniel L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 18-20, 23-27; Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 3-4, 10, 101, 110-148; Andrew F. Walls, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Missionary Movement in Britain," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:110-111.

[46] Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 23-25, 27; Walls, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Missionary Movement in Britain," 110, 112-114. Anton Wilhelm Böhme initially sought the support of another Thomas Bray-founded Anglican organization, the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). The SPG concentrated on sending Anglican clergy to British Atlantic colonies and providing books and other material support to Anglican clergy already ministering overseas. While SPG members expressed interest in the new mission and ordered five hundred copies of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, they declined to support the mission at Tranquebar, citing their 1701 royal charter that limited their efforts to the confines of the British Empire. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 103-104; Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?*, 17; Walls, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Missionary Movement in Britain," 109-110, 112.

The mission at Tranquebar was particularly appealing to the SPCK because of the society's interests in global evangelization and the establishment of charity schools, and the mission's connection to August Herman Francke and the charitable complex in Prussia. Since its founding, SPCK members had been intrigued by Francke's work in Halle. The organization made Francke its first corresponding member and invited a pair of Francke's university students to come to London to consult on how the Halle curriculum could be implemented in England. Prior to the SPCK's reception of the *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, the organization had already worked with Francke on promoting Protestantism within the Samland Peninsula in East Prussia and among the Slavic-speaking Sorbs of Brandenburg. SPCK members, eager to learn about the challenges and opportunities of evangelizing and educating the Indian subcontinent's population, also corresponded with missionaries Ziegenbalg and Gründler as well as with chaplain Lewis.[47] Several missionaries, like Plütschau and Ziegenbalg, attended SPCK meetings when they visited London. It also became increasingly common for outgoing missionary candidates to attend SPCK meetings or wait upon prominent members in and around London as they prepared to sail for India.[48]

The SPCK immediately provided material support for the growing mission. By the end of 1711 it had raised enough funds to acquire a printing press, one hundred reams of paper, six hundred pounds of type, a printer to operate the press, fifteen hundred copies of the Gospel of

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[47] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Henry Newman, September 23, 1712, Tranquebar, Western MSS, Add MSS 4299 (Birch 1299), f. 135, BL; Henry Hoare to [Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg], January 22, 1712, London, ALMW/DHM 6/9:51a; George Lewis to Henry Newman, February 1, 1713, [Madras], Miscellaneous Papers, vol. 933 (Gibsoniani 933), letter 115, Lambeth Palace Library, London; Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 23-25, 27; Nelson, "A Global Millennium," 209-210; Walls, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Missionary Movement in Britain," 110, 112-114.

[48] Maria Dorothea to Mr. Saltzmann, August 20, 1716, Madras, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 544; Benjamin Schultze to [Gotthilf August Francke], March 3, 1719, London, AFSt/M 1 H 2:46; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to [Gotthilf August Francke], December 20, 1765, London, AFSt/M 2 K 16:25; Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 113; Martin Tamcke, "Heinrich Plütschau: The Man in Ziegenbalg's Shadow," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 2:558.

Matthew in Portuguese, and Anglican texts on catechization and the everyday ways to practice Christianity. The remainder of the funds went to India to help operate the mission schools.[49] This 1711 shipment began a vital flow of material from Britain to India for the missionaries. Over the eighteenth century, the SPCK sent paper, type, ink, molds for casting type as well as bookbinding materials and tools to keep missionary presses producing religious and educational texts in several widely-spoken languages throughout the subcontinent.[50]

Other supplies shipped were more quotidian, but no less vital to the missionaries' survival and morale. Chests full of beer, wine, brandy, and other spirits, massive Cheshire cheeses encased in lead, oatmeal, gingerbread, tea, kettles, and medicine all made their way to missionaries.[51] The SPCK also regularly sent silver coins and bullion that could be minted into

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[49] "The Charitable Subscriptions upon the Proposal for Encouraging ye Protestant Missionaries, and Erecting Charity Schools in the East Indies, Amounted at new years Day last," 1711, Compton Papers, vol. 2, f. 98-99, Lambeth Palace Library; Henry Hoare to [Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg], January 2, 1712, London, ALMW/DHM 6/9:51a; Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 105; Heike Liebau, "Faith and Knowledge: The Educational System of the Danish-Halle and English-Halle Mission," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 3:1197-1198.

[50] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to King Frederick IV of Denmark, December 28, 1713, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 372; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Prof. Michaelis, September 8, 1717, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 480; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to August Hermann Francke, December 22, 1717, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Brief aus Indien*, 504; "Invoice of Goods shipp'd on bord the Marlborough Capt. Micklefield Com.dr to Fort St. George by Order of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Use of the Protestant Missionaries in East India with Leave of the Honoble the Court of Directors," January 15, 1725, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:34a; "Invoice of Things ship'd for the service of the Protestant Missionaries at Fort St. George and Tranquebar by Order of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on Board the Eyles, Captain Winter Commander," January 29, 1729, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:44a; Henry Newman to the Court of Directors of the EIC, c. January 1731, London, India Office Records (hereafter IOR) H/59, p. 211, BL; "Invoice of Things Ship'd on the Saftesbury Capt. Bookey Commander to Fort St. George and Consign'd to Messrs. Wynch and Howard Chaplains and to Messrs. Torriano and Morse Merchants for the use of the Protestant Missionaries on the Coast of Coromandel in East India by order of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," January 1736, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:52a.

[51] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, Johann Ernst Gründler, and Polycarp Jorden to [Anton] Böhme, September 20, 1712, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 253; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Henry Newman, September 23, 1712, Tranquebar, Western MSS, Add MSS 4299 (Birch 1299); "Invoice of Goods shipp'd on bord the Marlborough Capt. Micklefield Com.dr to Fort St. George by Order of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Use of the Protestant Missionaries in East India with Leave of the Honoble the Court of Directors," January 15, 1725, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:34a; "Invoice of Things ship'd for the service of the Protestant Missionaries at Fort St. George and Tranquebar by Order of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on Board the Eyles, Captain Winter Commander,", January 29, 1729, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:44a; "Invoice of Things Ship'd on board the Dawsonne Capt. Francis Steward Comander for Fort St. George by Order of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge & Consign'd to Mess.rs Consell, Turner, Fowke, and Toriano", January 19, 1730, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:46a; Henry Newman to the Court of Directors of the EIC, c. January

local currencies, as well as bills of exchange. These financial gifts enabled the missionaries to pay off mission debts, disburse salaries to mission workers, and maintain its schools.[52] By the 1730s the SPCK sent out an annual average of 360 pounds worth of goods and cash paid through donations to the SPCK's special committee, two legacies left to the missionaries, independent gifts, and some of the funds raised by the Halle Pietists from their network.[53]

The SPCK's contributions were particularly vital because Danish and German networks could not fully support the missions. Frederick IV and members of the Danish royal family periodically gave personal donations of several hundred reichsthalers to the mission. The king also established the Royal Foundation in September 1711 with thousands of reichsthalers to support the mission over the long term.[54] Yet the lack of shipping through Denmark to Tranquebar meant that the missionaries regularly went years without receiving their salaries from the Danish crown.[55] In 1710 the mission received just two hundred reichsthalers (about forty-five

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1731, London, IOR H/59, p. 211, BL; "Invoice of Things Ship'd on the Saftesbury Capt. Bookey Commander to Fort St. George and Consign'd to Messrs. Wynch and Howard Chaplains and to Messrs. Torriano and Morse Merchants for the use of the Protestant Missionaries on the Coast of Coromandel in East India by order of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," January 1736, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:52a.

[52] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Henry Newman, September 23, 1712, Tranquebar, Western MSS, Add MSS 4299 (Birch 1299), BL; William Jennings to Henry Newman, February 1, 1713, [Madras], Miscellaneous Papers, vol. 933 (Gibsoniani 933), letter 115, Lambeth Palace Library; Henry Newman to Bartholamäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler, January 20, 1720, [London], ALMW/DHM 5/8:22; "Invoice of Goods shipp'd on bord the Marlborough Capt. Micklefield Com.dr to Fort St. George by Order of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Use of the Protestant Missionaries in East India with Leave of the Honoble the Court of Directors," January 15, 1725, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:34a; Henry Newman to [Benjamin Schultze and Nikolaus Dal], February 19, 1729, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:44; "Invoice of Things Ship'd on board the Dawsonne Capt. Francis Steward Comander for Fort St. George by Order of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge & Consign'd to Mess.rs Consell, Turner, Fowke, and Toriano," January 19, 1730, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:46a; Henry Newman to the Court of Directors of the EIC, c. January 1731, [London], IOR H/59, p. 211, BL; Heike Liebau, "Faith and Knowledge," 1197-1198; Muthuraj, *We Began at Tranquebar*, 43.

[53] Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 119-120.

[54] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to a Friend in Kamenz, September 14,1708, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 85; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Prof. Michaelis, October 6, 1713, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 329; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 83.

[55] Between 1709 and 1713 and again between 1715 and 1718 no ships from Denmark arrived in Tranquebar. Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Christian Benedikt Michaelis, August 12, 1718, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 512; Letter to the King of Denmark, November 26, 1718, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 523-525; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 172.

pounds) from Europe, after having spent one thousand reichsthalers (about 225 pounds) for just the construction of a house the previous summer.[56]

The SPCK also coordinated lobbying efforts to secure donations and privileges from the British royal family and the EIC. The SPCK presented Queen Anne (r. 1702-1714), King George I (r. 1714-1727), King George II (r. 1727-1760), and members of their families with specially produced bound copies of various religious works the missionaries translated and produced in India. The organization also encouraged the missionaries to write to royal family members to help secure an annual bounty for their work. Ziegenbalg, while on his return trip through Europe, received an audience with George I and his family. The first Hanoverian king wrote back to the missionaries in Tranquebar in German several times lauding their work and offering prayers.[57]

While these SPCK-guided interactions with the royal family failed to secure a perpetual gift for the missionaries, British royals and their court did produce a small, semi-regular stream of donations. During his visit to London, Ziegenbalg had the opportunity to preach on several occasions, including at court where he secured contributions. Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, Böhme's successor as the German Chapel's preacher and a former theology student at Halle, arranged for contributions to be collected annually during the Christmas service at the German Chapel at St. James' Palace. Royal family members also occasionally sent personal gifts.

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[56] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to M. Lange, August 19, 1709, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 101; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to August Hermann Francke, December 23, 1710, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 176; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg to Professors of Theology at Halle, October 10, 1711, Palleacatta, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 182.

[57] Anton Wilhelm Böhme to Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, October 31, 1715, London, AFSt/H C 229:20; Joseph Collet to Henry Newman, August 28, 1718, [Madras], in *The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet*, ed. H.H. Dodwell (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1933), 198-199; Henry Newman to Bartholamäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler, January 20, 1720, [Madras], ALMW/DHM 5/8:22; Henry Newman to [Benjamin Schultze and Nikolaus Dal], February 19, 1729, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:44; Henry Newman to Lord Bishop of London [Edmund Gibson], August 22, 1729, [London], Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 62-63, Lambeth Palace Library; Christina Jetter-Staib, "Der London Hofprediger Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen (1694-1776) zwischen Halle, England, Indien und Nordamerika," in Soboth and Sträter, *"Aus Gottes Wort und eigener Erfahrung gezeiget." Erfahrung—Glauben, Erkennen und Handeln im Pietismus*, 837; Muthuraj, *We Began at Tranquebar*, 37, 68-72; Thompson, *Protestant Missions, Their Rise and Early Progress*, 169; Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 306.

Princess Mary, second youngest daughter of George II, sent one hundred pounds in 1748 to the SPCK mission station established at Cuddalore in British India. Six years later, her older brother, the Prince of Wales and his wife sent a total of sixteen pounds and sixteen shillings for the missions.[58]

The EIC, at the SPCK's encouragement, began providing formal benefits to the mission as well as its protection. Starting with their first shipment of goods to the missionaries at Tranquebar in 1711, the SPCK secured free passage for materials bound for the German missionaries from the EIC's Court of Directors.[59] Secretary Newman and other SPCK members also requested that the Directors and EIC administrators in southern India allow the missionaries to relocate to the EIC's territory, should they continue to be harassed by the Danish East India Company's officials at Tranquebar. The society made frequent requests to council members and governors serving in the Madras Presidency to assist the missionaries whenever they could. Several council members became SPCK corresponding members following these petitions and letters.[60] The SPCK also kept a steady correspondence with the Court of Directors, thanking the body for its donations to the missions in India, petitioning for the reaffirmation of the privilege to send goods to their territory free of charge, and requesting that specific donations be given

[58] Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Gotthilf August Francke, March 30, 1749, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 K 13:30; Samuel Theodor Albinus to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, January 14, 1754, London, AFSt/M 1 D 3:70; Samuel Theodor Albinus to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, January 18, 1754, London, AFSt/M 1 D 3:68; Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen to [Gotthilf August Francke], January 23, 1755, London, AFSt/M 1 D 3:36; Thompson, *Protestant Missions, Their Rise and Early Progress*, 169.

[59] "The Charitable Subscriptions upon the Proposal for Encouraging ye Protestant Missionaries, and Erecting Charity Schools in the East Indies, Amounted at new years Day last," 1711, Compton Papers, vol. 2, f. 98-99, Lambeth Palace Library; Anton Wilhelm Böhme to Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, October 31, 1715, London, AFSt/H C 229:20; Henry Newman to M. Woolley, December 16, 1726, [London], IOR H/59, p. 203, BL.

[60] Henry Hoare to [Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg], January 2, 1713, London, ALMW/DHM 6/9:51a; William Jenning to Henry Newman, September 14, 1713, Fort St. George, AFSt/H C 229:27c; Anton Wilhelm Böhme to Georg Heinrich Neubauer, April 9, 1717, London, AFSt/H C 229:15a; Henry Newman to [Benjamin Schultze, Nikolaus Dal, Martin Bosse, Christian Friedrich Pressier, and Christoph Theodosius Walther], January 31, 1728, London, ALMW/DHM 5/8:41; William Watts to the Directors of the English East India Company, December 5, 1753, AFSt/M 1 B 42:36; Vethanayagamony, *It Began at Madras*, 44.

priority and space onboard company ships sailing out to India. By securing free shipping with the EIC and establishing relations with EIC officials in their ports who would forward their correspondence and goods, the Royal Danish-Halle missionaries enjoyed more reliable connections to Europe than the Danish East India Company officials they resided with.[61]

The SPCK's relationship with both the Royal Danish-Halle Mission and the EIC facilitated the establishment of a mission to British India operated by Lutheran Pietist missionaries. As early as 1712, during the Lutheran Pietist missionaries' long-running dispute with the Danish East India Company's officials, Ziegenbalg and Gründler asked the SPCK to lobby the Court of Directors and local EIC officials on their behalf for permission to relocate the mission. While the Directors were initially open to the idea of resettling the missionaries, they ultimately concluded that only missionaries appointed by the SPCK could settle permanently in company territory, perhaps wanting to ensure that those who entered the company's borders to reside had been vetted by a reputable British institution.[62]

Gründler attempted to secure such an appointment in 1719, writing through Böhme in London to propose that he leave the Royal Danish-Halle Mission and become a missionary on the SPCK's behalf in British India. Böhme decided not to disseminate Gründler's proposal, feeling that the SPCK did not have the authority or the funds to establish its own mission. He feared as well that Gründler's proposed transfer would spark a massive rift amongst the mission's multinational base of supporters and supervisors. It would undermine the multinational makeup of the evangelical project and make it a decidedly British one. The proposal might also

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[61] Henry Newman to M. Woolley, December 16, 1726, Middle Temple, IOR H/59, p. 203, BL; Samuel Theodor Albinus to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, October 12, 1747, London, AFSt/M 1 E 8:102; William Watts to the Directors of the English East India Company, December 5, 1753, AFSt/M 1 B 42:36.

[62] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Grundler to Henry Newman, January 11, 1713, Tranquebar, Miscellaneous Papers, vol. 933 (Gibsoniani 933), letter 111, Lambeth Palace Library; Grafe, "Ziegenbalg and Madras," 351, 353; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 176-177.

trigger a fractious debate among the SPCK's membership over whether Gründler would have to return to England to be ordained by an Anglican bishop, or have his Lutheran ordination recognized as valid to serve as an ostensibly Anglican missionary. Such a debate would touch directly on ongoing disputes within the Church of England and the SPCK's Anglican membership over what, if any, accommodations within the church should be made to harmonize liturgy and other elements with other Protestant denominations. This debate had become more explosive in the wake of the Lutheran House of Hannover's succession to the British throne in 1715.[63]

Conditions shifted in both India and Great Britain over the next decade to make the German-run SPCK mission possible. Ziegenbalg and Gründler's deaths in 1719 and 1720 respectively forced the remaining three missionaries who arrived in Tranquebar in 1719 to narrow their focus. The arrival of three more missionaries in 1725 reopened the possibility of expanding the project, and mission supervisors in Halle encouraged them to evangelize beyond Tranquebar.[64]

One of the 1719 arrivals, Benjamin Schultze, volunteered in early 1726 to go on an extended preaching trip along the Coromandel Coast.[65] He spent the first half of 1726 preaching

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[63] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Grundler to Henry Newman, January 11, 1713, Tranquebar, Miscellaneous Papers, vol. 933 (Gibsoniani 933), letter 111, Lambeth Palace Library; Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 115-116; Grafe, "Ziegenbalg and Madras," 351, 353; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 176-177; Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras, Being the History of the Ecclesiastical and Missionary Action of the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1904), 184; Sirota, *The Church Monitors*, 143-147; Vethanayagamony, *It Began at Madras*, 158-159, 165-166.

[64] Andreas Gross, "Madras and the English-Halle Missionaries (1726-1836)," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:312-314.

[65] Benjamin Schultze's willingness to make the trip and to reside in British India was likely tied to his growing isolation from both his fellow missionaries and local administrators in Tranquebar. Since the passing of Gründler in 1720, Schultze sparred with his colleagues over his claims to seniority and over how to direct the mission's relationship with the Danish East India Company. Schultze insisted that as the only ordained missionary following Gründler's death he should have seniority and authority consolidated with him. His colleagues Nikolaus Dal and Johann Heinrich Kistenmacher disagreed. They also disagreed with Schultze's advocacy for cultivating closer relations with Tranquebar officials and the interest-free loans he offered to Commandant Christian Brun and the

and meeting with Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, George Morton Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George, James McCrae, and several councilmen. While staying in Madras, Schultze learned that his superiors in Halle were encouraging one or two of the missionaries to investigate moving into another Protestant-controlled city in India to expand the mission. Schultze immediately used these orders and his connections with EIC officials to ask Governor McCrae for permission to reside in EIC territory for an extended period, as well as to establish a new mission-run school in Madras. With Governor McCrae's approval, Schultze set about renting a house for the school as well as posting notices for the new institution.[66]

Schultze believed that to ensure his and his new mission station's long-term future, he needed to serve under the SPCK with permanent residency in British India. That status required the society's approval. While Böhme had blocked Gründler's earlier transfer proposal, Böhme's successor as chaplain at the German Chapel at St. James's, Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, actively supported the idea. He believed the creation of a second ecumenical mission headquartered in Great Britain would stimulate further interest in global evangelization and

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Danish East India Company. Schultze maintained that such a shift would bolster their evangelical aims. Nonbelievers might be attracted to an institution associated with the ruling authority. State power could also be used to control congregants and lead them away from "sinful" behavior. Schultze was willing to use the civil courts not only against indigenous congregants, but also his fellow missionaries. The city's highest court compelled Kistenmacher to make a public apology to Schultze in the wake of one of their ongoing disputes. Colleagues in Tranquebar and Europe reprimanded Schultze for airing publicly internal disagreements. Dal and Kistenmacher and their colleagues who joined them in 1725 believed Schultze undermined the mission's hard won independence from the Danish company, and contradicted orders from the Mission Board that they not seek the assistance of Tranquebar officials lest they become dependent upon them. Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 190-191; A.G. Roeber, *Hopes for Better Spouses: Protestant Marriage and Church Renewal in Early Modern Europe, India, and North America* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2013), 127-128, 131-132; Vethanayagamony, *It Began at Madras*, 144, 146, 148.

[66] Benjamin Schultze to Gotthilf August Francke, January 24, 1727, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 1:16; Journal of Benjamin Schultze about his Trip in Mughal Land and to Madras, c. 1726, [Madras?], AFSt/M 2 H 1:3; George Morton Pitt to Benjamin Schultze, February 24, 1726, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 H 1:5; Benjamin Schultze to [James Macrae], August 5 1726, [Madras], AFSt/M 2 H 1:12; Benjamin Schultze to August Hermann Francke, September 16, 1726, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 1:4; Benjamin Schultze to August Hermann Francke, September 26, 1726, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 1:1; Nathaniel Turner to Henry Newman, November 6, 1728, [Madras], Gibson Papers vol. 2, f. 64, Lambeth Palace Library; [Benjamin Schultze] to Henry Newman, December 14, 1736, [Madras], AFSt/M 2 J 6:4; Gross, "Madras and the English-Halle Missionaries," 315; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 132; Liebau, "Faith and Knowledge," 1198; Vethanayagamony, *It Began at Madras*, 177, 179-181, 201.

religious reform on the island. Ziegenhagen went so far as to suppress the Mission College's objections to Schultze's transfer to the proposed new mission, which might have led the SPCK to drop the idea in the name of comity. The Mission College made a second attempt at derailing the transfer by offering Schultze a lucrative position back in Europe to end his missionary career, but Schultze declined the offer. Schultze received word of his acceptance as an SPCK missionary in August 1728 and the SPCK Mission in India was officially established.[67]

Like the Danish royal house, the SPCK initially sought mission candidates from the metropole but ultimately turned to Halle and Central Europe. The reform organization wanted British Anglican candidates to join Schultze in India, but was unable to come to terms with any. Welsh Anglican priest and SPCK member, W. Griffith Jones, considered going to India, but declined to go overseas after his interview with the organization's leadership. Another prospective candidate, James Christian from the Isle of Man, balked at the offer of fifty pounds as salary and expectations that he would serve long-term on the subcontinent. The SPCK responded to Christian's concerns by noting that Schultze received just sixty pounds a year without complaint, despite being the senior missionary and already having ten years of service in India. Secretary Newman explained to a corresponding member that Englishmen were ill-suited to mission work because they lived in too much luxury to be able to withstand the deprivation and self-denial required of a missionary.[68]

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[67] Benjamin Schultze to Henry Newman, December 5, 1728, [Madras], Gibson Papers vol. 2, f. 66r, Lambeth Palace Library; Benjamin Schultze to Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, December 10, 1728, Madras, Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 68, Lambeth Palace Library; Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 116-117; Jetter-Staib, "Der London Hofprediger Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen (1694-1776), 839, 841, 845; Vethanayagamony, *It Began at Madras*, 4, 176-177.

[68] Benjamin Schultze to Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, December 10, 1728, Madras, Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 68r, Lambeth Palace Library; Gross, "Madras and the English-Halle Missionaries," 317; Muthuraj, *We Began at Tranquebar*, 53-54.

The inability to find interested and qualified missionary candidates in Great Britain ensured that men trained at the University of Halle and the Francke Foundations ran the SPCK Mission for generations. For August Hermann Francke, and his son and successor as Director of the Francke Foundations, Gotthilf August Francke, this connection to the SPCK was one they wished to continue going forward. While the Pietists framed their evangelical work as ecumenical, and emphasized that they were teaching South Asians the basic principles of true Christianity untouched by denominational precepts, they still had concerns about bringing in missionaries without connections to Halle. Earlier August Hermann Francke had expressed that having a mission with ordained ministers of two different denominations would sow confusion, both in the mission's operation as well as amongst converts and potential converts. When it became clear that Schultze would need a colleague in Madras, the younger Francke worked desperately to find a suitable candidate and sent out Johann Anton Sartorius and Johann Ernst Geister, who arrived in India in 1730 and 1732, respectively.[69]

The dynamic of an Anglican organization sponsoring Lutheran missionaries to teach and baptize indigenous people in the Church of England created a series of theological tensions that had to be managed. SPCK leaders agreed to recognize the Lutheran missionaries' ordination by Lutheran bishops. The acceptance of these European and Indian mission workers was likely tied to the organization's desire to continue to secure a steady stream of well-trained and vetted missionaries, as well as to the fact that the missionaries were focused on evangelizing non-Europeans in a land distant from Europe and from the Anglican episcopacy.[70]

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[69] Benjamin Schultze to Henry Newman, December 5, 1728, [Madras], Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 66r, Lambeth Palace Library; Benjamin Schultze to Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, December 10, 1728, Madras, Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 68, Lambeth Palace Library; Andreas Gross, "Introduction," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 2:739-740;
Gross, "Madras and the English-Halle Missionaries," 316-317.

[70] Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 122-125; Vethanayagamony, *It Began at Madras*, 37; Walls, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Missionary Movement in Britain," 121.

Even before the SPCK Mission's founding, evangelically-minded Anglicans and Lutherans had to compromise over how to number the Ten Commandments in their published tracts and Scripture, as well as in catechizing.[71] The German missionaries and their British superiors in the SPCK Mission also wrestled with whether and where the Lutheran missionaries should catechize and preach using the Book of Common Prayer and Anglican catechisms. Starting in the 1740s, more conservative SPCK leaders began to press for Anglican liturgy, rites, and the use of Anglican catechisms, seeing such changes as a logical shift for an Anglican institution operating in British territory. While some missionaries were open to such a transition, and one, Johann Ernst Geister, even proposed the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer in local languages, most feared, like the two Franckes, that such a shift would be disastrous. A change would confuse converts and sow dissension between those practicing Lutheran and Anglican rites or, worse, lead some to adopt a combination of the two. There was also the practical concern that indigenous mission workers for both missions were almost exclusively trained with the Royal Danish-Halle Mission, and were therefore not educated in the Anglican catechism and rites.[72]

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[71] The Church of England held the Second Commandment to be the prohibition of idols and the Tenth Commandment as a prohibition of covetousness, while Lutherans did not include a separate commandment for the prohibition of idols and instead had both the Ninth and Tenth Commandments describe prohibited forms of covetousness. Specifically, one's neighbor's house in the ninth and other property and people in the tenth. Anton Böhme recommended that the text from Exodus 20 be used instead of a numbered accounting of the Ten Commandments. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 108-111; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 56-57, 99; Vethanayagamony, *It Began at Madras*, 49-50.

[72] Samuel Theodor Albinus to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, September 1, 1746, London, AFSt/M 1 E 8:65; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to [Gotthilf August Francke], September 27, 1748, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 K 13:35; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Gotthilf August Francke, March 30, 1749, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 K 13:30; Gotthilf August Francke to Christian Friedrich Schwartz, November 16, 1767, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 55:30; Brunner, *Halle Pietism in England*, 125-127; Lehmann, *It Began in Tranquebar*, 67-68; Walls, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Missionary Movement in Britain," 120. Tensions over the issue of the Lutheran Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) missionaries' potential switch to the Book of Common Prayer lessened with Johann Ernst Geister's death in 1750. Scholars are divided as to whether SPCK leaders dropped the matter, or whether the German missionaries came to adapt to the request. Regardless, by the 1780s, the Lutheran Pietist missionaries serving in the SPCK Mission were using the Anglican liturgy when performing their duties in British India. Brunner, *Halle Pietism in England*, 126-128; Walls, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Missionary Movement in Britain," 120.

The British East India Company, Lutheran Missionaries, and the Building of a Protestant Power

Both the Royal Danish-Halle and SPCK missions relied heavily on EIC support, from donations to shipping, and in the case of the SPCK Mission, for permission to operate at all. Why were the company's Directors and leading officials open to, and often even encouraging, foreign Protestant missionaries to move into and operate within its territory—a privilege the EIC guarded zealously since its chartering in 1600? The reasons for supporting the missionaries and the two missions in Danish and British India were tied to fundamental beliefs about personal faith, religion, and statecraft. The missionaries' promotion of Protestantism, and their mixture of primary, religious, and vocational education in their schools offered the company a means to discipline its labor forces and ensure loyalty.

Some EIC officials and employees assisted the German missionaries because of their personal beliefs in the need to evangelize throughout the Indian subcontinent. The missionaries' commitments to evangelize and to teach local youths intrigued EIC chaplains in Madras in the 1710s—George Lewis, James Wendy, William Jennings, and William Stevenson—who all became some of their earliest British supporters in India.[73] In October 1712, Lewis wrote to the SPCK that "the missionaries at Tranquebar ought to be and must be encouraged. It is the first attempt the Protestants ever have made in that kind. We must not put out the smoaking flax."[74] EIC chaplains backed Johann Ernst Gründler's 1715 proposal for new Tamil- and Portuguese-

[73] Batholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to [Henry] Newman, September 23, 1712, Tranquebar, Western MSS, Add MSS 4299 (Birch 1299), BL; Letter of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, Johann Ernst Gründler, and Polycarp Jorden to [Anton] Böhme, September 20, 1712, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Anton Wilhelm Böhme, October 4, 1713, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Breife aus Indien*; Walls, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Missionary Movement in Britain," 115-116.

[74] George Lewis to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, October 1712, quoted in Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:184.

language charity schools in Madras and Cuddalore. When the Madras schools began to open in 1716 and 1717, Stevenson served as inspector and also oversaw their daily operations while the missionaries were away for months at a time in Tranquebar. Stevenson's return to Britain in the fall of 1718 contributed to these schools' dissolution and the end of the German missionaries' first attempt to work in British India.[75]

Governor of Fort St. George, Joseph Collet, a devout Baptist, was another early supporter of the missionaries and their charity schools in British India. Initially he was skeptical of the missionaries at Tranquebar. He believed the mission's converts were primarily motivated by the material support the mission offered, rather than by Christian conviction. After meeting with Heinrich Plütschau at the Cape of Good Hope while their ships docked, he determined the missionary to be a man of piety, but of little learning and ultimately a Christian of the enthusiastic variety. Despite these reservations, Collet supported the missionaries' work consistently. He offered the Lutheran missionaries not only his own financial support, but also used his position as Governor of Fort St. George to secure the local administration's assistance for the mission schools in EIC territory planned by Gründler in the late 1710s. Collet believed that "the Assistance of Miracles for the Propagation of the Gospell among the Indians now more necessary than they were for its first Establishment amongst the Jews, Greeks and Romans"; and

[75] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to the Mission College in Copenhagen, November 18, 1716, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 464; Barthlomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to August Hermann Francke, November 18, 1716, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 465; Joseph Collet to Daniel Dolins, July 13, 1717, in Dodwell, *The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet*, 155; Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to the Mission College in Copenhagen, November 20, 1717, Tranquebar, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 493; Letter to the King of Denmark, November 26, 1718, in Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, 521; Grafe, "Ziegenbalg and Madras," 360; Gross, "Madras and the English-Halle Missionaries," 312; Liebau, "Faith and Knowledge," 1198; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:193.

that the missionaries' pursuit of the education of non-Christian youth was the "only practicable method of carrying on their Design" of fulfilling the Great Commission.[76]

Others saw assisting the Halle-trained missionaries as part of the company's responsibilities as a state to preserve and promote its desired religion among its employees and subjects. Religion in early modern Europe was fundamental to all aspects of life, including politics and political authority. Just as the Church of England was inextricable from English governmental institutions, so too was Anglicanism, or more generally, Protestantism, closely tied to the EIC. This Protestant character was reflected in the charters that legitimated and authorized the company to operate in the India Ocean basin. Its founding 1600 charter required each factory and garrison to have a minister and for the company's personnel to pray twice a day at a chapel. Its 1693 charter required not only the preservation of Protestantism among company employees, but also the instruction of the company's indigenous employees in Christianity. To that end, a later charter required EIC chaplains to learn Portuguese within a year of their arrival in India and to work towards mastering other local languages.[77]

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[76] Joseph Collet to Daniel Dolins, August 30, 1713, York Fort, in Dodwell, *The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet*, 57-59 (quote); Joseph Collet to Daniel Dolins, July 13, 1717, in Dodwell, *The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet*, 157-158 (quote); Joseph Collet to Henry Newman, September 19, 1717, in Dodwell, *The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet*, 166; Stern, *The Company-State*, 111. Joseph Collet also aided the Royal Danish-Halle missionaries before he ever reached India. He ransomed the ship he was sailing on to take his position at Bencoolen (present-day Bengkulu City) on Sumatra after a French ship captured it off the coast of Brazil in 1711. Onboard the ship was the SPCK's first major shipment of goods, including the printing press. Collet ransomed all the SPCK's goods for three hundred pounds and only sought reimbursement from the society for half that value. Henry Hoare to [Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg], January 2, 1712, London, ALMW/DHM 6/9:51a; Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 106.

[77] "Extract of General Letter to Bengal," February 13, 1713, IOR H/59, p. 196-197, BL; Robert Eric Frykenberg, "The Construction of Hinduism as a 'Public' Religion: Looking Again at the Religious Roots of Company Raj in South India," in *Religion and Public Culture: Encounters and Identities in Modern South India*, ed. Keith E. Yandell and John J. Paul (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000), 14; Jangkhomang Guite, "The English Company and the Catholics of Madras, in the Age of Religious Conflicts in England," *Studies in History* 28, no. 2 (August 2012): 198; Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*, xix; O'Connor, "Lutherans and Anglicans in South India," 777; O'Connor, "The Church of England and the Mission in India," 130; Stern, *The Company-State*, 3, 100.

EIC leadership hoped to preserve Protestantism among its European employees and their households, and to check the influence of Roman Catholicism in its possessions. To further the inculcation of Protestantism among its employees, the Court of Directors shipped Bibles, catechisms, and other religious works, promoted the formation of schools, and approved policies that encouraged the children of Protestant employees and subjects to be raised in the faith. The Directors and local councils authorized cash gifts for boys who could successfully repeat the Anglican catechism, as well as for the Protestant baptism of children of European employees. The Council of Fort St. George required that in proposed unions between Protestants and Catholics, the couple promise before an EIC chaplain that all children from the union would be raised Protestant. Governor of Fort St. George Thomas Pitt's request for a plan to make the fort's entire garrison Protestant led chaplain George Lewis to propose the creation of single-sex nurseries in the city. The Court of Directors also launched small-scale settlement schemes in the late seventeenth century to bring more Protestant Europeans over to India, including offering pensions to poor women to go to India and find a spouse.[78]

Since Protestantism was a part of the company's identity, Protestantism became a means to promote loyalty to the EIC. Congregants at EIC and SPCK mission churches prayed on behalf of the company. These churches also held days of penance, fasting, and prayer to ameliorate God's punishment during moments of crisis, and thanksgiving services for God's providential support of the EIC.[79] Religious rituals also reinforced political hierarchy, social order, and

[78] George Lewis to Henry Newman, February 1, 1713, [Madras], Miscellaneous Papers vol. 933 (Gibsoniani 933), letter 115, Lambeth Palace Library; Guite, "The English Company and the Catholics of Madras, in the Age of Religious Conflicts in England," 190-194; O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company*, 89; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:79, 98, 106-107; Stern, *The Company-State*, 36-37, 112.

[79] William Watts to the Directors of the English East India Company, December 5, 1753, AFSt/M 1 B 42:36; Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt to Gotthilf August Francke, April 30, 1759, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 49:28; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, January 20, 1761, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 50:23.

internal discipline. At St. Mary's in Fort St. George, the governor enjoyed his own reserved seat and every Sunday the city's mayor paraded to the church with an armed guard. Funerals of prominent employees usually included a procession to the burial place that could include the entire government and military units.[80]

The company also assumed that those who were not of the faith or who left the Protestant faith were politically unreliable. EIC leaders believed that Muslims and Catholic Eurasian people, in particular, would have divided loyalties to a Mughal or other Muslim authority or a Catholic trading company. Contemporary ideas of natural law also held that polities of different religions were at war with one another by default. Missionary Benjamin Schultze observed in his travels through Mughal lands that there were sometimes Europeans in Mughal armies, most of whom had deserted a European trading company's army. These men, upon joining the Mughals' service, either publicly became Muslims and allowed themselves to be circumcised, or at least abandoned their Christian faith and adopted the lifestyles of Muslims or Hindus.[81]

The company had a particularly fraught relationship with Roman Catholicism, which grew more tense in the early eighteenth century. EIC officials had long tolerated the faith and allowed Roman Catholic clergy within their possessions. Sometimes they even supported Catholic institutions as a means to encourage Catholics to take up residency or stop their emigration. Company officials provided annual gifts to priests in cash, foodstuffs, and textiles. Catholics made up much of the inward migration to Madras after the EIC secured use of the settlement in 1639. The city also had several Catholic churches before the Anglican church, St.

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[80] Journal of Benjamin Schultze about his Trip in Mughal Land and to Madras, c. 1726, [Madras?], AFSt/M 2 H 1:3; Journal of Johann Ernst Geister and Johann Zacharias Kiernander, c. 1742, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 L 2:1; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:132; Stern, *The Company-State*, 107-108.

[81] William Anderson to Bishop of London [Henry Compton], January 15, 1706, Fort William, Compton Papers, vol. 2, f. 92v, Lambeth Palace Library; Journal of Benjamin Schultze about his Trip in Mughal Land and to Madras, c. 1726, [Madras?], AFSt/M 2 H 1:3; Sir Archibald Campbell, "Extract Fort St George Public Consultations," October 30, 1787, IOR H/59, p. 37, BL; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:133, 330-331; Stern, *The Company-State*, 38, 52.

Mary's, was built in 1680, while Catholics comprised much of the EIC's garrison forces into the mid-eighteenth century. In Madras almost all the skilled boatmen who ferried people and cargo between the ships and the port over the coastal surf were Catholic.[82]

Yet, EIC officials also worried they were keeping a serpent at their breast. They were uneasy with their reliance upon politically suspect Roman Catholics for security and for commercial purposes. Concerns about the loyalty of Roman Catholic residents rose in the early eighteenth century. In 1715 EIC officials in Bombay implicated several Portuguese priests in a conspiracy with local Hindus to expel the British. Closer to the Madras Presidency, the French *Compagnie des Indes* was becoming a growing commercial and political power in southern India in the first decades of the eighteenth century.[83]

To check Catholic influence, EIC officials asserted the company's control over the church within EIC territory. The company insisted that it authorize all Catholic priests operating in its lands and began requiring many of them to take oaths of obedience to the British monarchy as well as to the EIC. At various moments EIC officials favored Catholic clergy of one nationality over another in the hopes of preventing their allegiance to a rival Catholic power. In the seventeenth century, French Capuchins were encouraged to come to EIC settlements as they were seen as independent of the Portuguese *Padroado*. As the Anglo-French rivalry grew on the subcontinent in the first half of the eighteenth century, Savoyard and Portuguese priests were sought to replace French clerics. This claim to control personnel decisions led to periodic clashes

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[82] Memo, n.d., Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 78, Lambeth Palace Library; Benjamin Schultze to Henry Newman, December 5, 1728, [Madras], Gibson Papers vol. 2, f. 66v, Lambeth Palace Library; Sir Archibald Campbell, "Extract Fort St George Public Consultations," October 30, 1787, IOR H/59, p. 36-37, BL; Ravi Ahuja, "Labour Relations in the Early Colonial Context: Madras, c. 1750-1800," *Modern Asian Studies* 36 no. 4 (October 2002): 811; Alexander, "Social and Political History of Madras in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 299-300; Gross, "Madras and the English-Halle Missionaries," 311; Guite, "The English Company and the Catholics of Madras, in the Age of Religious Conflicts in England," 181-183, 187; Mendonça, "Protestant and Jesuit Encounters in India in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 145; Stern, *The Company-State*, 100, 102.
[83] Carson, *The East India Company and Religion*, 9.

between supervising bishops, apostolic vicars, and Madras Presidency officials. Priests became caught in the middle of these disputes. Roman Catholic secular and regular leaders threatened and interdicted priests who refused to recognize their authority as supreme on the subcontinent. A particular concern of EIC officials was that Catholic priests would attempt to convert Protestants, and the EIC cracked down hard whenever rumors of such conversions arose. Disloyalty to the faith, in their minds, would lead to disloyalty to the EIC. The Council of Fort St. George investigated two Catholic priests in 1678 for attempting to convert an enslaved Protestant working for the company, as well as for conducting private marriages without the company's permission. Ultimately, EIC officials concluded that in a time of conflict or crisis only Protestants could be relied upon fully to defend the company and its interests.[84]

Besides instilling loyalty to the EIC, officials believed that the acceptance of the Protestant faith would make believers more "orderly." EIC Directors and officials in India expressed constant concern about employees' lack of discipline. Officials feared that "immoral" behaviors would undermine the company's security and operations. For these elites, their subordinates' bodies and minds wasted away or became corrupted through fornication, intoxication, and gluttony. These "sinful" activities provoked God to turn his providential hand away from the company. In 1676, one Madras-based chaplain wrote to the Court of Committees[85] in London "that your heads would be fountains of water, and eyes rivers of tears,

[84] Letter of Father Severini de Savoy, August 2, 1759, Madras, IOR E/1/41, p. 359-360, BL; Carson, *The East India Company and Religion*, 8-9, 24; Guite, "The English Company and the Catholics of Madras, in the Age of Religious Conflicts in England," 184-188, 190, 192, 195-197; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:133, 223, 225, 227, 234-235, 323; Stern, *The Company-State*, 104-105.
[85] The predecessor executive body to the Court of Directors for the British East India Company.

did you really know how much God dishonoured, his name blasphemed, religion reproached among the Gentiles, by the vicious lives of many of your servants."[86]

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Directors and local councils passed ordinances and regulations cracking down on all manner of "sinful" behavior. Employees could be fined for gambling, swearing, cursing, or blaspheming, and repeat or serious offenders sometimes found themselves banished from British India. To attempt to curb drunkenness, both employees who imbibed too much and publicans who sold more than a daily limit of brandy, wine, or arrack to an EIC employee could face sanctions. Company elites believed that prostitution spread incapacitating and potentially fatal venereal diseases widely among EIC soldiers and employees. The German missionaries frequently observed and ministered to afflicted company soldiers and employees in hospitals. Indulging in these pastimes also often drove employees into debt, and EIC officials feared that employees deserted the company's service to escape their growing financial burdens, or became beholden to their creditors rather than the company. Employees' poor behavior also damaged the EIC's reputation with indigenous populations and neighboring states, and negatively affected trading relationships across the subcontinent.[87]

The Lutheran Pietist missionaries shared a similar vision of true Christianity transforming believers and moving them to lead pious and orderly lives. The Tranquebar missionaries proudly

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[86] J. Talboys Wheeler, *Early Records of British India: A History of the English Settlements in India Told in the Government Records, The Works of Old Travellers, and Other Contemporary Documents, From the Earliest Period Down to the Rise of British Power in India* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co. and Thacker, Spink & Co., 1879), 68.
[87] Johann Zacharias Kiernander and Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, October 11, 1755, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 45:38; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, December 31, 1765, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 55:19; P.J. Marshall, "British Society in India under the East India Company," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 1 (February 1997): 94; O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company*, 48; Reddy, *Trade and Commerce of the English East India Company in India*, 173-174, 448, 456, 462; Joseph Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India, 1765-1858* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 2-3, 8; Stern, *The Company-State*, 89, 101, 108.

claimed that their Tamil converts who joined the city's garrison were not disorderly, nor given to temptations like their European counterparts. When SPCK missionary Christian Friedrich Schwartz ran evening prayer hours with the British soldiers stationed in Trichinopoly (present-day Tiruchirappalli) in the late eighteenth century, he professed that the cases of indiscipline and the officers' use of corporal punishment against the rank-and-file dropped precipitously.[88]

The German missionaries' arrival and their interest in operating in British territory enabled the EIC to promote and preserve Protestantism on a scale and degree never before considered possible. They represented both a significant influx of Protestant clergymen into the Madras Presidency, as well as a corps of well-educated, well-trained, and well-motivated men based in major EIC instillations in southern India.

Since its earliest days, the EIC faced a constant shortage of clergymen. This problem became ever more acute over the course of the eighteenth century, as the size of the EIC's territorial holdings and populations of European and indigenous peoples grew rapidly and the allure of serving as a chaplain in India waned. The company set chaplains' salaries at fifty pounds plus an additional fifty pounds as gratuity in 1657, making the chaplain's compensation second only to the Governor of Fort St. George within the Madras Presidency. The EIC, however, did not raise these sums for over a century thereafter, eroding the position's symbolic and material advantages as other employees' salaries increased and inflation rose rapidly in British India. For adventurous Anglican clergy willing to leave the British Isles, North America and the Caribbean offered much more appealing options as the voyage was shorter, the climate

[88] Nikolaus Dal, Martin Bosse, Christoph Theodosius Walther, Gottfried Wilhelm Obuch, Johann Christian Wiedebrock and Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff to Gotthilf August Francke, December 29, 1738, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 26:7; Johann Georg Knapp to Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann and Christian Wilhelm Gericke, September 24, 1770, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 59:40; Excerpt of a Journal of Christian Friedrich Schwatz, copied by Jacob Klein, 1786, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 17:14; G.H. Lamb, *Memoir of Christian Frederick Schwartz* (Madras: The Christian Literature Society for India, 1948), 21.

(generally) more salubrious, and many postings did not require learning foreign languages to fulfill one's duties.[89]

Even when the EIC could bring clergy over to serve as chaplains, there were other challenges the company faced. Many chaplains, like other Europeans arriving in India, died quickly from tropical diseases and the heat. Of the eighty-seven EIC chaplains serving in India between the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century, thirty-eight of them died within a year of their landing. Many chaplains also elected to leave India after several years or when they became seriously ill. The average tenure of the forty-two chaplains serving in the Madras Presidency between 1646 and 1757 was four years.[90] The chaplains' frequently short tenures in India dissuaded them from learning local languages and engaging with indigenous populations, even when the company mandated it. George Lewis was one of the few late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century chaplains in the Madras Presidency to ever learn Portuguese as required by the company. Several evangelically-minded Englishmen complained to Benjamin Schultze in 1726 that the English pastors never attempted to proselytize to non-Christians, a fact likely tied to their lack of language skills.[91]

Another problem EIC officials faced with some of their British chaplains was the chaplains' seeming lack of Christian virtues or zeal for their positions. The EIC dismissed Francis Fordyce just two years after he arrived in Fort St. David in 1747 for fighting with other EIC employees, including the future EIC Commander-in-Chief, Robert Clive. Chaplains Charles

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[89] Memo, n.d., Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 78r, Lambeth Palace Library; O'Connor, "Lutherans and Anglicans in South India," 775-776; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:356; Stern, *The Company-State*, 105. In 1779 the Court of Directors agreed to start providing its chaplains stationed in India with rent and diet money to supplement their long-established salary and gratuity. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:359.
[90] O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company*, 71-72, 83.
[91] Journal of Benjamin Schultze about his Trip in Mughal Land and to Madras, c. 1726, [Madras?], AFSt/M 2 H 1:3; O'Connor, "Lutherans and Anglicans in South India," 777; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:108, 123; Stern, *The Company-State*, 116.

Long and Robert Palk devoted so much of their time engaging in private trade and holding other company offices that the Court of Directors concluded they had broken their vows to the company and ordered their return to Britain.[92] The frequent deaths and turnover of EIC chaplains left even key EIC instillations without an ordained minister for years at a time. Even when the Court of Directors received timely notice of a vacancy, it still often took a year or two for the Directors to find a candidate and send them on the months-long voyage to the East Indies. On the extreme end, Fort St. David did not have a resident chaplain between 1752 and 1807.[93]

The German missionaries, in contrast, frequently committed themselves to a lifetime of service in India and recognized that learning local languages was essential to their work. They developed texts and praxes to help present and future colleagues master these languages both before and during their time in India. Gründler, who arrived in India in 1709, had studied Tamil on the transoceanic voyage with a handwritten grammar sent to him by Ziegenbalg. Schultze recommended to his supervisors in Halle and London that missionaries going to serve in India devote themselves to learning indigenous languages, like Tamil or Telugu, because few Indians knew any European languages, even the localized forms of Portuguese. Mastery of language was necessary not only to preach and catechize, but to engage in everyday conversations that were necessary to educate peoples about Christianity and its tenets. Schultze's recommendations were in line with his own experiences and commitments. On his outgoing voyage in 1719, Schultze spent several hours each day practicing his English and Portuguese. He also found a Christian Tamil sailor aboard named Christian Abraham Kot, who helped him with Tamil as well. Less than two years after moving to Madras, Schultze had also mastered enough Telugu to begin

[92] M.E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970* (Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1972), 9; O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company*, 87; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:108-109, 281; Stern, *The Company-State*, 116.
[93] Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:156, 284.

translating the Bible into that language. When Schultze arrived back in Europe in 1744, he moved to Halle where he instructed university students and potential missionaries in the languages he had learned while missionizing overseas.[94]

The missionaries and their superiors never implemented Schultze's vision for formalized language acquisition. Instead, the candidates and missionaries developed informal practices to assist in language acquisition. New missionaries devoted hours each day aboard their India-bound vessel to learning languages. Experienced missionaries were expected to assist newly arrived missionaries, particularly in Tamil and Portuguese. Once a missionary had developed a moderate comprehension of a language, the other missionaries would assign him to lead catechization before eventually tasking him with preaching in the foreign language for a Sunday service. After the SPCK established its own mission, it often arranged more extensive stays in London for its German mission candidates before their voyages to India, so that they could also improve their English.[95]

The EIC's lack of clergymen led officials to turn to the Pietist missionaries and request their assistance in providing temporary pastoral care to its European communities so as to maintain Protestant religious ceremonies and civic order. This desperate need for Protestant clergymen and the perceived benefits from the missionaries' aid outweighed EIC officials'

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[94] Benjamin Schultze to [Gotthilf August Francke], March 3, 1719, London, AFSt/M 1 H 2:46; Benjamin Schultze to August Hermann Francke, June 3, 1719, [on the ship Townshed 34 ½ degrees south], AFSt/M 1 H 2:45; Benjamin Schultze to Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, December 10, 1728, Madras, Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 71r, Lambeth Palace Library; Benjamin Schulze, "Unvergreiffliche Gedancken das Bekehrungs Werk unter die Heyden weiter fortzuführen und beßer enzurichten," October 1, 1733, Madras, AFSt/M 2 G 10:4; Benjamin Schultze to Henry Newman, December 17, 1737, Fort St. George, AFSt/M 2 J 6:5; Lamb, *Memoir of Christian Frederick Schwartz*, 4; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 153; Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 245.

[95] Journal of Johann Ernst Geister and Johann Zacharias Kiernander, January 7, 1741, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 L 1:2; Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Friedrich Sorge, October 20, 1778, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 D 19:1; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, September 6, 1787, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 H 9:3; Andreas Gross, "Some Aspects of the English-Halle Mission in Cuddalore," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:384; Lamb, *Memoir of Christian Frederick Schwartz*, 4.

potential concerns that the missionaries might challenge their authority, as they had done with Danish officials in Tranquebar. Schultze periodically officiated at St. Mary's in English when there was no EIC chaplain present. Johann Zacharias Kiernander, a Swede and former instructor at the Francke Foundations, and Geister spoke English well enough that starting in the mid-1740s they conducted burial services and occasionally lead church services at Fort St. David.[96]

Evangelizing and educating Indian and Eurasian adults and children meshed well with the company's own designs for disciplining present and future workers. Since the EIC established trade factories along the Coromandel Coast in the early seventeenth century, it sought to attract and control South Asian labor. The region's cotton textiles became its most lucrative export to European markets, leading local EIC officials to seek out weavers, dyers, washers, bleachers, pattern drawers, and merchants to their settlements. Company officials offered would-be seventeenth- and eighteenth-century migrants with desired skills a range of incentives, from land grants and tax exemptions to housing and support for places of worship. While British enclaves, like Madras and Cuddalore, expanded rapidly, it was not enough to keep up with demand in sectors like textiles, transportation, and construction, giving laborers leverage. In the second half of the eighteenth century alone, wages doubled for most occupations in Madras, and for those in particularly critical positions, like boatmen, monthly wages increased even higher. Workers used their mobility as further leverage, threatening to emigrate individually or in collective caste or kinships groups, or to work in a new sector.[97]

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[96] Benjamin Schultze to Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, December 10, 1728, Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 70v, Lambeth Palace Library; Gross, "Some Aspects of the English-Halle Mission in Cuddalore 1737-1829," 387; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:281.

[97] Ahuja, "Labour Relations in the Early Colonial Context," 797, 816, 818, 820; Ravi Ahuja, "The Origins of Colonial Labour Policy in Late Eighteenth-Century Madras," *International Review of Social History* 44, no. 2 (August 1999): 164; Elizabeth Susan Alexander, "Cuddalore in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Political and Social Overview," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:371, 374; Alexander, "Social and Political History of Madras in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,"

Beyond incentives, the EIC deployed a number of other strategies to meet their labor needs, from hiring contractors and headmen to recruit and oversee workers to enslaving Africans and Indians.[98] In the second half of the eighteenth century, the company became increasingly willing to use its growing military to coerce local laborers, control wages and prices, and monopolize the trade in cloth.[99]

The German missionaries offered other means to control local populaces. EIC officials hoped that Protestant converts would be more sedentary and compliant. This segment of India's population would associate the EIC with supporting its faith. Furthermore, indigenous Protestants would be less willing to use the threat of emigration because they would be unwilling to abandon access to the Protestant churches, clergy, and education institutions within British enclaves.

The mission schools served as sites of control and training in a range of skills that students and the EIC would find useful, like weaving, bookkeeping, and dyeing. Their curriculum emphasized obedience to authority and discipline through a set daily schedule and classroom management.[100] The Royal Danish-Halle missionaries' schools in Madras and Cuddalore in the 1710s, as well as the later SPCK Mission's schools, provided instruction in

296, 299-300; Guite, "The English Company and the Catholics of Madras, in the Age of Religious Conflicts in England," 181.

[98] Ahuja, "Labour Relations in the Early Colonial Context," 803-805, 812; Richard B. Allen, "Satisfying the 'Want for Labouring People': European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 1 (March 2010): 55, 64-65.

[99] Ahuja, "Labour Relations in the Early Colonial Context," 802, 822-823; Partha Chatterjee, *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 83-85; Prasannan Parthasarathi, *The Transition to a Colonial Economy: Weavers, Merchants and Kings in South India 1720-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 88-93.

[100] For earlier discussions of early modern schools and their means of instilling discipline in their pupils, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 141, 147-150, 152, 154, 156-161, 165-168, 172-173, 175-176, 180-182, 186-187; Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia*, 154-161; R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 7, 113-114; Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*, 40, 42.

basic literacy and numeracy. English was always a part of SPCK Mission's Portuguese-language schools and some Tamil schools. The missionaries learned quickly that teaching English was one of the best means to entice parents to send their children to their schools. By learning English, a student would have a variety of new opportunities opened to them, from possible employment with the EIC to being able to conduct trade and business with European communities around the region. Schultze often incorporated biblical verses into his English lessons as the example texts to study and memorize in the hopes of lowering his students' aversion to Christianity and its principles.[101] Teaching English to Tamil, Telugu, and Eurasian children produced a pool of potential laborers with whom company employees could communicate and command directly without *dubashi*[102] and other intermediaries.[103]

The mission schools, like the Francke Foundations' schools, also trained their students in a variety of vocational skills. Students learned crafts that were not tied to their caste

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[101] Benjamin Schultze to Gotthilf August Francke, January 24, 1727, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 1:16; Liebau, "Faith and Knowledge," 1186; Jana Tschurenev, "Incorporation and Differentiation: Popular Education and the Imperial Civilizing Mission in Early Nineteenth Century India," in *Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia: From Improvement to Development*, ed. Carey A. Watt and Michael Mann (New York: Anthem Press, 2011), 111-112; Vethanayagamony, *It Began at Madras*, 201. One German soldier living in Madras in the 1780s noted that indigenous peoples who had means ensured that their sons learned European languages, like English and French, as well as several local languages so that they would be able to fill a post as a writer, clerk, or register within an office of the British East India Company. [Anonymous], "Auszug eines Briefes aus Madraß auf der Küste von Coromandel, vom 20sten Februar 1788," *Historisch-politisches Magazin, nebst litterarischen*, vol. 4 (1788), 992.

[102] *Dubash* and *dubashi* derive from the Hindi word *do bhasha* and Tamil word *tupash* meaning two languages. The British and other Europeans used the term in the long eighteenth century to refer to Indians whose mastery of at least two languages enabled them to serve as linguistic and cultural intermediaries or stewards for European in their interactions with Indians. Heike Liebau, "'Alle Dinge, die zu wissen nöthig sind' Religiös-soziale Übersetzungsprozesse im kolonialen Indien," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38, no. 2 Übersetzungen (April-June 2012): 252. Eighteenth-century Britons ascribed a host of ills to *dubashi*, *banyans*, and other Indian intermediaries, often describing them as corrupt and corrupting figures. Critics and defenders of the British East India Company viewed the company and its employees' reliance on these figures as a troubling aspect of British colonial administration. Bhavani Raman, *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 14, 25-26, 50; Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India*, 30-32.

[103] Benjamin Schultze to Gotthilf August Francke, January 24, 1727, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 1:16; Journal of Johann Ernst Geister and Johann Zacharias Kiernander, January 7, 1741, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 L 1:2; Journal of Johann Ernst Geister and Johann Zacharias Kiernander, c. 1742, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 L 2:1; "Kurzgefassete Nachricht von dem gegenwaertigen Zustande der alheir zu Cudelur, bei Fort St. David, angerichteten Evangelischen Mission," (Tranquebar, 1753), AFSt/M 1 B 43:42; Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt to Gotthilf August Francke, February 15, 1754, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 43:36.

backgrounds. In Tranquebar mission schools girls learned to spin, weave mats, make coconut threads, and knit socks; boys learned to weave baskets, dye cloth, manage account books, bind books, and set type. These crafts meshed with local demand for basic goods, the missions' own needs for skilled labor in printing and other fields, and southern India's position as an export center for the global textile trade.[104] The missionaries occasionally brokered apprenticeships for their pupils, as in 1726, when the missionaries in Tranquebar contracted with a local tailor to train boys.[105] Vocational training provided a way for pupils, especially those who were converts, to have a means to sustain themselves after their likely loss of familial and caste support. For the missionaries it also served to teach children work discipline and prevent them from slipping into what they feared would be soul-endangering idleness.[106] EIC officials hoped these students would be reliable and pliable workers who would help enrich the company and its settlements.

Many SPCK Mission school graduates went directly into the EIC's employment as they sought reliable wages, potentially prestigious positions, and long-term employment. Several of Geister and Kiernander's pupils in Cuddalore in the 1740s entered the local EIC army.[107] Several

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[104] William Watts to the Directors of the English East India Company, December 5, 1753, AFSt/M 1 B 42:36; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Georg Knapp, January 22, 1771, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 B 60:23; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February, 3, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 70:46; Robert Eric Frykenberg, "Modern Education in South India, 1784-1854: Its Roots and Its Role as a Vehicle of Integration under Company Raj," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (February 1986): 41; Liebau, "Faith and Knowledge," 1192-1193; David Washbrook, "Merchants, Markets, and Commerce in Early Modern South India," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53, no. 1 and 2 Empires and Emporia: The Orient in World Historical Space and Time (January 2009): 278.

[105] Journal of Benjamin Schultze about his Trip in Mughal Land and to Madras, c. 1726, [Madras?], AFSt/M 2 H 1:3.

[106] Memorial of Christoph Samuel John to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 10, 1785, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 2 E 27:3; "A short Account of the present State of the British Mission at Cuddalore, near Fort St. David," (Tranquebar, 1752), AFSt/M 1 B 42:48; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Georg Knapp, January 22, 1771, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 B 60:23; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February, 3, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 70:46; Jeyaraj, "Colonialism and Mission in Tranquebar," 116-117; Heike Liebau, "Country Priests, Catechists, and Schoolmasters as Cultural, Religious, and Social Middlemen in the Context of the Tranquebar Mission," 74; Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India*, 135; Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*, 111; Vethanayagamony, *It Began at Madras*, 79.

[107] Journal of Johann Ernst Geister and Johann Zacharias Kiernander, January 7, 1741, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 L 1:2; Journal of Johann Ernst Geister and Johann Zacharias Kiernander, c. 1742, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 L 2:1.

years after he moved to Calcutta in 1758, Kiernander proudly noted that several of his former Indian pupils had gone on to become writers and secretaries for the city's Mayor's Court, the Council House, and Accounts Office, while others had been hired by local Englishmen to serve as scribes and accountants. The missionary noted that with the EIC now controlling Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar there were numerous cities in the Bengal Presidency that required well-educated people. He believed his pupils were ideal candidates for these positions, as they had accepted "the Principles of the true Religion from whence alone fidelity and the best conduct in every respect may and can be expected."[108] The mission schools became a space to produce trained and disciplined youths, who were often Protestant and who could fill a variety of crucial occupations in British India.

Crucible of War: The Carnatic Wars and the Forging of a Protestant Alliance

The importance of Protestantism, discipline, and loyalty to the EIC increased with the start of military conflicts between the EIC and its French counterpart, the *Compagnie des Indies* at midcentury. These wars pressed the EIC and the missionaries into greater interdependence and identification with one another. Members on both sides began to believe that the success of one would facilitate the success of the other. The EIC offered the missions and missionaries protection from adversarial Roman Catholic figures and armed forces. The missionaries became a further stabilizing force for the EIC's war-torn settlements and growing ranks of soldiers, sailors, and low-level administrators. These conflicts also increased the demands on the

[108] Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Thomas Broughton, December 31, 1766, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 56:40; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Gotthilf August Francke, December 31, 1765, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 55:22; Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India,* 43.

missionaries to work with the EIC's European employees and for these pastoral efforts to become permanent and institutionalized.

Prior to the outbreak of the First Carnatic War in 1744 between the EIC and *Compagnie des Indes*, the two companies had been at relative peace with one another since the French started establishing trade factories in southern India in 1669. Officials in India came to an understanding that the conflicts in Europe would not spread to the subcontinent. Relations between the companies frayed in the 1740s as the *Compagnie des Indes*'s new governor, Joseph François Dupleix, began using his military forces to back succession candidates for regional thrones to gain greater influence in southern India. However, when war formally broke out between Great Britain and France in 1744 as part of the War of the Austrian Succession, it was the British government and the EIC that decided to end the local tradition of neutrality and begin raiding French shipping. This British aggression launched what became the First Carnatic War (1744-1748). Two further conflicts following in rapid succession. The Second Carnatic War (1749-1754) started just a few months after news of peace in Europe reached the subcontinent, when Dupleix backed Chanda Sahib, a rebellious former general of the Nawab of Arcot, for the nawabship and a grandson of the late Nizam of Hyderabad for that title. The early successes of the French-backed candidates threatened to surround EIC installations in southern India with powerful, pro-French Indian states. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) triggered the Third Carnatic War (1756-1763) on the subcontinent with campaigns extending from southern India up to Bengal in the northeast.[109]

[109] Bruce P. Lenman, *Britain's Colonial Wars 1688-1783* (New York: Longman, 2001), 70, 75, 90-91, 97-98; G.B. Malleson, *History of the French in India From the Founding of Pondicherry in 1674 to the Capture of That Place in 1761* (London: W.H. Allen & Co. Limited, 1893), 16.

The Carnatic Wars reinforced the missionaries' suspicions of Roman Catholics and led EIC officials to change their tolerant policies toward them. The missionaries came to frame these wars as part of the larger struggle with Catholicism, and many of the missionaries took an openly partisan position in the EIC's favor while expanding their labors on the company's behalf. The EIC in turn saw these foreign clergymen as ever more reliable assistants in furthering the company's agenda and rewarded the missionaries with additional support, including gifting seized Catholic churches for the SPCK Mission's use.[110] These midcentury wars, therefore, created a context wherein the missionaries, who continued to believe themselves independent of the European trading companies, viewed the EIC's interests as paralleling their own, and concluded that mutual support for one another could further evangelical aims and the global, God-led struggle against Roman Catholicism.

The First Carnatic War went very poorly for the EIC. The most devastating of defeats was the fall of Madras and Fort St. George to the French in September 1746. Following the city's capitulation, SPCK missionary Johann Phillip Fabricius petitioned the French occupiers to allow the mission to retain possession of their buildings. Commander of the invading French fleet, Admiral Bertrand-François Mahé de la Bourdonnaise assured him that the French would not hinder the mission's work. Unfortunately for Fabricius, a strong storm battered the French fleet in mid-October and Bourdonnaise decided to move the fleet to Mauritius. Governor-General Dupleix took over administering the occupation and provided the missionary with no assurances of security. Instead, Dupleix insisted that all Madras residents who wished to stay in the city take an oath of allegiance to the French crown, which Fabricius refused to do. Fabricius decided to go into exile in nearby Dutch-controlled Pulicat with part of the mission's congregation. Following

[110] Gleixner, "Expansive Frömmigkeit," 860.

Fabricius' departure, the French razed the mission's house as part of a project to improve Fort St. George's sight range.[111]

EIC officials in London and the Madras Presidency were furious with Dupleix's occupying administration as well as the willingness of many of the city's residents, especially the Roman Catholics, to turn their allegiance over to the French and to assist them. These actions reinforced the company's suspicions of Roman Catholic subjects and led to a weakening of the policy of toleration towards Catholics, their priests, and their institutions in EIC territory.

Following the fall of Madras, the EIC placed new restrictions on Catholics throughout their Coromandel Coast settlements. The Madras Presidency's government, now headquartered at Fort St. David, passed new regulations in 1747 barring Catholic churches or priests from entering the fort as well as from openly practicing any Catholic rituals. Owners of enslaved persons who introduced Roman Catholicism to their bonded people would risk losing them. Later regulations also prevented Roman Catholics from owning land or houses that were in or near the fort. British military officers and EIC officials agreed to expel some Roman Catholic priests from India on suspicion that they were providing intelligence to the French, and other priests were kept under surveillance. Following the return of Madras to the EIC in 1749 as part of the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, British Navy Admiral Edward Boscawen successfully pressed for the seizure of Catholic property within the retaken city, including two churches within the fortification, as well as the expulsion of Roman Catholics living within Fort St. George.[112]

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[111] "Kurtze Nachrichte von der besondern wundervollen Providence, so Gott bey der protestantischen Mission zu Madras im vorigen Jahr 1752 erwiesen; zum Preise seines Nahmens öffentlich in der Gemine an der deutschen Hoffcapelle zu London ertheilet den 14ten Oct. 1753," October 14, 1753, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 11:2; *Hallesche Zeitung*, January 7, 1754; Robert Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan: From the Year MDCXLV* (London: John Nourse, 1763), 72-73, 78; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:483.

[112] General Letter to the Court of Directors, October 18, 1749, [Cuddalore], IOR E 1/41, f. 396, BL; William Watts to the Directors of the English East India Company, December 5, 1753, AFSt/M 1 B 42:36; Journal of Johann

The EIC government at Fort St. David decided in 1749 to give the SPCK missionaries the Portuguese Catholic churches in Fort St. David and in Vepery, a suburb of Madras, for their loyalty to the EIC during the war and as compensation for the loss of their building in Madras. The company gave the mission five hundred pagodas[113] (two hundred pounds) as additional compensation. A local Armenian Catholic named Peter Huscan opposed the Vepery church complex's seizure, insisting that the building had no connection to the French as he had paid for the structure to hold masses for his soul and to inter his body. Huscan's appeal was taken before the company and after his death the local Capuchin monks continued his case. The SPCK appealed to the Court of Directors to hand over the Vepery church complex to their missionaries, as the missionaries were struggling to find housing and reestablish their work within the reoccupied city. Finally, in late November the Council of Fort St. George made its final ruling against the regional head of the Capuchin Order to whom Huscan had left the church, and handed its keys over to the missionaries along with five hundred pagodas as ordered by the Court of Directors.[114]

Phillip Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt, c.1752, [Madras], AFSt/M 2 H 11:1; Guite, "The English Company and the Catholics of Madras, in the Age of Religious Conflicts in England," 200; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:323-325, 328, 483.

[113] In the eighteenth-century Madras Presidency, the pagoda, fanam, and cash were the primary currency of account. A pagoda was worth at various times between forty-two and forty-five fanams and a fanam was worth eighty cash. A pound was worth 2 ½ pagodas. A Danish thaler was worth twenty-one fanam in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), xvii; Patrick Kelly, *The Universal Cambist, and Commercial Instructor; Being a General Treatise on Exchange; Including the Monies, Coins, Weights, and Measures, of All Trading nations and Colonies: With an Account of Their Banks and Paper Currencies*, vol. 1 (London, 1811), 122; Thomas Thornton, *The East India Calculator; or Tables for Assisting Computation of Batta, Interest, Commission, Rent, Wages, &c. In Indian Money; With Copious Tables of the Exchanges Between London, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and of the Relative Value of Coins Current in Hindostan; Tables of the Weights of India and China, With Their Respective Proprotions, &c. To Which is Subjoined An Account of the Monies, Weights, and Measures of India, China, Persia, Arabia, &c. Collected from the Best Sources and Latest Authorities* (London: Kingsbury, Parbury, & Allen, 1823), 205.

[114] Journal of Johann Phillip Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt, c.1752, [Madras], AFSt/M 2 H 11:1; "Kurtze Nachrichte von der besondern wundervollen Providence, so Gott bey der protestantischen Mission zu Madras im vorigen Jahr 1752 erwiesen; zum Preise seines Nahmens öffentlich in der Gemine an der deutschen Hoffcapelle zu London ertheilet den 14ten Oct. 1753," October 14, 1753, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 11:2; William Watts, Memorial and Petition from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to the Court of Directors of the East

The Lutheran Pietist missionaries saw the seizure of the churches as a righteous blow to a confessional enemy. Fabricius mused to Benjamin Schultze back in Europe how less than a decade prior to the missionaries receiving the Vepery church, the Catholics of Madras possessed large and splendid churches near the fort, held great financial power in the city, and were esteemed by the EIC's local government. As he wrote in the present moment Catholic power was broken: the EIC had turned on them, their churches were taken over, and many of the community's priests and wealthiest and influential residents were dead, imprisoned, or had moved away.[115]

Fabricius' sentiments towards Catholicism were not unique among the missionaries. Catholicism, for them, was a heretical faith that stood opposed to the doctrine and genius of the Gospel. Moreover, Catholic priests, especially Jesuits, allegedly engaged in a variety of deceptions and lies to lure people to Roman Catholicism and were even willing to tolerate South Asian practices that the German missionaries found idolatrous. Some missionaries even wrote of the Pope or Roman Catholics as the "Anti-Christ." Furthermore, the spread of Catholic ideas made it harder for missionaries to spread their precepts of Christianity to potential converts. Many of the missionaries' earliest converts in Danish and British India were Catholics, which only heightened the tension between the German missionaries and their Catholic counterparts. The Germans wrote constantly in their diaries and letters, in a narrative familiar to European Protestants, of God providing victory over Catholicism through the conversion of Catholics and others Catholic priests had first sought to convert. Missionaries like Schultze framed Catholic priests as the mission's great hindrance through their promulgation of delusions among the

India Company, September 3, 1751, London, IOR E 1/36, f. 172v, 173r, BL; William Watts to the Directors of the English East India Company, December 5, 1753, AFSt/M 1 B 42:36; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 138; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:277, 328, 330.

[115] Johann Philipp Fabricius to Benjamin Schultze, March 5, 1753, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 52:41.

populace. Yet, these hindrances and any other setbacks would be surmounted by the assurances of God's granting victory to his true believers over their enemies.[116]

The missionaries' hostility towards Catholicism spilled over during the Carnatic Wars into a condemnation of the French, and occasional open support for the EIC and arriving British military forces. The missionaries noted how the Carnatic Wars circumscribed their ability to evangelize, and how their congregants suffered at the hands of the French and their indigenous allies. French occupations of Madras between 1746 and 1749, and of Cuddalore between 1758 and 1760, led the missionaries stationed in those cities to leave and caused their congregations to scatter as some joined them in exile. Mission congregants, especially those living in the countryside, were exposed to great physical and economic hardship. Invading forces plundered some of their homes, and some perished at the hands of enemy horsemen.

Missionary Johann Christian Breithaupt hoped that the *Compagnie des Indes*' primary possession of Pondicherry (present-day Puducherry) would fall in 1748. When Pondicherry eventually did fall in January 1761, SPCK missionary Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann declared that the French were overwhelmed by the weight of their sins and that the Lord's hand was against them. Anti-French and pro-British sentiments were not limited to the SPCK missionaries. The Tranquebar missionaries observed that God aided their evangelizing in 1752 by assisting British and allied forces in encircling and defeating the joint forces of the French and

[116] Benjamin Schultze to Henry Newman, December 5, 1728, [Madras], Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 66v, Lambeth Palace Library; Nicolaus Dal, Martin Bosse, Christian Friedrich Pressier, Christopher Theodosius Walther to the Society for Promoting of Christian Knowledge, January 17, 1729 NS, Tranquebar, Gibson Papers, vol. 2, f. 74v-75, Lambeth Palace Library; Johann Zacharias Kiernander and Johann Christian Breithaupt to [Gotthilf August Francke], August 9, 1749, Cuddalore AFSt/M 2 K 13:21; Leonard Fernando, "The First Encounters Between Catholics and Lutherans on Indian Soil," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 2:784; Gleixner, "Expansive Frömmigkeit," 860; Mendonça, "Protestant and Jesuit Encounters in India in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 137-138.

their ally Chanda Sahib. Another alleged sign of God's grace for the German missionaries was the return of Madras to the EIC following the First Carnatic War.[117]

Henry Newman's successor as the SPCK's secretary, William Watts, observed how the EIC and the missionaries had become closer through the events of the First Carnatic War. He rejoiced that the missionaries had conducted themselves well during the "great Fight of Affliction." The SPCK leadership was also encouraged by the favors local company officials in both Madras and Cuddalore bestowed on the missionaries. The SPCK encouraged the missionaries to request more privileges and support from the Court of Directors, as they sensed the Directors would be open to aiding those clergy who had proven themselves loyal and useful during the recent crisis. Watts and the SPCK also directly lobbied the Court of Directors for aid to the missions, as the missionaries had shown "Zeal & Fidelity…not only for the Protestant Religion; but also for the Interest & Service of the Company during the last War." Furthermore, the missionaries served as a critical check on Catholicism in India, which Watts believed was "at all times, & in all Places the same: & will whenever opportunity shall offer, either at home, or

[117] Johann Christian Breithaupt to [Gotthilf August Francke], October 11, 1748, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 K 13:29; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to [Gotthilf August Francke], October 26, 1749, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 K 13:19; Letter of Johann Christian Wiedebrock, Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff, Daniel Zeglin, Oluf Maderup, Jacob Klein, Christian Friedrich Schwartz, and David Poltzenhagen, October 27, 1752, AFSt/M 1 B 42:6; Johann Christian Wiedebrock, Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff, Daniel Zeglin, Oluf Maderup, Jacob Klein, Christian Friedrich Schwartz, and Peter Dame to Johann August Majer, October 11, 1758, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 47:10; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, January 20, 1761, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 50:23; "Kurtze Nachrichte von der besondern wundervollen Providence, so Gott bey der protestantischen Mission zu Madras im vorigen Jahr 1752 erwiesen; zum Preise seines Nahmens öffentlich in der Gemine an der deutschen Hoffcapelle zu London ertheilet den 14ten Oct. 1753," October 14, 1753, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 11:2; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:485. The SPCK and Halle Pietists' concerns about Catholic expansion during the Carnatic Wars was likely heightened due to the two groups' earlier efforts to look after Protestants expelled from the Archbishopric of Salzburg in the early 1730s. The groups joined together to relocate several hundred Salzburgers to the new British colony of Georgia, where the expellees would help check Spanish Florida's potential expansion. Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier*, 102-104, 106, 111.

abroad, ruin by treachery or force the Civil, as well as Religious Interests of Great Brittain, so long as it shall have upon it's Throne a Protestant King with a numerous Royal Family."[118]

The missionaries' support for the EIC went beyond their writings. Missionaries increased their chaplaincy work among EIC employees, and the growing British military presence in southern India. As will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three, the Carnatic Wars prompted the EIC to expand its armies dramatically. In addition, the British government began sending out British Army regiments to serve alongside EIC forces in India. The arrival of thousands of European soldiers exacerbated the shortage of EIC chaplains in British India. Moreover, while British Army regiments and Royal Navy ships were required to have chaplains with them, those that came to India rarely did.[119]

Into the pastoral breach stepped several SPCK missionaries. They looked to ameliorate one of the great hardships they saw for troops, besides the climate and enemy forces: the inability to hear the Word of God with any regularity. Through this chaplaincy work, the German missionaries began to formalize their relationship with the EIC and the British state at large. When Hüttemann returned to Cuddalore following its recapture by the British in 1760, Admiral Charles Stevens asked him to help minister to sailors within the British fleet as well as at a newly established naval hospital within the city. Hüttemann accepted the charge, took an oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and formally became the British warship *Medway*'s chaplain. Despite being a ship's chaplain, he stayed on land ministering to the several hundred

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[118] William Watts to Johann Zacharias Kiernander, January 16, 1751, London, AFSt/M 2 K 13:6; William Watts, Memorial and Petition from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, September 3, 1751, London, IOR E 1/36, f. 173r, BL.

[119] Johann Zacharias Kiernander and Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, September 24, 1754, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 44:43; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, May 14, 1761, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 50:24; O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company*, 101; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:316-317, 319; Kaushik Roy, *War, Culture, and Society in Early Modern South Asia, 1740-1849* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 57.

patients within the naval hospital. Beyond ministering to sailors, Hüttemann also began holding regular meetings and sermons in English with soldiers whom George Whitefield and John Wesley had spiritually awakened back in England. Starting in 1762, Hüttemann organized weekly Anglican services for the city's garrison as there were no other Protestant clergy within the city. SPCK missionary Christian Wilhelm Gericke, after his arrival in 1767, assisted in leading these services.[120]

The missionaries were particularly helpful for the EIC as a significant portion of the EIC's new military recruits were native German-speakers from the Holy Roman Empire and Swiss cantons. The missionaries had the language skills to minister to these men. When two companies of Swiss troops landed in Madras in June 1752, Fabricius and Breithaupt decided to start holding German-language services on Sundays alongside their Tamil morning service and a Portuguese afternoon service. Each Sunday one of the missionaries trekked out to the other side of the city near Fort St. George to preach. These German-language services at Madras continued for years as Swiss companies remained stationed in and around the fort. Kiernander and Hüttemann, besides ministering to Germans within EIC army units and offices in Cuddalore, also loaned them books.[121]

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[120] Johann Zacharias Kiernander and Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, October 11, 1755, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 45:38; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, October 6, 1760, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 50:22; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, January 20, 1761, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 50:23; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, May 14, 1761, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 50:24; Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, August 4, 1767, London, AFSt/M 1 D 10:13; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann and Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, December 31, 1769, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 59:25; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Secretary Jallofield, October 14, 1781, Cuddalore, ALMW/DHM 11/23:26d; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Thomas Broughton, December 31, 1766, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 56:40; Gross, "Some Aspects of the English-Halle Mission in Cuddalore 1737-1829," 393; O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company*, 101, 103.

[121] Johann Zacharias Kiernander and Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, October 11, 1755, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 45:38; Report of the Year 1757 by Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt, January 1758, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 13:4; Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt to Gotthilf August Francke, April 30, 1759, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 49:28; Journal of Johann Phillip Fabricius and

The missionaries' chaplaincy work during the Carnatic Wars helped the EIC and the British Army sustain their European troops' morale and discipline. As the EIC's army and the British military presence continued to expand over the second half of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, German Lutheran missionaries increasingly focused on ministering to these men and their families. As will be discussed in the following chapter, many SPCK missionaries, like Hüttemann during the Third Carnatic War, formally entered the EIC or British state's payroll as military chaplains, serving particular regiments and company garrisons throughout southern India.

While the theological, logistical, and political impetus to establish a Protestant mission to India emerged from Central Europe, the missionaries and their evangelization became entangled quickly with the EIC and its attempts to control the Indian subcontinent's wealth and, increasingly, its people. British support on the subcontinent and in Europe proved crucial to sustaining the missionaries and their evangelizing. The EIC provided for the transportation of letters and materiel between India and Europe, as well as access to financial resources that enabled the missionaries to sustain their program of building and operating schools and expanding their congregations and mission staff. For many of the missionaries and their continental European supporters, bringing in the SPCK and securing aid from EIC officials in India showed God's support for the mission. It also further internationalized the initial mission to Tranquebar. The new relationships promised to help the mission remain independent of the Danish East India Company and gain access to more souls to save.

Johann Christian Breithaupt, c.1752, [Madras] AFSt/M 2 H 11:1; O'Connor, "Lutherans and Anglicans in South India," 778; Penny, *The Church in Madras,* 1:309, 337-338.

The establishment of the SPCK Mission in 1728 opened up a wider portion of India to Protestant proselytization, and further increased the German missionaries' reliance on the EIC both to sustain the new mission as well as to maintain the German Pietist monopoly in European personnel operating the venture. The Pietists feared that confusion might be sown in India if missionaries of different nationalities and denominations under the same mission shared different visions of true Christianity to nonbelievers. These concerns did not materialize as the SPCK failed to find British candidates to go to India, and compromised by recognizing the Lutheran Pietist missionaries' ordinations in balance with the missionaries' eventual use of Anglican liturgy and religious instruction.

EIC leadership on both continents believed that allowing the missionaries to expand their work into the company's territory under careful monitoring enhanced the company's ability to project its sovereignty and control and protect its settlements in southern India. The German missionaries were uniquely suited to promoting Protestantism and its imagined salutary disciplining effects on both company employees and local populaces, as well as to check Roman Catholic influence. The German missionaries' commitment to learning local languages, to establishing schools that provided religious, elementary, and vocational education, and to spending decades if not their entire lives on the subcontinent stood in contrast to the company chaplains' limited and occasionally checkered careers in India.

The midcentury Carnatic Wars between the EIC and the French *Compagnie des Indes* and their local allies in southern India generated a greater sense of mutual reliance between the EIC and the missionaries and their supporters. For the Halle Pietist missionaries, the wars became part of their ongoing global struggle with the Catholic church. The missionaries in both British and Danish India viewed the EIC as a force checking Catholic power through its armed

struggled with its French counterpart. For EIC officials and British military officers, who constantly questioned their indigenous and European soldiers, employees, and residents' loyalties, the missionaries became crucial allies.

Thus, German Lutheran missionaries quickly became both agents of the Kingdom of God and the British Empire. While the Germans' connections with the British were entirely unplanned and largely driven by pragmatic concerns, the bonds formed would continue until the missions' cessations in the early nineteenth century. Initially, the relationship centered on the missionaries' reliance on EIC aid and privileges. By the middle decades of the eighteenth century, EIC officials saw the missionaries as able allies in bolstering the company's authority and stability in a new way, through religion and faith, rather than force of arms and coercion.

As will be seen in the next chapter, the German missionaries began to fill a variety of positions on behalf of the company in the aftermath of the Carnatic Wars. In turn, they became ever more reliant financially and politically on their British supporters as well. Yet, the missionaries continued to view themselves as independent of the company and worked to keep a distance from the company. As true Christians and foreigners, they saw themselves as outsiders vis-a-vis the EIC's "sinful" excesses and flaws. However, they also recognized that the British company was a growing power and that maintaining good relations with it was critical to expanding their own evangelizing efforts. Thus the cross began to follow the flag, but attempted to keep a few paces back.

Chapter Two: German Lutheran Missionaries and the Struggle to Build the Kingdom of God in Late Eighteenth-Century British India

The relationship between German missionaries and the British East India Company (EIC) was transformed in the wake of the Carnatic Wars (1744-1763) and the 1765 Mughal *firman* (the decree granting the EIC control over revenue collecting in Bihar, Orissa, and Bengal, the subcontinent's most populous and wealthiest region). As the company expanded its armed forces, civil administration, and territorial control, officials turned to German missionaries, especially those serving in EIC territory as part of the mission sponsored by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) to provide religious and pedagogic support. The EIC began to offer these missionaries salaried posts as chaplains and school administrators, and provided additional financial and material resources to the missions. By the late eighteenth century, the German missionaries were also gathering intelligence, providing translation and language instruction, and serving as emissaries for the company, all of which had little connection to their primary evangelical objective.

The missionaries were frequently ambivalent about their ever-tightening connections with the EIC. The Germans had hoped that the British victories during the Carnatic Wars and the subsequent territorial expansion would open new lands and additional resources for the Protestant evangelization of India. This did not come to pass. Furthermore, as the missionaries became more involved with the EIC and its employees, the clergy grew intimately aware of company policies and activities that challenged their religious priorities and beliefs. Several missionaries wrote scathingly about what they viewed as the EIC's destructive avarice, the unchristian behavior of its European employees and officials' and the hurdles these generated for spreading the Gospel.

However, many of these same critical missionaries and their colleagues continued to accept formal EIC postings and to aid the company, from facilitating the administration of newly acquired lands to establishing an increasingly rigid racial hierarchy at the company's behest. The missions' expanding collection of congregations, schools, and staff produced increasing demands for money and resources, and the EIC continued to be a comparatively generous supporter. Moreover, the SPCK continued to encourage close relations between its missionaries and the EIC. Some missionaries saw their increasingly diverse set of responsibilities as continuing the evangelical project, as well as fulfilling their responsibilities as clergymen to oversee their fellow Protestants' welfare in an environment they saw as largely godless and rife with debauchery. Some missionaries also maintained hopes, forged during the Carnatic Wars and reinforced by subsequent conflicts around the subcontinent, that the EIC represented the best hope for the continued evangelization of India. These migrants believed that they might serve as the providential tools who would finally open the hearts and purse strings of EIC officials and employees, thereby transforming the subcontinent into a just and Protestant land.

While candidates and funding from Europe for both the Royal Danish-Halle and SPCK missions declined in the late eighteenth century, ultimately causing the missions to transfer to newer evangelical organizations or shutter, they left enduring legacies. Protestant Indian communities throughout southern India trace their origins back to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century mission congregations. The German missionaries also helped establish an emerging educational system within the Madras Presidency that trained and disciplined European, Eurasian, and Indian children for a variety of roles within British Indian society.[1] For turn-of-the-

[1] Robert Eric Frykenberg, "Modern Education in South India, 1784-1854: Its Roots and Its Role as a Vehicle of Integration under Company Raj," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (February 1986): 38-41; D. Dennis Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil Evangelical Christians, 1706-1835* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 104, 107-109.

nineteenth-century British evangelicals, the Germans were proof of the compatibility of evangelization and empire as they advocated the opening of British India to all Protestant missionaries. Moreover, the German missionaries provided practical advice and support for newly arrived British missionaries in southern India. The German missionaries' connections with the EIC served as a model for the new Anglo missionaries on how to gain company support for their labors. Nineteenth-century British missionaries, like the eighteenth-century German missionaries before them, found common ground with the EIC around education, and they rapidly developed networks of schools in India as the nineteenth century progressed.[2]

Salarymen: The Formalizing of German Missionaries' Roles for the British East India Company

The missionaries were intimately involved in the EIC's expanding control over the subcontinent, and its attempts to stabilize the ever enlarging and diverse society it employed and ruled over. After the Third Carnatic War (1746-1763), the EIC struggled to deal with the challenges of enlarging its fiscal, judicial, and military operations and gathering intelligence about new subjects and changing geopolitical landscapes. The EIC hoped to control not only coastal cities and surrounding enclaves, but entire provinces with tens of millions of inhabitants as well as the security of several polities that now provided substantial subsidies to the company.[3]

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[2] Penelope Carson, *The East India Company and Religion 1698-1858* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2012), 156, 159, 162-163, 194-198, 206-207, 209-212, 224; Ian Copland, "Christianity as an Arm of Empire: The Ambiguous Case of India under the Company, c. 1813-1858," *Historical Journal* 49, no. 4 (December 2006): 1025-1054; Margret Frenz, "'A Race of Monsters': South India and the British 'Civilizing Mission' in the Later Eighteenth Century," in *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, ed. Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann (London: Wimbledon Publishing Company, 2004), 52-53.

[3] C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*, 1st pbk. ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6, 44-46.

Starting in the 1760s, German SPCK missionaries accepted formal chaplaincies with British armed forces and the EIC. These chaplaincies opened the door for the missionaries to take on a host of other salaried roles and tasks over the second half of the eighteenth century—school administrator, emissary, translator, language instructor. In these new positions, missionaries prepared current and future EIC employees for work within the expanded company state as it administered growing portions of the subcontinent. Furthermore, in these roles, the university-trained clergymen applied their knowledge of local languages and customs, rare among Europeans on the subcontinent, to gather intelligence for the company's defensive, diplomatic, and administrative efforts. They also continued their work to promote Protestantism and preserve social order and discipline among the growing population of Europeans in British India. These salaried positions, as well as the company's continuing support through practices like free shipping of goods and letters between Europe and India, moved the German missionaries into a tightening orbit with the EIC.

British military officers invited German missionaries to assume paid chaplaincies during the Third Carnatic War. Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann started serving as a Royal Navy chaplain in 1760 and later as chaplain for the EIC's Cuddalore garrison. Hüttemann agreed to take a monthly stipend of five pagodas (two pounds)[4] from the Governor and Council of Fort St.

[4] In the eighteenth-century Madras Presidency, the pagoda, fanam, and cash were the primary currency of account. A pagoda was worth at various times between forty-two and forty-five fanams and a fanam was worth eighty cash. A pound was worth two and one-half pagodas. Pounds in this chapter refer to the British pound sterling. Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), xvii; Patrick Kelly, *The Universal Cambist, and Commercial Instructor; Being a General Treatise on Exchange; Including the Monies, Coins, Weights, and Measures, of All Trading nations and Colonies: With an Account of Their Banks and Paper Currencies*, vol. 1 (London, 1811), 122; Thomas Thornton, *The East India Calculator; or Tables for Assisting Computation of Batta, Interest, Commission, Rent, Wages, &c. In Indian Money; With Copious Tables of the Exchanges Between London, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and of the Relative Value of Coins Current in Hindostan; Tables of the Weights of India and China, With Their Respective Proportions, &c. To Which is Subjoined An Account of the Monies, Weights, and Measures of India, China, Persia, Arabia, &c. Collected from the Best Sources and Latest Authorities* (London: Kingsbury, Parbury, & Allen, 1823), 205.

David to perform all burials of European soldiers stationed there and to deliver a fortnightly sermon for the garrison.[5]

Through his wartime labors for the EIC, Christian Friedrich Schwartz paved the way to becoming the first missionary to serve officially as a salaried EIC chaplain in 1768 in Trichinopoly (present-day Tiruchirappalli). Schwartz arrived in Trichinopoly while traveling as a Royal Danish-Halle missionary, and initially remained in the city at the request of EIC Major Achilles Preston. Major Preston promised Schwartz a chapel for his religious services if he delayed his further travels. The missionary tarried longer to care for victims of a magazine explosion in the city. He then joined the EIC force on campaign in 1763 to besiege Madurai, a stronghold of a local notable whom the British-allied Nawab of Arcot, Muhammad Ali Khan Wallajah (r. 1749-1795), saw as a threat to his throne. After the siege of Madurai, Schwartz established a new school for soldiers' orphans and constructed a stone church within the garrison. Schwartz's postwar projects were financed in large part from grants of money and land from the Nawab of Arcot, who possessed Trichinopoly, and the EIC garrison. Schwartz's efforts in Trichinopoly attracted the Madras Presidency's interest. The Governor and Council of Fort St. George offered him the salaried position as the EIC's chaplain for the Trichinopoly garrison and the SPCK offered him a transfer to their mission.[6]

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[5] Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, October 6, 1760, Cuddalore, *Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke, Missionsarchiv mit der Indien- und der Amerikaabteilung* (hereafter AFSt/M) 1 B 50:22, *Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke*, Halle, Germany; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, January 20, 1761, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 50:23; Gotthilf August Francke to Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann, January 30, 1767, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 56:61; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Secretary Jallofield, November 21, 1780, Cuddalore, *Bestand des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Missionswerks Leipzig* (hereafter ALMW/DHM) 11/23:26a, *Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke*, Halle, Germany.

[6] Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff and Daniel Zeglin to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, February 28, 1767, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 56:5; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gotthilf August Francke, January 15, 1766, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 B 56:16; Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff to Christian Ernst von Stolberg-Wernigerode, December 31, 1764, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 54:12; Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, February 24, 1767, London, AFSt/M 1 D 10:32; Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, October 23, 1767, London, AFSt/M 1 D 10:4; Robert Eric Frykenberg, "Raja-Guru and Sishiya-Sastriar:

Hüttemann and Schwartz's EIC and British armed forces chaplaincies opened the door for other German missionaries. In 1779, after translating several EIC letters to the Raja of Tanjore (present-day Thanjavur) into Marathi and conducting an official visit for the EIC to the court of Haidar Ali (r. 1761-1782), the ruler of Mysore, Schwartz asked that his compensation be Christian Pohle's appointment as the EIC's new chaplain at Trichinopoly. Like Schwartz, Pohle had been a Royal Danish-Halle missionary before moving to Trichinopoly in 1777 at Schwartz's request and transferring into the SPCK's service. Pohle's move and acceptance of the chaplaincy in Trichinopoly enabled Schwartz to relocate to Tanjore, where the EIC had established a new garrison in 1776, and to serve as chaplain there.[7] Schwartz's protégé, Johann Caspar Kohlhoff, son of Royal Danish-Halle missionary Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff, took over Schwartz's EIC chaplaincy in Tanjore following Schwartz's passing in 1798. By 1800 there were four German missionaries serving as salaried chaplains for the EIC, just one fewer than the company's own chaplains stationed in southern India. At the same time, one of the four, Christian Wilhelm Gericke, as well as a fifth missionary, Immanuel Gottfried Holzberg, were each serving as military chaplains for several British regiments and military installations as well.[8]

Christian Friedrich Schwartz and his Legacy in Tanjavur," in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Chrisitanity in India*, vol. 1, *The Danish-Halle and the English-Halle Mission*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 476-477; Arno Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar: The Story of the Tranquebar Mission and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India Published to Celebrate the 250th Anniversary of the Landing of the First Protestant Missionaries at Tranquebar in 1706* (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1956), 141-142, 155; Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras, Being the History of the Ecclesiastical and Missionary Action of the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1904), 584-586.

[7] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Friedrich Sorge, October 20, 1778, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 D 19:1; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 13, 1779, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 70:43; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February, 3, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 70:46; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 10, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:32; "Extract of Fort St. George Military Consultation," July 24, 1792, [Madras], India Office Records (hereafter IOR) F/4/222/4871, p. 49, British Library (hereafter BL), London; M.E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970* (Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1972), 17.

[8] Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:10a; Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:11a; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, October 11, 1797, Madras, IOR European Miscellaneous Manuscripts (hereafter Mss Eur) Photo Eur 136/2, letter 5, BL; Excerpt of a letter from Carl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, February 17, 1805, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C

Protestant religious life in late eighteenth-century southern India was increasingly in the German missionaries' hands. The missionaries' chaplaincy work for EIC-affiliated Europeans remained vital to the company's operations as it continued to struggle to find enough Anglican clergy to serve its growing European population. In Madras (present-day Chennai), the number of Europeans rose from a dozen military officers, several hundred soldiers, and about one hundred officials, sailors, and private merchants in 1750, to over eight hundred military officers, several thousand soldiers, and about twelve hundred officials, bureaucrats, and civilians by 1800. Yet, the city never had more than two EIC chaplains and many other installations lacked even one. As during the Carnatic Wars, EIC army units, as well as the British Army regiments arriving in India, rarely brought over a chaplain.[9]

The missionaries in British India increasingly provided cradle to grave pastoral care to the growing European communities scattered around southern India's cities and cantonments. Company officials continued to hope that these pastoral efforts among European soldiers and civilians employed by the EIC or working on its behalf would comfort and discipline them, as well as inculcate loyalty to the company. The Germans baptized EIC employees, soldiers, and their children in the garrisons and settlements near their mission stations, or wherever they traveled through.[10] They added English- and German-language services alongside Tamil- and

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45:93; Excerpt of a letter from Carl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, July 31, 1805, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 46:94; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:292, 414, 612.

[9] Susan M. Neild, "Colonial Urbanism: The Development of Madras City in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" *Modern Asian Studies* 13, no. 2 (April 1979): 223; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:284, 345.

[10] For examples of cases where the German missionaries baptized the British East India Company's European employees, soldiers, and their children, see Journal of Johann Ernst Geister and Johann Zacharias Kiernander, January 7, 1741, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 L 1:2; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1785, likely Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 2 E 18: 7; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1786, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:8; Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:10a; Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1798, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:12a. European soldiers were generally diligent about having their children baptized likely because the company continued to offer a star pagoda (about seven shillings) bounty to parents who baptized their child as a Protestant. In one instance an English soldier in 1784 asked Christian Pohle to baptize his daughter again as previously she had undergone an emergency baptism at the hands of another soldier. Pohle refused to perform a second baptism and thought the soldier's sacrilegious request was motivated by his desire to have further

Portuguese-language services to their already busy Sunday schedules.[11] Several missionaries held nightly prayer hours in garrisons that attracted scores of both officers and rank-and-file. Schwartz observed that the officers enjoyed them in part because they believed they reduced the troops' disorderliness and the need for corporal punishment. His prayer hours even moved several dozen troops in 1786 to form a spiritual group to monitor members' behavior and to continue the prayer hours even when they were on campaign.[12]

These chaplaincy positions were time-consuming. Even with native mission workers and wives performing many of the tasks to keep the mission stations operations, the missionaries sometimes felt overwhelmed by Europeans' demands for pastoral care. Hüttemann, while serving as an EIC chaplain in Cuddalore, complained that his monthly salary of five pagodas (two pounds) was too low for having to conduct the burial of every European soldier who died in and around the city. On such a sum he could not afford a palanquin to carry him to the burial sites. Sunday funerals he found the most daunting, as he had to attend to his regular services as well.[13] Yet the EIC and its employees' demands on the German missionaries in the second half of the eighteenth century did not end with pastoral care. The missionaries also found themselves

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evidence for his application for the company's bounty. Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1784, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:6; Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundation of the British Empire in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 112; Thornton, *The East India Calculator*, 465.

[11] Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, February 7 and October 5, 1780, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:25; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1784, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:6; Journal of Christian Pohle, c.1785, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:7; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1788, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:9; Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1798, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:12a.

[12] Excerpt of a Journal of Christian Friedrich Schwartz, copied by Jacob Klein, 1786, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 17:14; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Ludwig Schulze, January 9, 1797, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 38a:3.

[13] Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Secretary Jallofield, November 21, 1780, Cuddalore, ALMW/DHM 11/23:26a; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Secretary Jallofield, November 26, 1780, Cuddalore, ALMW/DHM 11/23:26b; Heike Liebau, *Cultural Encounters in India: The Local Co-workers of the Tranquebar Mission, 18th to 19th Centuries*, trans. Rekha V. Rajan (New York: Routledge, 2018), esp. 104-190, 203-230, 406-421, 430-460; Erika Pabst, "The Wives of Missionaries 1715-1838," in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vol. 3, *Communication Between India and Europe*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 1529-1541; Erika Pabst, "The Wives of Missionaries: Their Experiences in India," trans. Rekha Kamath Rajan, in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vol. 2, *Christian Mission in the Indian Context*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 685-704.

establishing and administering a range of new educational institutions designed to discipline and enhance the labor of southern India's peoples as well as promote the formation of Christian families according to Western expectations.

Educating for Empire? German Missionaries, Sullivan Schools, Madras Asylums, and the Making of an Imperial Order

Building on their previous and less formalized partnership with the EIC, several missionaries, including Christian Friedrich Schwartz and Christian Wilhelm Gericke, became salaried school administrators and leading forces in the formation of new company-run educational institutions. These new responsibilities led the missionaries to strengthen not only the EIC's power in southern India, but also its control over racial and gender dynamics within the Madras Presidency.

The EIC and its employees were slow to develop any formalized educational institutions in the eighteenth-century Madras Presidency. Aside from the long-established school associated with St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George, there were no additional company-run schools operating in southern India until 1787. German missionaries picked up some of the slack. In addition to running their schools for local Tamils and Portuguese-speaking people, the SPCK missionaries in Madras began operating an English-language school for orphans in the 1740s. By 1750, the school had twenty pupils and continued to expand, reaching one hundred pupils by the late 1780s. Funds from St. Mary's Church and private donors in Madras supported around twenty students annually, and in 1788 the company agreed to pay five rupees (about ten shillings)[14] per pupil each month to the missionaries to help operate the English-language school.

[14] While rupees were predominantly used in the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies, they were occasionally used in southern India as well and several southern Indian polities minted their own variants. A rupee was worth sixteen anna and a newly minted or *sicca* rupee was worth 16/15th of a *sonat* or well-circulated rupee. A rupee was generally

Schwartz lobbied hard for this bounty to be extended to the SPCK missionaries' other English-language schools for children with at least one European parent in Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Cuddalore.[15]

Like the Francke Foundations' schools back in Halle and the other mission-run schools, these English-language institutions followed a set curriculum and daily schedule. The schools taught English literacy as well as arithmetic, geography, history, and the Christian religion. The missionaries concentrated their time on catechizing the students and leading religious instruction. They hired schoolmasters—a mix of current and former European soldiers and sailors as well as some converted Tamil teachers—to lead the instruction of secular subjects.[16] Besides educating the students to become lifelong Christians, the missionaries also taught their pupils with an eye towards preparing them for a career in India. Schwartz introduced Tamil and Hindi language classes to his English-language pupils in 1788 so they might more effectively communicate with the Indian population when they went to work for the EIC.[17]

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worth between two shillings and two shillings and six pence, depending on the value of silver and whether the rupee was a *sicca* or *sonat* rupee. Their value fluctuated as low as one shilling eight pence to as high as three shillings. Edney, *Mapping an Empire*, xvii; Kelly, *The Universal Cambist, and Commercial Instructor*, 1:122; Thornton, *The East India Calculator*, 115, 415, 427, 456.

[15] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gotthilf August Francke, January 13, 1770, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 B 59:28; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Georg Knapp, January 22, 1771, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 B 60:23; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Ludwig Schulze, February 1, 1788, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 29a:5; Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasce, December 23, 1788, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 30c:17; Heike Liebau, "Faith and Knowledge: The Educational System of the Danish-Halle and English-Halle Mission," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 3:1198-1199; Heike Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras: Pietistische Waisenhaus-pädagogik und englische Appropriationen in Indien," *Comparativ* 15, no. 1 (January 2005): 43, 45; John J. Paul, "The Drama of Conversion in the Courts of South India: Challenges to Aggressive Missionary Enterprise and Changing Judicial Attitudes in the Nineteenth Century," in *Religion and Public Culture: Encounters and Identities in Modern South India*, ed. Keith Yandell and John J. Paul (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000), 103; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:289, 505.

[16] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gotthilf August Francke, January 13, 1770, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 B 59:28; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Georg Knapp, January 22, 1771, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 B 60:23; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1786, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:8; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1792, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:11; Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 43; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:289.

[17] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, September 6, 1787, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 H 9:3; Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, December 23, 1788, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 30c:17; Johann Caspar Kohlhoff to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February 12, 1793, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 34a:72c.

Company officials in the late 1780s called on several German missionaries, and their years of pedagogic and administrative training and experience, to assist the EIC in establishing and running new schools. John Sullivan, the EIC's Resident at Tanjore, collaborated with Schwartz to establish a network of schools in southern India to educate the children of local Indian rulers and other Indian elites.[18] Sullivan framed the proposed schools, with their English-language instruction, as means to establish better communications between the EIC and local South Indian rulers and their courts. Sullivan's calls for alternative approaches to aligning local polities with the company's interests received a particularly favorable reception from his colleagues in the wake of the Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-1784). During that conflict, Mysorean forces under Haidar Ali and his son Tipu Sultan (r. 1782-1799) nearly drove the company from southern Indian entirely. Company officials advocating for the schools framed them as a means to "enlighten" native elites and impress upon them and their children "sentiments of esteem and respect for the British Nation."[19]

While Sullivan worked to secure company support for the plan, Schwartz spent most of a ten-week trip in the late summer of 1785 establishing one of the schools at Ramanathapuram. He installed William Wheatly, who had previously taught at the SPCK Mission's English-language school for European and Eurasian children in Tanjore, as its schoolmaster. Wheatly oversaw the education of nine children, including those of the local territorial ruler and his chief minister. Schwartz also created a Sullivan school in Tanjore and another at Sivaganga, the latter with Pohle's assistance. The Sullivan schools at Ramanathapuram and Sivaganga were initially

[18] In this chapter, this group of English-language schools for Indian elites will be called "Sullivan schools" to help distinguish them from other English-language schools established by the missionaries and the British East India Company. J.W. Anderson and P.A. Symonds, "Sullivan, John (1749-1839), of Richings Park, Bucks.," in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820*, vol. 5, *Members Q-Y*, ed. R. Thorne (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg, 1986), 319-321.

[19] Public Letter to Fort St. George, February 16, 1787, [London], IOR F/4/222/4871, p. 3-4, BL; Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 37.

financed by the local rulers, but the economic devastation of the recent war and the EIC's own deep interest in the project led the Court of Directors in 1787 to approve the payment of one hundred pounds annually to each Sullivan school. These funds were designed to keep the schools operating as well as to entice other local Indian rulers to establish their own Sullivan schools within their lands, or to support preexisting ones.[20]

Schwartz and the German missionaries oversaw the Sullivan schools in their first decades. Schwartz supervised them all and provided the EIC with reports and accounts of the curriculum, student progress, and expenses. He envisioned the Sullivan schools' masters primarily as locals for the foreseeable future, since Europeans would need time to master local languages and would demand higher salaries than the schools' budgets might allow. Schwartz also appointed some of his fellow German missionaries as Sullivan school inspectors: Christian Pohle inspected the school at Sivaganga, the closest of the schools to his mission station at Trichinopoly, while Johann Caspar Kohlhoff oversaw the school at Ramanathapuram and also worked as an instructor at the Tanjore school. Schwartz had two motives. First, he felt physically unable, at the age of sixty-one, to undertake the over hundred mile journey from Tanjore to visit either of the other two schools multiple times a year. But Schwartz believed regular inspections were critical to the project's success. Second, he sought to improve his fellow missionaries' finances and standing with the EIC by inviting them to work for the company as school inspectors. In 1787, the vestry at Tanjore authorized the payment of ten pagodas (four pounds) a month from their Sullivan schools' funds to the younger Kohlhoff and Pohle, in order to cover

[20] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, September 25, 1785, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 25:23; Public Letter to Fort St. George, February 16, 1787, [London], IOR F/4/222/4871, p. 3-4, BL; Copy of the Vestry of Tanjore Minute, July 20, 1787, Tanjore, IOR F/4/222/4871, p. 40-42, BL; "Diary of Fort St. George Military Consultations the 4th August 1787," August 4, 1787, [Madras], IOR F/4/222/4871, p. 38, BL; Christian Pohle to Johann Ludwig Schulze, September 24, 1787, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 C 28:74; Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 37.

travel expenses while inspecting the schools.[21] In 1809, the younger Kohlhoff and Christoph Heinrich Horst secured an increase from forty-one to one hundred pagodas (forty pounds) per month in EIC funding for the schools in Tanjore and Ramanathapuram. EIC officials back in London agreed to this increase "being satisfied the conduct & spirit of that Mission proved beneficial to the Natives, and tended to conciliate them to our Government."[22]

Unlike the schools run directly by the German Pietist missionaries, the Sullivan schools did not make instruction in Christianity or Christian principles a part of the curriculum. However, establishing and supervising these schools gave Schwartz and his colleagues opportunities to further their missionary work: the travel required to establish and inspect the schools gave them access to lands in which to evangelize, beyond the EIC's direct control. Moreover, working on the schools put Schwartz in direct contact with local elites whose good favor, he hoped, might lead to their conversion to Christianity and would further open their lands to evangelization. Schwartz noted to a colleague in Halle that his work to establish the Sullivan school at Ramanathapuram had led to a discussion with the local ruler and his minister about Christianity and the parts of the Trinity. At the Tanjore Sullivan school, Schwartz introduced his Brahmin pupils to Christian writings and claimed they did not object to reading them.[23]

For southern Indian polities' court elites and brahmins, the Sullivan schools offered a means to signal their own political authority and social status, as well as forge connections with

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[21] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, December 20, 1786, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 27:25; Copy of the Vestry of Tanjore Minute, July 20, 1787, Tanjore, IOR F/4/222/4871, p. 40-43, BL; "Diary of Fort St. George Military Consultations the 4th August 1787," August 4, 1787, [Madras], IOR F/4/222/4871, p. 38-39, BL; Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, September 6, 1787, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 H 9:3; Military Letter from Fort St. George, October 10, 1787, [Madras], IOR F/4/222/4871, p. 5, BL.

[22] "Extract Public Letter to Fort St. George," January 1, 1809, [London], IOR F/4/1169/30553, p. 3a (quote), BL; Public Department to Fort St. George, January 11, 1809, [London], IOR E/4/902, p. 199-200, BL.

[23] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, September 25, 1785, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 25:23; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Ludwig Schulze, February 1, 1788, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 29a:5.

the region's rising European political and military power. The rajas of Tanjore, Sivaganga, and Ramanathapuram likely supported the schools as part of the long-standing practice of Indian rulers expressing their personal piety and political strength through the patronage of religious institutions of many faiths. This assertion of power was critical to these three rulers in this moment. Tanjore continued its struggle to maintain its independence, and the rajas of Ramanathapuram and Sivaganga strove to show their enduring influence after losing much of their independence to the Nawab of Arcot in the previous decade. Supporting the schools and sending one's children to attend them may have also been an attempt to curry favor with the EIC, since the company also backed these educational institutions. Moreover, these regional elites may have sought to position their children for future service with the company or use the schools as a conduit to better understand the company's motivations and future plans.[24]

Without Schwartz's expertise in education, language skills, and connections with indigenous peoples throughout southern India, the Sullivan schools would have likely remained merely an idea on paper. The Court of Directors admitted as much when they observed that "John Sulivan our late Resident at Tanjore…had succeeded in his laudable undertaking, by the zealous exertions of the Missionary Mr Swartz [who] prevailed on the Raja of Tanjore, and the Rajas of the Great and Little Marawar, to establish schools for teaching English."[25] Part of the Council of Fort St. George expressed similar sentiments when they concluded that if Schwartz was not successful in operating the Sullivan schools, "we shall be assured that the Plan at this junction is not feasible."[26]

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[24] Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society 1700-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 156, 159-160; Jim Phillips, "A Successor to the Moguls: The Nawab of the Carnatic and the East India Company, 1763-1785," *International History Review* 7, no. 3 (August 1985): 368, 370, 374.
[25] Public Letter to Fort St. George, February 16, 1787, [London], IOR F/4/222/4871, p. 3-4, BL.
[26] Military Letter from Fort St. George, October 10, 1787, [Madras], IOR F/4/222/4871, p. 5, BL.

Schwartz and several of his colleagues helped establish another set of educational institutions in southern India: the Female Orphan and Male Orphan Asylums in Madras. Lady Amelia Campbell, wife of Governor Sir Archibald Campbell of Fort St. George, and her circle sought Schwartz's assistance in establishing a large orphanage for the Eurasian and European daughters of European EIC employees and soldiers in the Madras Presidency in 1786.[27] Lady Campbell likely modeled her asylum and its mission on one recently established in Calcutta (present-day Kolkata) by a group of EIC military officers. The officers secured support from the company to establish an orphanage for the children of company rank-and-file and non-commissioned officers, who were dead, destitute, or returned to Europe, to ensure the youths were housed, fed, clothed, and schooled, and not left to reside in the cantonments nor remain with their native mothers and their maternal families.[28]

The orphanages in Calcutta and Madras reflected the EIC's and Britons' growing discomfort with intimacies between Europeans and the subcontinent's indigenous communities. In the late eighteenth century, the British diverged from other Europeans exercising imperial control in Asia by discouraging social and sexual relations between European colonizers and local Asian women and men. Britons feared such connections led India-based Britons to adopt local practices of sociability and governance that went against British forms of social control. As the eighteenth century progressed, Britons viewed people of mixed-ancestry as having suspect loyalties to their rule in India. Most centrally, Anglo-Indians represented living contradictions to the company's growing desire to build a racialized and segregated colonial administration and society. In response, they demonized Eurasians by characterizing them as effeminate and sexually irrepressible, characteristics they configured as innate in Indians. German missionaries

[27] Amelia Campbell to Christian Friedrich Schwartz, November 20, 1786, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 27:21.
[28] Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 225-237.

and EIC officials came together to police sexuality in southern India and encourage Western family formations and gender roles that they believed would facilitate British colonial rule and a godlier subcontinent.[29]

Under the first governor-generalship of Charles, Marquis Cornwallis between 1786 and 1793, the company implemented policies that removed Indians and Eurasians from all but the lowest tiers of EIC administration in India. Cornwallis and others supporting the policy argued that Indian bureaucrats and intermediaries were facilitating the "corrupt practices" of the EIC's European administrators as well as engaging in their own "deceptions" designed to reduce the company's revenues. Company regulations also further discouraged the EIC's European employees from pursuing sexual and domestic relations with Indian women.[30] Despite these regulations and the German missionaries' own discouragement of sexual relations beyond the bounds of Christian marriage, the number of Eurasian children expanded rapidly alongside the growing European population in British India into the nineteenth century. Between the 1750s and 1790 the number of European soldiers serving in British India rose from several hundred to

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[29] Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 8-9; C.J. Hawes, *Poor Relations: The Making of a Eurasian Community in British India 1773-1833* (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 1996), 4;Arun W. Jones, *Missionary Christianity and Local Religion: American Evangelicalism in North India, 1836-1870* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2017), 233; Sudipta Sen, *A Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (New York: Routledge, 2002), xiv, xxv; Sudipta Sen, "Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires: Blood, Race, Sex and the Decline of Intimacy in Early British India," *South Asia* 24, no. S1, Sexual Sites, Seminal Attitudes: Sexualities, Masculinities and Culture in South Asia (May 2001): 25-45; Joseph Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India, 1765-1858* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 21, 30; Ann Laura Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 199.

[30] Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 7-9; Sudipta Sen, *A Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (New York: Routledge, 2002), xiv, xxv; Sudipta Sen, ""Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires: Blood, Race, Sex and the Decline of Intimacy in Early British India," *South Asia* 24, no. S1, Sexual Sites, Seminal Attitudes: Sexualities, Masculinities and Culture in South Asia (May 2001): 25-45; Joseph Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India, 1765-1858* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 11, 21, 30-32, 35, 39-66; Ann Laura Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 199.

about eighteen thousand. Single men remained at least three-quarters of European migrants into British India through the last years of company rule in India in the mid-nineteenth century.[31]

In official and popular British narratives, Indian women corrupted not only their sexual partners, but also their children. Britons envisioned that asylums would preserve their pupils' Europeanness and their utility to the company in stations befitting their racial and class statuses. These institutions facilitated the removal of British Eurasian children from their mothers, which for British officials was a critical first step in the "proper" raising of "European" children. Britons deemed these women unfit to provide instruction in morality or Western values. If left with their mothers, officials feared the children would face a life of poverty, sexual exploitation, and cultural and religious ignorance. These beliefs permeated Europeans' views. European partners in their wills often left funds for their children to be educated outside the mother's household, while others required native women to release their children to be educated among Europeans in India and occasionally even Britain in order to receive their inheritance.[32] For Lady Campbell, the Female Asylum was to protect girls "from all the Evils they are exposed to from Ignorance and bad Example."[33]

In Lady Campbell's plan, girls were separated into those attending the free school and those attending the superior school. The girls who attended the free school would be prepared for

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[31] Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 3, 35, 71-72, 206-208, 212; Sen, *A Distant Sovereignty*, xxviii; Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India*, 56. The growing population of children born from domestic partnership and other sexual relations between European men and Asian and Eurasian women in the late eighteenth century is reflected in the missionaries' own accounts. Of the thirty-two children with a European father Christian Pohle baptized in 1788, thirty of them were born outside of wedlock. Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1788, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:9.

[32] Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 37-38, 55, 127-128, 225-227; Sen, "Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires," 35-36; Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers," 206-207, 212. Late eighteenth-century figures, like Edmund Burke and Charles, Marquis Cornwallis, also viewed Indian men as corrupting figures, who provided misinformation to British East India Company employees as well as enticed them with illegal trade opportunities and bribes. Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India*, 12, 30-32, 35, 40.

[33] Amelia Campbell to Christian Friedrich Schwartz, November 20, 1786, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 27:21.

domestic service with private families, while those who paid for their board in the superior school, estimated to possess funds of at least one thousand pagodas (four hundred pounds), would be prepared for a life befitting their higher station. Lady Campbell envisioned that the Female Asylum would also prepare its students to be proper mothers, who would "prove a general Benefit to Society, as they will instil into their Children the same virtuous Principles, in which they have been educated them selves."[34]

For Schwartz, Lady Campbell's proposal fit with his and his colleagues' continuing interest in providing Christian education and encouraging the formation of Christian marriages and families on the subcontinent.[35] Furthermore, the SPCK had its own growing interest in its mission supporting the education of orphans with European parentage. In the mid-1780s the organization began inquiring about the thousands of children of European fathers and indigenous mothers after hearing reports that such children "are neither educated as Christians, which is their Birthright, nor preserved to the Community; but that they are mixed with the Natives, and lost as they grow up." The SPCK resolved in 1785 to provide fifty pounds to pay for a teacher to educate these children and hoped their gift would stimulate further donations in Britain and India to support the effort. In the same 1785 meeting the organization sent questionnaires to their missionaries and the EIC chaplains at Madras for further details about the children and the state

[34] Amelia Campbell to Christian Friedrich Schwartz, November 20, 1786, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 27:21 (quote); "Plan of an Asylum for female protestant Children" enclosed in Amelia Campbell to Christian Friedrich Schwartz, November 20, 1786, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 27:21.

[35] The missionaries frequently noted with a degree of pride when former attendees of the missions' schools or the Female or Male Asylums entered into a marriage with a partner whom the missionaries deemed a moral Christian. In a September 8, 1788 entry in his journal, Pohle noted his pleasure that he married a woman raised in the Trichinopoly mission station's schools to one of the garrison's few pious soldiers. He contrasted the woman's fate with other poor girls who entered into British households as concubines. Similarly, Christian Wilhelm Gericke noted in his journal for 1797 that almost all the attendees of the Female Asylum continued to be pious women and married or became respectable housekeepers. Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1788, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:9; Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:10a.

of their upbringing and religious outlooks.[36] Schwartz passed along the SPCK's 1785 offer to Governor Campbell the following year. The missionary hoped to plumb the presidency's interest in supporting such a school, or in providing additional resources to the SPCK Mission's English-language schools in Tanjore. The German bolstered his case by securing the support of EIC paymaster at Tanjore, John Coxe Hippisley, who personally lobbied Governor Campbell during a trip to Madras, and presented the governor with funds from himself and the local vestry in favor of the mission's English-language school.[37]

Schwartz played an active role in developing the curriculum at the Female Orphan Asylum, which had over fifty pupils within two months of its opening in the summer of 1787 and filled to its expanded capacity of 150 residential students by 1790.[38] He also assisted in the formation of the Female Orphan Asylum's brother institution, which opened in 1788. Schwartz's disappointment in the girls' unfamiliarity with catechization and inability to articulate the principles of the faith during a 1788 tour led him to revamp the Female Orphan Asylum's religious instruction and to secure additional personnel for the task. The missionary pressed for the children at both schools to move beyond the rote memorization of catechisms and instead have the children learn the underlying concepts of Christianity's principles through age-appropriate explanations.[39]

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[36] Letter of [Benjamin] Millingchamp and [Richard] Leslie, 1785, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 25:44; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:507, 677.

[37] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, December 20, 1786, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 27:25; Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 46; Roland Thorne, "Hippisley, Sir John Coxe, first baronet (1745/6–1825)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13361.

[38] Letters of Christian William Gericke to Lady Jodrell, IOR Mss Eur Photo 136/2, BL; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, April 22, 1796, Madras, IOR Mss Eur Photo 136/2, letter 2, BL.

[39] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, December 23, 1788, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 30c: 17; Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February 4, 1793, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 34a:72b.

For the Male Orphan Asylum, Schwartz suggested the curriculum balance robust instruction in Christianity with secular instruction that would provide students with suitable vocations that also met the EIC's needs. Schwartz believed that beyond teaching English-language literacy and numeracy to all the youths, promising boys should be instructed in Tamil and "Moorish" languages so they might go on to act as interpreters for the company.[40] Schwartz's vision of creating a pool of European and Eurasian translators and interpreters who might replace Indian intermediaries preceded by over a decade the EIC's own attempts to create a class of Eurasian interpreters and to provide intensive linguistic training to its European employees through Fort William College in Calcutta and Haileybury College in Hertfordshire, England. Students with less scholarly aptitude, Schwartz proposed, should be trained in a handicraft or in martial skills for a military career.[41]

Other missionaries followed Schwartz in working as paid employees for the two asylums in Madras. Gericke, who had moved to the SPCK's Madras mission station in 1788, declined to serve as the inaugural director of the Male Orphan Society for fear of overextending himself. Yet, in 1790, Gericke, who had not only over twenty years of experience as a missionary, but almost five years as a teacher and inspector at the Francke Foundations' school for girls in Halle, accepted the Female Orphan Asylum's directorship and secretaryship on assurances that his new

[40] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, December 23, 1788, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 30c: 17. "Moors" or Indostan language was a British term for a pidgin language of many Indian languages with a strong reliance on Persian vocabulary that was used primarily in northern and western India and seen by eighteenth-century EIC officials as one of the subcontinent's most important vernacular languages. Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 24, 33, 36.

[41] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 22, 24-25, 40; Jana Tschurenev, "Incorporation and Differentiation: Popular Education and the Imperial Civilizing Mission in Early Nineteenth Century India," in *Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia: From Improvement to Development*, ed. Carey A. Watt and Michael Mann (New York: Anthem Press, 2011), 101-103.

duties would not undermine his time to evangelize. Gericke believed that if he failed to accept the role then religious instruction at the asylum would atrophy.[42]

As director and secretary for the Female Orphan Asylum, Gericke undertook a variety of tasks, starting with the establishment of a revised set of institutional regulations. He also met regularly with the teachers to ensure they were following his new regulations; managed the book of potential attendees for the asylum; and arranged for new admittances when other girls aged out, passed away, or otherwise left the institution. In addition, Gericke solicited donations from patrons living in India and Europe, such as educational and religious books from Lady Campbell herself, or books and tambour-embroidering supplies, for crafts lessons, from Lady Jane Jodrell, the wife of a former personal physician to the Nawab of Arcot.[43]

Gericke brought his children into both the management of the asylum as well as the Madras mission station. His daughter, Dorothea Sophia helped manage the mission station's household until her death in 1796. His son, Georg Friedrich, served as his personal secretary, helping write and organize the missionary's official correspondence as the asylum's director.[44] As Schwartz had, Gericke also invested himself personally in all matters concerning his pupils' religious education. He arranged for the girls to go to English-language services at the fort's St.

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[42] Fragment of a Journal of [Christian Wilhelm Gericke], c. 1789, [Nagapatnam?], AFSt/M 2 E 47:14; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Johann Ludwig Schulze, September 1, 1790, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 31b:36; Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 34, 47.

[43] Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, January 20, 1790, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 31a:29; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Johann Ludwig Schulze, September 1, 1790, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 31b:36; Excerpt of a letter from Karl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, July 2, 1794, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 35b:35; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, August 3, 1795, Madras, IOR Mss Eur Photo Eur 136/2, letter 1, BL; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, April 22, 1796, Madras, IOR Mss Eur Photo Eur 136/2, letter 2, BL; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, January 21, 1797, Madras, IOR Mss Eur Photo Eur 136/2, letter 3, BL; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, December 11, 1798, Madras, IOR Mss Eur Photo Eur 136/2, letter 6, BL; Julian James Cotton, *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras Possessing Historical or Archaeological Interest* (Madras: Government Press, 1905), 97; Gordon Goodwin, "Jodrell, Sir Paul (1746–1803)," rev. Claire E. J. Herrick, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), https://doi-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/10.1093/ref:odnb/14837.

[44] Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 47.

Mary's Church on Sunday mornings, and to then travel across the city in the afternoon to Vepery to hear him preach in English. He spent four hours a week catechizing the girls and gave them religious lectures on Tuesdays and Thursday evenings. These lectures took place at the mission church in Vepery, and were also attended by residents of Madras.[45]

EIC officials and SPCK leaders hoped that the diversity of mission schools and EIC-operated schools would bring the next generation living in southern India into greater alignment with the company's social, economic, and racial vision. The graduates of the SPCK Mission's English-language schools and the Madras-based asylums went on to serve as the company's clerks, merchants, translators, soldiers, sailors, and artisans, or became their servants, spouses, and mothers.[46] Company officials and the missionaries were also confident that those pupils of European descent would remain Protestant and European in beliefs and outlook. The graduates would ideally establish stable families and help bring social order and morality to the company's expanding European and Eurasian communities.[47] The missionaries' Tamil- and Portuguese-language schools also continued to raise Christian children in European-style discipline and with vocational training. The new Sullivan schools offered the EIC a means to ingratiate itself with

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[45] Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, January 20, 1790, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 31a:29; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Johann Ludwig Schulze, September 1, 1790, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 31b:36; Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February 4, 1793, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 34a:72b; Excerpt of a letter from Karl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, July 2, 1794, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 35b:35.

[46] Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 8, 224, 234-237; Tschurenev, "Incorporation and Differentiation," 105-107.

[47] SPCK missionaries who served as chaplains, like Christian Wilhelm Gericke and Christian Pohle, tried to ensure that European soldiers and other employees married Christian women and created partnerships they deemed suitable. They held interviews with prospective brides and grooms. The German missionaries also tried to enforce East India Company regulations that a company official or local commanding military officer provide permission for their inferior to marry. The missionaries often expressed happiness in their writings when they were able bind the union of European men they deemed pious with women who had attended their mission schools or the Female Orphan Asylum. Although Pohle was galled on one occasion in 1788 when a captain sent one of his servants to the Trichiniopoly mission station's English-language school for girls to acquire one of his older students to serve in his household. Pohle interpreted the application as the first step in a plan for the concubinage of one of his pupils. Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1785, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 2 E 18:7; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1788, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:9; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1792, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:11; Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:10a.

the political and economic elites of neighboring Indian states and orient their interests towards those of the company's. The German missionaries' efforts as inspectors, consultants, secretaries, and directors of this constellation of schools helped EIC officials and other European elites in British southern India develop institutions they saw as critical for the long-term durability of the company's colonizing project.

German Missionaries as Company Emissaries, Translators, and Intelligence Gatherers in the Late Eighteenth Century

The German missionaries applied their knowledge of languages used in South Asia and long-standing relationships with indigenous populations all over southern India in efforts to bolster the EIC's relations with Indian states and populations, as well as the company's intelligence gathering and administrative efficacy. Specifically, German missionaries served the company as salaried or otherwise compensated translators and emissaries. As university-educated men, the missionaries studied a range of European languages as part of their formal educations. The missionaries also committed themselves to learning some of the subcontinent's most widely spoken and written languages, including Tamil, Marathi, Persian, and Portuguese. In addition to mastering languages, the early German missionaries set a precedent for engaging in regular interactions with locals in the neighborhoods, cities, and villages they traveled through on both their daily routes and long-distance travels.[48] Over the subsequent decades the missionaries passed on their knowledge of Tamil and other local languages through written texts, such as grammars, as well as through personal instruction.[49]

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[48] Daniel Jeyaraj, "Colonialism and Mission in Tranquebar—Their Relationship to the 'Hindus'," in *It Began in Copenhagen: Junctions in 300 Years of Indian-Danish Relations in Christian Mission*, ed. George Oommen and Hans Raun Iversen (Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2005), 108-109, 120.
[49] Journal of Johann Ernst Geister and Johann Zacharias Kiernander, January 7, 1741, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 L 1:2; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, September 6, 1787, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 H 9:3.

Several SPCK missionaries served as military translators. During the First Carnatic War (1744-1748), the Halle-trained, Swedish missionary Johann Zacharias Kiernander translated and interpreted in Dutch and Portuguese on behalf of Admiral Edward Boscawen of the Royal Navy. Kiernander's work for Boscawen encouraged the admiral to assist the mission, including advocating that the Portuguese Roman Catholic church in Fort St. David be gifted to the SPCK Mission.[50] Christian Pohle, while serving at the mission station in Trichinopoly, translated intelligence from the Tondaiman Raja of Pudukkottai[51] about the movements of Mysorean forces for the city's garrison commander during the Second Anglo-Mysore War.[52] Gericke earned ten pagodas (four pounds) a year serving as a Dutch translator for most of the 1790s. He was particularly busy in 1797, following the company's capture of Dutch East India Company (VOC) possessions in southern India and Ceylon during the First Coalition War (1792-1797) against Revolutionary France and its ally, the Batavian Republic. In addition to ministering to the many VOC-employed Dutch and German POWs, Gericke was also asked by EIC officials to translate their letters and other captured written materials into English. Even after the EIC relieved Gericke of his post as official Dutch translator, he was occasionally asked to translate German correspondence.[53]

Christian Friedrich Schwartz proved to be a particularly popular translator for the company. He mastered not only Tamil but also Marathi and Persian, the leading languages of diplomacy and government administration for Indian states at the time. Shortly after Schwartz

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[50] Johann Zacharias Kiernander to [Gotthilf August Francke], October 26, 1749, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 2 K 13:19.
[51] Presumably Raya Raghunatha Tondaiman
[52] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1782, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:4; Richard Blanton and Lane Fargher, *Collective Action in the Formation of Pre-Modern States* (New York: Springer, 2008), 224.
[53] Military Department to President & Council at Fort St. George, April 5, 1793, London, IOR E/4/879, p. 296, BL; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, October 11, 1797, Madras, IOR Mss Eur Photo Eur 136/2, letter 5, BL; Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:10a; Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:11a; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:494.

established the mission station in Tanjore, he began to translate the correspondence of the Raja of Tanjore and the EIC between Marathi and English. He continued to serve as the company's Marathi translator in Tanjore until his 1798 death. In 1783 during the Second Anglo-Mysore War he accepted the assignment of translator for the EIC's three-member peace commission and traveled to the Mysorean capital of Seringapatam (present-day Srirangapatna) to negotiate with the ruler of Mysore, Haidar Ali. Several months later, Schwartz traveled with the EIC's Resident at Tanjore, John Sullivan, to meet with local Maravar rulers of small states south of the Kingdom of Tanjore. It was likely during this trip that Sullivan and Schwartz began discussions that led to the proposal for the Sullivan schools and the establishment of the first one at Ramanathapuram. The EIC paid for Schwartz's service in several ways. Schwartz leveraged his translation of Marathi texts with the Raja of Tanjore into monthly payments of twenty pagodas (eight pounds) for himself and his colleague, Christian Pohle, stationed at Trichinopoly. Later in 1786 and with the Council of Fort St. George's approval, Governor Campbell started to pay one hundred pounds annually to Schwartz "in consideration of the Zeal & Services" as a translator and informal diplomat for the EIC in the Raja of Tanjore's court.[54]

The government at Fort St. George sought to relocate at least one SPCK missionary to Calcutta in 1800 to serve as an instructor of Tamil for the newly established Fort William College. The college, established by recently-arrived Governor-General Richard Wellesley, Marquis Wellesley, was to train newly arrived EIC administrators in skills that included learning local languages. This education was supposed to help the company eliminate presumed corrupt

[54] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 13, 1779, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 70:43; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February, 3, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 70:46; "Extract of Fort St. George Military and Political Consultations," August 15, 1786, [Madras], IOR F/4/55/1282, BL (quote); Political Letter to Fort St. George Political Department, May 7, 1800, London, IOR E/4/886, p. 565, BL; Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 22; G.H. Lamb, *Memoir of Christian Frederick Schwartz* (Madras: The Christian Literature Society for India, 1948).

Indian intermediaries as well as inoculate new EIC officials against falling into financial or moral irregularities. While Johann Caspar Kohlhoff declined an offer, Karl Wilhelm Päzold, who was serving alongside Gericke in Madras, agreed to go to Calcutta, where he taught from 1802 to 1804.[55]

Even when the EIC did not employ the missionaries as formal translators, the company still enjoyed the fruits of the language skills that the Germans developed over their decades of missionizing. The once handwritten and copied lexicons, grammars, and dictionaries the missionaries assembled began to be published and to expand their number of entries. During his time in India, Benjamin Schultze produced a Telugu-English dictionary, a Telugu grammar published in 1728, and an English-Telugu-Tamil-Latin dictionary. While serving in Madras, Johann Philipp Fabricius edited a Tamil-to-English dictionary in 1779, and later in 1786 an English-Tamil dictionary that continued to be widely used well into the nineteenth century. Päzold, following his return to Madras from Fort William College, oversaw the editing and publication of a new edition of the early eighteenth-century Mantuan Jesuit Constanzo Beschi's Latin-Tamil grammar.[56] Johann Peter Rottler, who served over fifty years between the Royal Danish-Halle and SPCK missions, revised and expanded Fabricius' Tamil-English dictionary, finishing the first volume in 1822. The EIC spent nearly three thousand rupees (about three hundred pounds) from 1835 to 1843 to acquire several hundred copies of the completed three-

[55] Bayly, *Empire and Information*, 6, 45-46; Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 49; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:494; Sen, "Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires," 31; Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India*, 46-47.

[56] Excerpt of a letter from Carl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, July 31, 1805, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 46:94; George Oommen, "Changing Faces of Protestant Christianity in India," in Oommen and Iversen, *It Began in Copenhagen*, 20; Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 252.

volume dictionary. Many of the copies went to the College of Fort St. George which, like Fort William College, focused on training EIC employees in local languages.[57]

These volumes helped company officials and employees learn local languages. Company men could then engage in diplomacy with Indian rulers, directly command their own servants and soldiers, and inquire about their subjects' lives, land tenures, and skills. When company officials relied on Indian intermediaries, that dependence created space for Indian autonomy and resistance within the company state. Indians could work with company officials or on their own to siphon tax and other revenues away from the company and into private hands. They could also deny the company revenue by undervaluing land or other taxable property. As often Britons' only connections with the subcontinent's interior polities and peoples, indigenous intermediaries could provide whatever information or disinformation—enemy troop movements, local social conditions, market prices—they desired to the EIC. Indian clerks who wrote in Persian or other languages of diplomacy could divulge company secrets to outside parties. These officiants, clerks, and merchants' power within the expanding colonial state produced great anxiety among British officials, who often saw Indian intermediaries as untrustworthy and self-serving figures routinely withholding critical information from their British employers. Through their translations and writings, in contrast, the missionaries gladly shared what they had learned in their homelands and in India. Linguistic and cultural knowledge that had been developed for

[57] Ernst August Georg Falcke to Georg Christian Knapp, August 1, 1822, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 64:6; Johann Peter Rottler to Georg Christian Knapp, August 7, 1822, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 64:7; Public Department to Fort St. George, July 8, 1835, London, IOR E/4/946, p. 117-118, BL; Public Department to Fort St. George, November 17, 1841, London, IOR E/4/956, p. 679, BL; Public Department to Fort St. George, February 1, 1843, London, IOR E/4/959, p. 346, BL; Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 51; Bhavani Raman, *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 85-87, 91.

evangelizing the subcontinent was easily transferred to EIC officials for the administration of their subject populations and territories.[58]

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Schwartz and his colleague Gericke served as emissaries for the EIC to a host of actors around southern India. Schwartz's years of traveling, evangelizing throughout southern India, and conversing with audiences in a variety of languages enabled him to cultivate a reputation as an honest broker with many people across the subcontinent. On several occasions Schwartz staked this reputation at the behest of the EIC and its allies to aid their geopolitical and military interests.

Governor of Fort St. George Thomas Rumbold called on Schwartz in 1779 to serve as an emissary for the company and meet with the ruler of Mysore, Haidar Ali, to lower tensions between the two sides and express the company's desire for friendship. Rumbold selected Schwartz because he could speak directly with Haidar Ali in Hindi or in Persian and could travel quietly into and out of Mysore. Schwartz initially hesitated to take the assignment, but ultimately agreed to participate, believing the task to be a mission of peace and himself a tool of God's mercy preventing the spilling of blood. Schwartz hoped his work and its success would draw more people to the faith. He also wanted to show his gratitude to the EIC for its support, as well as leverage his service with the EIC to have the company pressure the Nawab of Arcot to recognize his late son-in-law's massive debts to the missionary Fabricius and to start paying them back. While Schwartz did receive an audience with Haidar Ali, his mission of peace failed to prevent a second war between Mysore and the EIC that started the following year.[59]

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[58] Bayly, *Empire and Information*, 6, 76-77; Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 4, 16-56; Anders Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:168; Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 243; Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India*, 29-32.

[59] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 13, 1779, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 70:43; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February, 3, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 70:46;

During this Second Anglo-Mysore War, the EIC and its ally, Raja of Tanjore, Thuljaji (r. 1763-1773, 1776-1787), called upon Schwartz to rally the support of the Kingdom of Tanjore's populace for the war effort. Schwartz spent most of his time in the kingdom since he first met Raja Thuljaji in a 1769 interview. The two men developed a friendship and eventually Thuljaji invited Schwartz to establish a mission station in his capital. The raja provided the new station with a burial site, a mile from where the EIC's fortified garrison was located, as well as a piece of land just outside the city for a church to serve the growing Tamil-speaking congregation.[60]

Haidar Ali's initial 1780 invasion of the Coromandel Coast swept through Tanjore lands. The attack devastated the countryside and produced an acute food crisis in the city of Tanjore where EIC and Thajavur forces remained, protected by the capital's fortifications from the superior Mysorean forces. The raja failed to persuade farmers, grain merchants, and teamsters to bring supplies to the city because of previous non-payments by his government. Thuljaji asked EIC officials to empower Schwartz to negotiate with his subjects and others to contract for supplies. The missionary sent out letters promising that he would personally pay anyone who had cattle or food seized by Mysorean forces while transporting it to the city. Schwartz used the mission's congregants and catechists in the kingdom to spread word of his offer. Within days, the city started receiving enough grain to avert the crisis. Schwartz brokered a similar arrangement on behalf of Thuljaji and the EIC later in the war, when Mysorean forces again raided Tanjore lands just before the harvest.[61]

Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:311; Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India* (Brookfield, VT: Chatto & Pickering, 2014), 67.

[60] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Friedrich Sorge, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:30; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February 3, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 70:46.

[61] G.H. Lamb, *Memoir of Christian Frederick Schwartz*, 18; Christian Friedrich Schwartz, *Defence of Missions in India, by the Late Venerable Mr. Swartz, Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in Their Report for 1795* ([London], c. 1796), 7-9.

Gericke also found himself engaging in informal diplomacy for the EIC during the same conflict. When French, Mysorean, and Dutch forces captured Cuddalore and Fort St. David in 1782, the German missionary acted as an emissary on behalf of both the EIC and the mission. Just after the city's fall, Gericke secured interviews with the commanding officers of the then-VOC-employed Swiss de Meuron Regiment and the French regiments occupying the city. The missionary appealed to them as Christians and gentlemen to do their utmost to prevent the killing or inhumane treatment of any British POWs and the destruction of property. Gericke then spent the next several months taking care of several wounded British officers as well as holding religious services for captured British forces before departing the city to spend the rest of the war ministering in Madras and Tranquebar (present-day Tharangambadi).[62]

Schwartz's diplomatic career did not end with the cessation of the Second Anglo-Mysore War in 1784. His standing at the court in Tanjore led Governor Campbell to appoint him to a Committee of Inspection overseeing the Kingdom of Tanjore's affairs in 1786. EIC officials in London also recommended to their government in Madras that Schwartz mediate tensions between Thuljaji's young adopted son and heir, Serfoji (r. 1798-1832), whom Thuljaji had entrusted to Schwartz's guardianship, and the raja's half-brother, Amar Singh (r. 1787-1798). Much to Schwartz's disappointment, Amar Singh seized the throne for himself and secured Governor Campbell's blessing in exchange for increased annual payments to both the EIC and the Nawab of Arcot. Schwartz used his position in court to provided intelligence to metropolitan

[62] Andreas Gross, "Some Aspects of the English-Halle Mission in Cuddalore 1737-1829," in Gross, Kuamradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:397-398; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 138; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:290.

EIC officials on Serfoji's increasingly poor treatment and eventually engineered the boy's removal to Madras.[63]

EIC officials repeatedly asked German missionaries to serve as their representatives with Indian rulers as well as to translate documents in a variety of languages for administrative, diplomatic, and intelligence purposes. These efforts were much more tenuously linked to their evangelization than their pedagogical and clerical labors. Yet, the missionaries regularly accepted these tasks that relied on their language skills and credibility with Indians that few contemporary EIC officials possessed. These activities helped ensure that the EIC maintained its possessions on the subcontinent.

Serving Two Masters? Halle Pietists' Ambivalence About Their Roles in Company Rule

The missionaries' new formal positions in the EIC and British armed forces triggered more debates amongst the missionaries, their superiors, and their supporters over what constituted the appropriate relationship between the missions and the company. Many within these circles feared that the increased engagement with the EIC and its European employees was distracting clergy from their evangelical aims, as well as endangering the missions' independence. Some missionaries, including several who were salaried employees of the EIC, criticized the EIC and many of its employees for their unchristian character and their interference with the missionaries' proselytizing. There were even fears that some missionaries were becoming corrupted by the company's growing power and wealth and no longer faithfully serving God.

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[63] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Jacob Klein, April 16, 1787, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 29b:7a; "Extract of Public Letter to Fort St. George," July 31, 1787, [London], IOR E/4/55/1282, BL; Political Department to President in Council at Fort St. George, June 25, 1793, London, IOR E/4/879, p. 524-525, 530, BL; Lamb, *Memoir of Christian Frederick Schwartz*, 22.

Two events catalyzed a debate over the mission's relations with the EIC in the mid-1760s. The first was Schwartz's continuing multiyear residency at Trichinopoly in British India as a Royal Danish-Halle missionary and the offer to become a salaried chaplain for the EIC. The second was the revelation that Hüttemann had received (for over a decade) annual revenues from a company-controlled village for his chaplaincy work during the Second Carnatic War (discussed in detail in the previous chapter). Hüttemann had kept the funds for his personal use and his colleagues found out about it only through reading the SPCK's publication, *Account of the Society*.[64]

Other missionaries and the Halle-based superiors expressed concerns that the two missionaries might be losing sight of the missions' evangelical aims. Schwartz's coworkers in Tranquebar felt his extended stay in British India prevented him from fulfilling his duties as a salaried Royal Danish-Halle missionary. They feared Schwartz was losing his autonomy and possibly being corrupted by large donations from the EIC and its ally, the Nawab of Arcot, which he might use to personally enrich himself.[65]

While complaints that Schwartz had strayed from his mission were largely speculative, Hüttemann appeared to focus more on ministering to the English, for which he was paid sixty pagodas (twenty-four pounds) annually by the EIC, than to Indians. When he led English-language services and administered the Eucharist at various EIC outposts in southern India, he

[64] Johann Philipp Fabricius to Gotthilf August Francke, March 24, 1766, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 56:26; Johann Philipp Fabricius to Gotthilf August Francke, December 2, 1766, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 56:28.
[65] Johann Christian Wiedebrock, Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff, Daniel Zeglin, Oluf Maderup, and Jakob Klein to Gotthilf August Francke, January 23, 1766, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 56:2; Johann Christian Weidebrock, Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff, Daniel Zeglin, Oluf Maderup, Jacob Klein, and Peter Dame to Gotthilf August Francke, January 21, 1766, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 55:3; Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, July 4, 1766, London, AFSt/M 1 D 10:51.

used the Book of Common Prayer instead of the Lutheran Church's formula. According to colleagues, he also failed to master Portuguese well enough to minister in that language.[66]

Gotthilf August Francke, August Hermann Francke's son and successor as the Francke Foundations' director in Halle, expressed similar worries about both missionaries. He wondered about the distractions and the possible incompatibility of the duties as a salaried company chaplain with the obligations to evangelize. He noted to Hüttemann that he did not value the missionaries' work with Europeans, nor the funds these activities brought to the missions. He feared the missionaries' acceptance of these additional salaries were acts motivated by pride or avarice, and that their higher salaries might lure them to indulge in worldly temptations. Gotthilf August Francke, like his father, was also deeply concerned with Lutheran missionaries using Anglican liturgy in their company-sponsored ministering.[67]

Schwartz defended his actions, maintaining that all the gifts went to funding the new schools and congregational expenses rather than lining his own pockets. He held in his letters and diaries that he was promoting the building of God's kingdom through his service in Trichinopoly.[68] The younger Francke, despite his concerns with Schwartz and Hüttemann's new positions, did not bar them from accepting the posts. Nor did he oppose Schwartz's transferring to the SPCK's mission. The director urged Hüttemann to renew his focus on the mission and to drop his chaplaincy work with the EIC as soon as a proper substitute could be found to provide

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[66] Johann Philipp Fabricius to Gotthilf August Francke, December 2, 1766, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 56:28; Gotthilf August Francke to Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann, January 30, 1767, Halle, AFSt/M 1 56:61.
[67] Gotthilf August Francke to Christian Friedrich Schwartz, November 16, 1767, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 55:30; Gotthilf August Francke to Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann, January 30, 1767, Halle, AFSt/M 1 56:61.
[68] Johann Christian Wiedebrock, Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff, Daniel Zeglin, Oluf Maderup, and Jakob Klein to Gotthilf August Francke, January 23, 1766, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 56:2; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gotthilf August Francke, March 14, 1766, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 B 56:17; Johann Christian Weidebrock, Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff, Daniel Zeglin, Oluf Maderup, Jacob Klein, and Peter Dame to Gotthilf August Francke, September 27, 1765, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 55:2; Johann Christian Weidebrock, Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff, Daniel Zeglin, Oluf Maderup, Jacob Klein, and Peter Dame to Gotthilf August Francke, January 21, 1766, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 55:3.

cura animarum, or the priestly offices, for the EIC employees' souls. The younger Francke viewed Schwartz's work in Trichinopoly and the support he received from the EIC and locals as a sign that God was blessing the expansion of their evangelization. Francke also hoped that Schwartz's continued close relations with the Nawab of Arcot might open Tanjore lands to proselytization, as the Raja of Tanjore was the nawab's inferior. For decades, the Rajas of Tanjore had barred and later heavily restricted the German missionaries and their indigenous mission workers from their lands, effectively limiting the Royal Danish-Halle Mission to just the small Danish enclave.[69] Francke's hesitant acceptance of Schwartz's and Hüttemann's relations with the EIC enabled Schwartz to become an SPCK missionary as well as an EIC chaplain in 1768, as well as permit Hüttemann to continue his chaplaincy for the EIC in and around Cuddalore for decades.[70]

Concerns about the missionaries bending to the EIC's will, turning their attentions towards European Christians over non-believing South Asians, and the temptations of vast wealth did not end in the 1760s. Future directors of the Francke Foundations constantly monitored the missionaries' activities through letters and diaries to try and prevent these issues from arising. Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, who succeeded the younger Francke in 1771, chastised newly arrived missionary Johann Wilhelm Gerlach for his proposed new school in Calcutta. In Freylinghausen's view, the envisioned institution was too expensive, too demanding of missionaries' time, and seemingly useless in aiding in the evangelization of India.[71] Schwartz had to assuage the fears of Freylinghausen's successor, Johann Ludwig Schulze, that his work in

[69] Gotthilf August Francke to Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann, January 30, 1767, Halle, AFSt/M 1 56:61; Gotthilf August Francke to Christian Friedrich Schwartz, November 16, 1767, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 55:30.
[70] Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Secretary Jallofield, November 21, 1780, Cuddalore, ALMW/DHM 11/23:26a; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Secretary Jallofield, November 26, 1780, Cuddalore, ALMW/DHM 11/23:26b.
[71] Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen to Johann Wilhelm Gerlach, December 28, 1780, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 70:74.

Tanjore went beyond managing congregations of English-speaking and Tamil-speaking Christians, and that he was reaching out to the unconverted. He highlighted how he had the opportunity to promote Christianity at least monthly in the royal palace with the raja's permission.[72]

There were also continued worries that the missionaries were giving into the "temptations" of Mammon. Even as the EIC began providing village revenues to Hüttemann for his military chaplaincy efforts, which the German missionary used for his personal expenses, he alerted Gotthilf August Francke that his colleague in Cuddalore, Johann Zacharias Kiernander, was engaging in private trade. Hüttemann alleged that the Swede was working with a well-connected local man to sell sandalwood, coral, wines, and other products, as well as to speculate in real estate by acquiring properties that no missionary could afford on his salary. Kiernander defended his purchases, insisting that the money came from his new wife, Wendela Fischer, the daughter of a British military officer. Hüttemann feared that not only was Kiernander distracted by his commercial ventures; he risked being lured into the "vices" enjoyed by the city's English merchant community, like dancing, gambling, and heavy drinking.[73] Hüttemann's letter generated great concern among the Lutheran Pietist network back in Europe. Gotthilf August Francke and other Halle Pietist leaders advised Kiernander not to get too close to the EIC or engage in trade, as neither the institution nor the activity addressed spiritual matters.[74]

Despite admonishments about missionaries engaging in private trade, risky financial investments, and landholding, several of them seized such opportunities while operating in

[72] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Ludwig Schulze, February 1, 1788, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 29a:5.
[73] Georg Heinrich Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, September 29, 1752, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 42:51; Gross, "Some Aspects of the English-Halle Mission in Cuddalore 1737-1829," 390.
[74] Samuel Theodor Albinus to Johann Philipp Fabricius, May 10, 1754, London, AFSt/M 1 B 43:2; Gotthilf August Francke to Johann Zacharias Kiernander, January 31, 1755, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 43:63.

British India, sometimes to disastrous ends. Hüttemann continued his personal financial dealings even after the debates of the mid-1760s. When he died in 1781, he owned several properties, carriages, plate metal, and furniture, as well as eighteenth thousand pagodas (7,200 pounds) in EIC bonds. Although Hüttemann bequeathed many of his EIC investments to the SPCK mission, Schwartz believed that Hüttemann's financial acumen had come at the expense of his service as a missionary. Not only had Hüttemann never mastered Portuguese, but his Tamil language skills had atrophied so much that for over a decade he had to leave pastoral care of the Tamil congregation to Gericke.[75]

Kiernander was not so fortunate. He continued to engage in trade and real estate investments as he moved to Calcutta in 1758 following the French *Compagnie des Indes'* capture of Cuddalore during the Third Carnatic War. While his growing personal fortune helped construct and maintain the new mission station, a series of financial setbacks in 1787 put the SPCK Madras mission station's buildings at risk of seizure by his creditors.[76] Similarly, Johann Philipp Fabricius' financial mismanagement of mission funds, largely through providing unsecured loans totaling over twenty-five thousand pagodas (ten thousand pounds) to a son-in-law of Nawab of Arcot, Muhammad Ali Khan Wallajah, led to his imprisonment and the mortgaging of the Vepery mission house in Madras in the late 1780s.[77]

Within Lutheran Pietist circles there were also concerns that the EIC's endeavors in India were at cross-purposes with the missions' avowed goal of expanding the Kingdom of God. The missionaries saw the Carnatic Wars and the EIC's ultimate victory over the *Compagnie des Indes*

[75] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February 3, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 70:46; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:289, 408-409.
[76] Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:521.
[77] Fragment of a Journal of [Christian Wilhelm Gericke], c. 1789, [Nagapatnam?], AFSt/M 2 E 47:14; Extract of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, January 14, 1789, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 30c:17a.

and its allies as a sign of God's providence and the triumph of the "true faith" over Roman Catholicism. They hoped that the expansion of British power would also bring about the expansion of Protestantism and of moral Christian governance on the subcontinent. Yet, such visions faded quickly in the subsequent years. For the German clergy, the EIC provided no massive influx of monetary aid to their evangelical work. Nor did the company rein in its employees' "sinful" excesses, nor cease its financial and ritual support for Catholicism and non-Christian religions.[78] Company officials even pressured some missionaries to participate in practices they found idolatrous, heretical, or otherwise objectionable, such as when the EIC's commanding officer at Trichinopoly insisted Pohle inter Roman Catholic soldiers with the Anglican burial liturgy.[79]

Halle Pietists on both sides of the globe attributed the company's and its European employees' inattentiveness to evangelization and basic Christian principles and behavior to growing irreligiosity among the British. They ascribed this shift to the increasing popularity of Enlightenment thought and deism in the British Isles. SPCK missionary Päzold wrote to two of his colleagues back in Halle that because the English protected people who held contrarian, irreligious views, the English were less religious than Germans. One result of this protection of irreligiosity, he argued, was that thousands of English people who came to India were completely ignorant of Christianity. Many had taken the sacrament only once, if at all, and had never been confirmed in their faith.[80]

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[78] Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff to Gotthilf August Francke, January 8, 1756, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 45:21; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Gotthilf August Francke, December 31, 1765, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 55:22; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Thomas Broughton, December 31, 1766, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 56:40; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, February 16, 1767, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 56:39; Jacob S. Dharmaraj, *Colonialism and Christian Mission: Postcolonial Reflections* (Delhi: Indian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1993), xvi.

[79] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1782, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:4.

[80] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1788, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:9; Karl Wilhelm Päzold to Preceptors Held and Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Motz, c. 1795, [Madras?], AFSt/M 2 E 29:3c.

According to many of the missionaries, the result of Europeans' growing ignorance of and apathy towards Protestantism in India was the spiritual and corporeal destruction of both Europeans and South Asians. The Royal Danish-Halle missionary Christoph Samuel John saw a strong correlation between weakening morals among Indians and the scale of the European presence in an area. John claimed, for example, that indigenous cooks, servants, and palanquin bearers quickly adopted their employers' "vice" of drunkenness.[81] Pohle observed how the EIC and individual English employers paid weavers in his Trichinopoly congregations poorly. Frequently they withheld wages for months in order to coerce the weavers into remaining dependent upon them for work, and to accept whatever wages they offered. The German missionary wished "that the English placed themselves in the position of these people and think about what they would do, if they were treated in the same manner."[82]

Several missionaries working on the EIC's behalf, including Schwartz, believed the company's avarice drove it to engage in corrupt and destructive practices. The search for immediate profits by both EIC officials and employees led many individuals to participate in illegal trade, bribery, looting, and usury. Schwartz observed that even in times of drought, the EIC demanded forty to fifty percent of total land revenues, which inevitably led to perpetual hardships for the poor.[83] Schwartz supposed the EIC's focus on the immediate extraction of

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[81] Memorial of Christoph Samuel John to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 10, 1785, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 2 E 27:3.

[82] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1784, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:6. "Ich wünsche aber doch auch, wie ich oft gesagt, daß die Engländer sich an die Stelle dieser Leute setzten, un bedächten, was sie werden tuhun, wenn sie von densleben so behandelt würde."

[83] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Friedrich Sorge, October 20, 1778, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 D 19:1; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Friedrich Sorge, October 9, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:31; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, October 10, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:33; Schwartz's estimates of revenue extraction may even have been low. One estimate for the Kingdom of Tanjore in the 1770s places revenue collection at fifty-nine percent of total gross product in order for the kingdom and the raja to meet payments to the British East India Company, the Nawab of Arcot, and private British lenders. This sum was forty percent higher than the previous greatest revenue collections made by the Rajas of Tanjore. Kathleen Gough, "Colonial Economics in Southeast India," *Economic and Political Weekly* 12, no. 13 (March 26, 1977): 541.

resources led to the neglect of basic infrastructure, and contrasted the EIC's neglect with Mysore's diligence in maintaining roads and bridges for the greater good.[84]

Schwartz, from his time in the Nawab of Arcot's lands in Trichinopoly and the Raja of Tanjore's court in Tanjore, saw how the EIC's relentless demands for resources led it to coerce Indian rulers. These demands worsened the lives of their subjects as they faced higher taxes and the consequences of wars triggered by the EIC's greed. Higher taxes in the Nawab of Arcot's lands caused many to emigrate, which created unrest in neighboring states like Mysore.[85] The missionary lamented EIC officials' incessant demands for bribes and growing annual subventions from regional states. Schwartz believed that EIC officials' continual demands from Raja Thuljaji undercut his personal relationship with the raja and the ruler's interest in Christianity. He feared that the raja's growing bitterness towards Europeans might lead to the mission station's closure in the royal city.[86] Similarly, the German missionary blamed the failure of his 1779 peace mission to Haidar Ali at his capital of Seringapatam and the subsequent Second Anglo-Mysore War on Governor Thomas Rumbold's desires for bribes. Governor Rumbold, Schwartz quickly learned, had sent a second emissary shortly after Schwartz left Seringapatam to demand a payment for the EIC and himself, which drove Haidar Ali to prepare for war. The missionary confessed to a friend that he sympathized with Haidar Ali's position that EIC officials lacked integrity and could not be trusted.[87]

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[84] "Extracts from some Letters written by the late Reverend Mr Schwartz to one of his Majesty's Chaplains and another Friend, in 1779 & 1780," Western Manuscripts (hereafter Western MSS), Additional Manuscripts (hereafter Add MSS) 57313, f. 39v, BL.

[85] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Friedrich Sorge, October 20, 1778, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 D 19:1.

[86] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February, 3, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 70:46; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 10, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:32; Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, December 20, 1786, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 27:25.

[87] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Friedrich Sorge, October 9, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:31; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, October 10, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:33.

As the missionaries became EIC employees and saw with ever greater detail the Company's administrative practices in India, they and their supervisors feared that they were being pulled further away from their goal of expanding the Kingdom of God in India. Missionaries expressed concerns that their reputation and their evangelizing were being undermined by EIC officials and employees' "sinful" and unjust behaviors. Moreover, these actions radiated across the continent, threatened the welfare of millions of people beyond British India, and inhibited their conversion to Christianity. Yet, the missionaries and their superiors still tolerated if not embraced the practice of SPCK missionaries entering the EIC's payroll and performing seemingly worldly tasks beyond expanding God's Kingdom on the subcontinent. This growing if often hesitant collaboration with the EIC was tied to a variety of developments, both in India and Europe.

Keeping the Faith: Missionary Justifications for Continued Collaboration with the British East India Company

Despite Pietists' concerns about the EIC and the missionaries' relations with the company, they never broke free of their growing connections with the company. A mixture of pragmatism, ideological priorities, and optimism that the company would change its ways and reward the missionaries, kept these Germans immigrants tied to the EIC. Many of the German missionaries continued to see their work with European Protestants as necessary to facilitate their evangelization among nonbelievers. Failure to minister to their fellow European Protestants would lead such unguided souls to continue to commit "sins" and besmirch the character of

Christians on the subcontinent, as well as potentially lead such souls to Roman Catholicism or a rejection of faith entirely.[88]

As the century progressed and the missions' congregations expanded, German missionaries worried that the thousands of single European men in the company's employ—particularly those who were unchurched—would threaten the physical and spiritual well-being of their converts. The missionaries' vision of fostering stable monogamous marriages among Protestants in India clashed with the expectations of many single European men who pursued more informal sexual relations with women while living on the subcontinent. The norms of early modern European masculinity deemed personal honor and social reputation in large part on a man's sexual activities and prowess. Sexual intercourse with an unmarried woman was considered a primary way to acquire an honorable form of manhood before matrimony—even as it debased that very woman and potentially rendered her unsuitable for marriage. Some men could not afford or were not permitted by company or military regulation to marry, but still wanted sex and companionship. In India, European men could pursue sexual opportunities circumscribed in Europe by law or societal norms or economic realities.[89]

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[88] Annexed pages of "No IV some Account of the *Protestant Mission to* East-India, In the Years 1751 and 1752," in William Watts to the Directors of the English East India Company, December 5, 1753, AFSt/M 1 B 42:36; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann and Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, December 31, 1769, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 59:25; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 39; Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 247-248.

[89] Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 20-23; Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries*, 18, 89-90; Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (New York: Longman, 1999), 9-10, 41-42; Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 199, 208; Hawes, *Poor Relations*, 12-14; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 24-25; Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 80-81, 83. Middling sorts and elites in Britain in the mid- to late eighteenth century increasingly shifted towards forms of masculinity rooted in politeness, self-control, and public displays of social refinement, though libertinism persisted among some. The working men who filled the ranks of the EIC's armies and sailed its East Indiamen still largely embraced a masculinity rooted in sexual pursuits and were more accepting of irregular marriages and other domestic arrangements. Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 2, 5-6, 42-43, 47, 265; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 212-214.

Forming sexual and domestic relationships outside of marriage with Europeans often offered Indian and Eurasian women a source of material support to sustain themselves and their extended families. Partnering with a soldier also enabled indigenous women and their children to claim support or assistance from the regiment or the EIC administration. While such relations with European men often carried social and religious stigmatization in South Asia, women's economic concerns or social upbringing outweighed them. These women who formed relationships with the thousands of low-level soldiers and civil servants were often from lower castes or were the children of similar unions. They had possibly already separated from community and familial links. These factors increased the precarity of their survival and reduced the potential risks of their losing social prestige.[90]

Yet cohabitating with a European man also left Indian and Eurasian women vulnerable to the whims of their partner and other European men. Company officials and the British courts established in India in the late eighteenth century consistently ruled that coverture applied to women who were domestic partners of European men. Furthermore, emerging legal precedent in British India also granted European men boundless access to their indigenous conjugal partners' bodies as well other women residing within and beyond their households, even to the point of rape. Accused European rapists occasionally faced trials, but routinely avoided guilty verdicts and punishment. Their defenses rested on claims that their Indian and Eurasian victims were currently or had been a European's mistresses or a prostitute, and they therefore were open to sexual intercourse. Juries even considered a woman or girl's presence near Europeans' homes or soldiers' barracks as exculpatory evidence for the defendant.[91]

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[90] Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 193, 206-207, 210-211, Hawes, *Poor Relations*, x; Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World*, 203-204.
[91] Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 180-181, 189, 191, 197.

The missionaries deemed their female converts in urban centers especially vulnerable to European men's predations and possible morally corrupting influences, since they frequently worked as servants of individual Europeans as well as the trading companies. Others were the partners and spouses of EIC soldiers and employees.[92] Pohle spent months in 1782 trying to get an EIC doctor named Simpson to remove a Tamil congregant from his home, a widow named Magdalena with two children, believing that Simpson had arranged to take in the family in exchange for making Magdalena's daughter his concubine. Pohle protested to Magdalena, Simpson, the commanding military officer at Trichinopoly, and even the Governor of Fort St. George on the matter. The missionary was unable to bring the company's military or civil authorities to order Simpson to remove the family from his home. Simpson's promise of housing, food, and other necessities, as well as access to an alternative social network for Magdalena and her family seemingly outweighed Pohle's threats of damnation. After his quest to remove the family from Simpson's home failed, Pohle excommunicated Magdalena and her daughter and preached to the Tamil congregation on the incompatibility of concubinage with Christianity.[93]

While seeking to resolve his conflict with Simpson, Pohle also learned that a German captain serving in the city had pursued sexual relations and potentially assaulted several congregants. The captain had hired a young Tamil convert to be his interpreter, or *dubash*, before beginning a sexual relationship with her. Pohle's account is unclear as to whether the sexual intercourse was consensual. The officer also paid the woman's relations as part of the arrangement. Pohle learned in the course of his investigation that the captain had also invited at

[92] Memorial of Christoph Samuel John to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 10, 1785, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 2 E 27:3; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, February 7 and October 5, 1780, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:25.
[93] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1782, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:4; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1788, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:9.

least five female congregants over to his house on a Christmas Eve and proceeded to have the women imbibe alcohol and become intoxicated, including the young woman who was serving as his *dubash*. The captain may have been using the alcohol to facilitate his assaulting one or more of the women. Pohle tried and failed to get the German captain court-martialed for his actions. Pohle remained vigilant of efforts by EIC employees and soldiers to hire female congregants and female pupils at mission schools as domestic servants. The young women would be more isolated within a private home away from the congregation and vulnerable to sexual abuse.[94]

By ministering to the EIC's European soldiers and employees, the German missionaries hoped to stop colonial violence that they perceived as morally corrupting and a threat to their wider evangelical mission. They sought to turn European men towards a masculinity rooted in Christian virtue and self-discipline and wished to enlist the company's growing authority to encourage behavior the missionaries deemed acceptable. The missionaries' attempts to create a Christian society in India and protect their Indian and Eurasian congregants' faith and uprightness paradoxically led them to spend increased amounts of time engaging with European Christians and British imperial authorities.[95]

Material considerations also kept the missionaries working closely with the EIC, as the missionaries continued to rely on EIC officials, employees, and markets under their control for economic services vital to the missions' maintenance. As in the first half of the eighteenth century, mission finances remained sometimes precarious as the missionaries struggled to sustain their growing network of congregations and schools in the face of wars, disrupted shipping, and

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[94] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1782, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:4; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1788, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:9; Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*, 63-74. The Calcutta Military Asylum's leadership in the 1820s stopped its practice of hiring out its female Eurasian graduates as ladies' maids and domestic servants, believing such employment frequently led to the graduates' seduction at the hands of men within the household. Hawes, *Poor Relations*, 31.

[95] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 212-214; Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India*, 8-9.

irregular donations from Europe. During the early years of the Third Carnatic War (1756-1763), the Cuddalore mission station was over one thousand reichsthalers (about 225 pounds) in debt, while its counterpart in Madras owed over fifteen hundred pagodas (six hundred pounds) to creditors.[96] Later, the massive (and never-repaid) loans of personal and mission funds to a son-in-law of the Nawab of Arcot kept the Madras mission station on the brink of bankruptcy into the nineteenth century.[97]

Salaries and gratuities from the EIC allowed the missionaries to maintain their operations as well as to plug their financial gaps. In his first years as an EIC chaplain Schwartz used his chaplaincy salary, twice the value of his missionary salary, to fund the construction of a church and mission house in Trichinopoly as well as purchase a horse so he could traverse the region's rivers and canals. After the buildings were completed, he repurposed the thirteen pagodas (just over five pounds) a month designated for the construction towards the salaries of the station's Indian mission workers. His successor in the post, Pohle, also used most of his chaplaincy salary to maintain a half dozen mission employees working in and around Trichinopoly.[98] Gericke used the salaries he received as a military chaplain for several regiments in the 1790s to finance the education and maintenance of the regiments' children, as well as to finance charity for the Madras mission station's neediest congregants.[99]

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[96] Johann Christian Wiedebrock, Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff, Daniel Zeglin, Oluf Maderup, Jacob Klein, Christian Friedrich Schwartz, and Peter Dame to Gotthilf August Francke, September 7, 1756, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 B 47:4; Gotthilf August Francke to Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt, February 26, 1759, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 47:55.

[97] Fragment of a Journal of [Christian Wilhelm Gericke], c. 1789, [Nagapatnam?], AFSt/M 2 E 47:14; Excerpt of a letter from Karl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, October 27, 1800, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 41:25a.

[98] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Georg Knapp, January 22, 1771, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 B 60:23; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 13, 1779, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 70:43; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, October 10, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:33; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1792, [Trichinopoly], AFSt/M 2 E 18:11.

[99] Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, October 11, 1797, Madras, IOR Mss Eur Photo Eur 136/2, letter 5, BL.

The emoluments also enabled the missionaries to stave off personal penury in the face of rapid inflation on the subcontinent, especially in British India. The base salaries of SPCK missionaries remained unchanged at fifty pounds annually.[100] Pohle claimed that the cost of living in Trichinopoly doubled over the 1770s and 1780s. Päzold believed that Madras was a more expensive place to live than London.[101] Hüttemann complained to his fellow missionary, Kiernander, that "I tremble at the Indignity which they have treated us with sending us out to the Indies with the miserable Stipend of 50 £ Poverty and Slavery will breach the Spirit of the best Man; and make them a low cunning Knave."[102] Päzold economized his salary and ten pound annual gift from the SPCK by taking on the diet he claimed was from the lowest castes, living on curries, rice, water, and the occasional fish. Schwartz tried to keep optimistic about his poverty, noting that it helped keep him from temptation. Yet, in a 1780 letter he observed the troubling aspects of his poverty, including how no Britons came to visit him, since they knew he could not provide them with refreshments.[103]

For its part, the EIC made a variety of formal donations to the SPCK Mission and individual stations. Donations of cash and building material by officials of the Madras Presidency facilitated the construction of new mission churches in Cuddalore (1767) and Madras

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[100] Excerpt of a letter from Karl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, July 2, 1794, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 35b:35; Excerpt of a letter from Karl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, October 27, 1800, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 41:25a. For reference, while the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) missionaries earned fifty pounds a year plus an additional ten pounds gift organized by the SPCK secretary Rev. Dr. George Gaskins at the turn of the nineteenth century, the minister for the German Lutheran Savoy congregation in London was earning 180 pounds a year. Johann Christian Christoph Ubele to [Johann Friedrich Nebe], March 3, 1801, London, AFSt/M 1 C 41:25b; E.A. Varley, *The Last of the Prince Bishops: William Van Mildert and the High Church Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 65.

[101] "Extract of Fort St. George Military Consultation," July 24, 1792, Madras, IOR F/4/222/4871, p. 50, BL; Excerpt of a letter from Karl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, July 2, 1794, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 35b:35.

[102] Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Johann Zacharias Kiernander, February 17, 1778, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:43.

[103] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February 3, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 70:46; Excerpt of a letter from Karl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, July 2, 1794, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 35b:35.

(1779).[104] Starting in late 1793, the company agreed to disburse forty pagodas (sixteen pounds) a month to Gericke to support his new congregation at Nagapatnam (also now spelled Nagapattinam), a former Dutch possession.[105] In 1772, after receiving a petition from the SPCK asking for further assistance to their mission, the Court of Directors ordered the Madras Presidency to provide the mission with five hundred pagodas (two hundred pounds) and to help the SPCK circulate a subscription for funds to benefit the SPCK's work in India. The Governor and Council of Fort St. George interpreted the order as a standing one and subsequently provided the mission with five hundred pagodas annually, increasing this sum over time to over a thousand pagodas by the early nineteenth century.[106]

The EIC's occupations of Tranquebar (which had become a royal Danish colony in 1779) in 1802 and 1808 made the Royal Danish-Halle Mission entirely reliant on the company's support and those of local donors. Denmark's wars with Great Britain cut off shipping routes to Tranquebar and in 1813 Denmark went bankrupt under the strains of the Napoleonic Wars. Gericke successfully requested the EIC to provide his colleagues with funds and loans to maintain themselves and their mission infrastructure.[107]

Staying in the company's good graces also ensured that the missions had continued access to the financial services and logistical support they needed to maintain the flow of cash,

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[104] Gross, "Some Aspects of the English-Halle Mission in Cuddalore 1737-1829," 394; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:289, 606.
[105] Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, April 22, 1796, Madras, IOR Mss Eur Photo Eur 136/2, letter 2, BL; Letter of Public Department, June 10, 1795, [London], IOR E/4/881, p. 347, BL; Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:10a.
[106] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 13, 1779, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 70:43; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:487-488.
[107] Christopher Samuel John, *On Indian Civilization, or, Report of a Successful Experiment Made During Two Years, On that Subject, In Fifteen Tamul, and Five English Native Free-Schools; With Proposals for Establishing a Separate Liberal Native School Society, Humbly Submitted to the Judgment and Patronage of the Governments of the Honourable East-India Company; of the Respectable Religious Societies; and the Generous and Charitable Public*. (London: Law and Gilbert, 1813), 3; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 1:198; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:253, 495.

credit, and correspondence. After 1765, Calcutta, alongside Madras, served as a financial and shipping hub for the missions. When a donation of over two hundred pounds of silver arrived in Calcutta in 1766 onboard the *Ponsborn*, Cornelius Godwin converted it into over 2,700 Arcot rupees (about 112 pounds)[108] and transferred part of the sum to Madras for further distribution to the mission stations at Madras, Cuddalore, and Tranquebar. Besides sending cash or bullion, the SPCK occasionally deposited funds with the company in London to generate bills of exchanges that were then disbursed by the Madras Presidency government to the missionaries.[109]

The missionaries and their superiors also continued to invest both personal and mission funds with residents of British India and company-controlled financial instruments. As discussed earlier, missionaries and their supervisors had concerns that some missionaries might be tempted to spend their time focused on their investments rather than spreading the Gospel. Yet the economic reality of limited funds, lack of regular donations, and months-long voyages between Europe and India made investments in local loans and securities essential to the missions' continual operation and to individual missionaries' financial stability. In 1737, SPCK Secretary Henry Newman instructed corresponding members in Madras as well as missionary Benjamin Schultze to invest the SPCK's most recent donations, along with the mission funds Schultze was loaning out independently, in the St. Mary's Church Stock. While the SPCK admitted to Schultze that they expected a lower return, they felt the lower rate outweighed the possible risks incurred if Schultze died while money was loaned out under his name or if one of his borrowers

[108] Arcot rupees, minted by the Nawabs of Arcot, were another common silver coin in southern India and Britons valued them at slightly less than rupees the British East India Company minted in Bengal and several other rupees minted in northern India due to their slightly lower silver content. Britons valued Arcot rupees minted in the second half of the eighteenth century at just shy of two shillings for each one. Kelly, *The Universal Cambist, and Commercial Instructor*, 2:190.

[109] Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, March 18, 1766, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 56:42; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, January 29, 1793, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 34a:41; Letter of Public Department, June 10, 1795, [London], IOR E/4/881, f. 417, BL; Secretary for the time being to the Governor in Council at Fort St. George, August 1, 1801, [London], IOR E/4/888, f. 542, BL.

could not pay back their loan.[110] In 1768 the younger Francke asked Fabricius if he could secure eight percent interest through investments in Madras, as a legacy left for the missionaries by the retired German merchant Sigismund Streit over a decade earlier was earning only five percent returns back in Europe.[111] In 1795, Gericke, Pohle, and Royal Danish-Halle missionary Christoph Samuel John pooled some of their funds to place a 27,600 pagoda (over eleven thousand pounds) bond with the EIC at eight percent interest.[112]

Investing with EIC institutions was not without its problems. Pohle complained in 1789 that he had not received interest payments for nearly two years on the mission funds he lent to the EIC during the Second Anglo-Mysore War, even after Schwartz had personally spoken with Governor Campbell about the nonpayment. The year before, Gericke noted that the Madras Presidency had failed for almost nine months to pay the interest on the bond Hüttemann had bequeathed to the SPCK Mission.[113] Yet, the missionaries and their supervisors remained confident in the EIC's ability to pay. Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, a long-time inspector of the Canstein Bible Institute in Halle and secretary for the younger Francke during his directorship, recommended in a memo that the funds in Halle for the mission be invested with the EIC. He identified the moral hazard at the heart of EIC's operations: that the British government and its people would never allow such an important economic and political institution to go bankrupt. Therefore, any investment with the company would de facto have the British state backing its value. Sebastian Andreas Fabricius also had confidence that Pitt's India Act in 1784 was helping

[110] Henry Newman to [Robert] Wynch, Chaplain Howard, Randall Fowke, Nicholas Morse, George Torriano, Fran. Rous, and William Johnson, January 11, 1737, London, AFSt/M 2 J 6:1; Henry Newman to Benjamin Schultze, January 25, 1737, London, AFSt/M 2 J 6:2.
[111] Gotthilf August Francke to Johann Philipp Fabricius, February 23, 1768, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 56:59.
[112] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1792, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:11; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:408-409.
[113] Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, October 8, 1788, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 30c:11; Christian Pohle to Johann Ludwig Schulze, January 21, 1789, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 C 30c:27.

put the EIC's budget on sounder footing and hoped that the defeat of Mysore would make conditions on the subcontinent more peaceful and profitable.[114]

Both missions continued to rely on British shipping and privileges from the EIC to maintain regular and cost-effective communication between continents. Late eighteenth-century EIC ports in India enjoyed a high volume of shipping with Europe. Moreover, the missionaries and supervisors for both missions enjoyed free transoceanic shipping for mail taken on EIC ships, even after the Court of Directors began temporarily requiring prepayment on all letters sent on East Indiamen in 1793.[115] Similarly, the German missionaries enjoyed the privilege of sending letters throughout India without paying postage until 1785.[116] Missionaries were also often able to secure free outbound passage to India, saving the missions at least several thousand pounds over the decades.[117]

The Francke Foundations' leadership was particularly eager to have the German missionaries keep on good terms with the SPCK as well as the EIC. The two religious organizations remained committed to global social reform programs, which demanded a degree of flexibility, patience, and ecumenical collaboration to succeed halfway around the world.[118] The SPCK continued to provide a steady stream of additional cash and material donations in the

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[114] Memorial of Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, n.d., Halle, AFSt/M 1 C 26:86; William Dalrymple, "The East India Company: The Original Corporate Raiders," *The Guardian*, March 4, 2015.
[115] Letter of Public Department, June 10, 1795, [London], IOR E/4/881, p. 350, BL; Daniel O'Connor, "Lutherans and Anglicans in South India," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 2:779; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:350.
[116] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1786, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:8.
[117] Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, September 22, 1767, London, AFSt/M 1 D 10:10.
[118] On Halle Pietists and the SPCK's pragmatism in fulfilling their moral reform agendas, see Daniel L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 34-35, 125-128; Richard L. Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 146-147; James Van Horn Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 103; Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 137-140; Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), chap. 3, esp. 131.

second half of the eighteenth century.[119] Moreover, Halle leaders believed that if their missionaries showed themselves unable or unwilling to follow the SPCK's directives, the organization would begin seeking alternative candidates. The Lutheran Pietists feared any new arrivals, who would presumably not be Lutheran nor vetted by the Halle-based supervisors, might sow confusion among would-be converts and spark inter-denominational rivalries. Gotthilf August Francke and the later directors of the Francke Foundations also believed, based on the German missionaries' writings and their own views, that newly-arrived British chaplains or potential missionaries would become corrupted by life in India, just like the EIC chaplains before them, and become a further obstacle to evangelizing nonbelievers.[120]

As troubled as many of the missionaries were with some EIC policies and employees' actions, the German missionaries had even greater trouble contemplating a relationship with any other power on the subcontinent. The missionaries' experiences with Indian states and rulers reinforced their acceptance of Europeans orientalist tropes of "Asiatic despotism" that presumed Asian rulers and bureaucracies engaged in unparalleled degrees of corruption, injustice, and caprice. Europeans framed Indian states as, terrorizing and preying upon their naturally "effeminate," "slavish," and "languid" subjects. State terror supposed reinforced reinforcing these qualities within subject populations. The missionaries, like other Europeans, assumed these rulers persecuted those not of the ruler's faith with a range of oppressive and extractive policies.

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[119] Samuel Theodor Albinus to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, January 14, 1754, London, AFSt/M 1 D 3:70; [Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen] to [Gotthilf August Francke], January 2, 1755, London, AFSt/M 1 D 3:38; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Gotthilf August Francke, December 31, 1765, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 55:22; Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt to Gotthilf August Francke, December 20, 1766, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 56:27; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Thomas Broughton, December 31, 1766, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 56:40; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1785, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 2 E 18:7.

[120] Gotthilf August Francke to Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann, February 26, 1768, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 56:62; Gotthilf August Francke to Christian Friedrich Schwartz, November 16, 1767, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 55:30; Andreas Gross, "Madras and the English-Halle Missionaries (1726-1836)," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 1:316-317; Andreas Gross, "Introduction," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 2:739-740.

Whatever challenges the EIC presented to the missionaries, they still maintained hope that as fellow Europeans and Christians the company and its officials could introduce both the Gospel and good governance to the subcontinent. The missionaries had no such hope for indigenous non-Christian rulers.[121]

The German missionaries operating in southern India criticized certain states in particular. When Schwartz established a mission station in Tanjore in 1772, the territory was already directly within the EIC's orbit. Schwartz saw Raja Thuljaji and his brother and eventual successor, Amar Singh, as hindrances to good governance and to the spread of Christianity in their unredeemed states. Schwartz depicted the two rulers as lustful, their royal courts debauched, and their administrations constantly plundering their subjects.[122] The Nawab of Arcot, Muhammad Ali Khan Wallajah, was increasingly conducting business with the EIC and accumulating growing debts to a variety of company-affiliated leaders, while the EIC troop presence within his lands grew larger. Schwartz and his colleagues were also deeply troubled by his EIC-supported takeover of Tanjore and his extraction of local revenues during the two-and-half years he ruled over the kingdom.[123]

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[121] Susan Bayly, "Hindu Kingship and the Origin of Community: Religion, State, and Society in Kerala, 1750-1850," 18, no. 2 *Modern Asian Studies* (April 1984): 197; Partha Chatterjee, *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 36-37; Michael Mann, "Dealing with Oriental Despotism: British Jurisdiction in Bengal, 1772-93," in Fischer-Tiné and Mann, *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission*, 30, 32, 46-48; Sen, *A Distant Sovereignty*, 15-16, 18-19; Sen, "Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires," 25-26, 28, 40, 42; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 82, 96. Into the nineteenth century, Protestant missionaries continued to maintain that good governance in India would be linked to the state and British government actors' embrace of Protestant ideals. Moreover, the EIC and British government remained a providential tool for the potential conversion of the subcontinent's population. Jones, *Missionary Christianity and Local Religion*, 109-110, 122-123, 231.

[122] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, December 20, 1786, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 27:25; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johann Ludwig Schulze, February 1, 1788, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 29a:5; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, March 11, 1789, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 30c:41.

[123] "Extracts from some Letters written by the late Reverend Mr Schwartz to one of his Majesty's Chaplains and another Friend, in 1779 & 1780," Western MSS, Add MSS 57313, f. 37r; Phillips, "A Successor to the Moguls," 366-367, 372, 378-380.

Late eighteenth-century Mysore, ruled by Haidar Ali and his successor and son, Tipu Sultan, represented the strongest political, economic, and military rival to the EIC in southern India. The Halle-trained missionaries also had the greatest aversion to Mysore. The missionaries believed that the Mysorean state under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan represented a grave threat to the peoples of southern India and to their missionizing efforts. Much as the midcentury Carnatic Wars catalyzed the German missionaries' anti-French and pro-EIC outlook, the Anglo-Mysore Wars (1767-1769; 1780-1784; 1789-1792; 1799) generated anti-Mysore sentiments among the missionaries. As in the earlier conflicts, the missionaries routinely self-identified with the EIC and sometimes referred to company forces as "our army." They also continued to see the company's victories as blessings and successful Mysorean attacks as divinely ordained punishments.[124]

Mysorean military tactics during the wars deeply shocked the missionaries. While Mysorean armies under Haidar Ali were becoming more organized around firearm-carrying infantry and artillery, like the armies of other Indian states they still relied heavily on large cavalry forces. Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan used the mobility of their armies relative to the EIC's largely cavalry-less forces to raid large swaths of EIC and allied Indian states' territories. This strategy allowed Mysorean forces to live off the land, saving money and resources while simultaneously depriving their enemies of potential supplies and weakening their economies. SPCK missionaries described a host of assaults carried out by Mysorean cavalry.[125] Gericke, for

[124] Excerpt of a letter from Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Christian Ernst von Stolberg-Wernigerode, January 26, 1770, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 59:27 (quote); Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February 15, 1781, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:34; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1782, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:4; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Johann Ludwig Schulze, September 1, 1790, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 31b:36; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 67. Gericke wrote "Unsere Armeé" to describe the British East India Company's army which lacked the cavalry forces to take on Haidar Ali's mobile forces.

[125] Kaushik Roy, "Military Synthesis in South Asia: Armies, Warfare, and Indian Society, c. 1740-1849," *Journal of Military History* 69, no. 3 (July 2005): 659, 668-669; Mesrob Vartavarian, "An Open Military Economy: The British

instance, noted during First Anglo-Mysore War that a light cavalry force attacked the Coromandel Coast just before the first rice harvest and burned numerous villages to the ground. Mysorean forces carried away all the crops they could and burned the rest, occasioning a famine that caused food prices to spike. After making a journey from Cuddalore to Vellore, Gericke claimed that on each of the 120-mile-long journeys he took between the cities not a single village had escaped acts of arson, robbery, or murder.[126]

The missionaries made similar observations during the Second Anglo-Mysore War. Fabricius and Breithaupt reported that thousands of people had fled towards coastal cities, like Madras, to escape the invading Mysorean forces. Schwartz wrote of Mysorean forces plundering and burning villages in the Kingdom of Tanjore, as well as seizing boys from the country and forcibly taking them back to Mysore. At Trichinopoly, according to Pohle, Mysorean forces hung captured Indian soldiers and delivered a basket of their heads to the city.[127] The

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Conquest of South India Reconsidered, 1780-1799," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 57, no. 4 (September 2014): 491-492, 498-499.

[126] Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann and Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, December 31, 1769, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 59:25; Excerpt of a letter from Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Christian Ernst von Stolberg-Wernigerode, January 26, 1770, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 59:27. Eighteenth-century British Army and EIC armies did not engage in the same degree of 'scorched earth' tactics as Mysorean and other South Asian armies, due at least in part to their limited size and their lack of cavalry to effectively execute such actions. The EIC in the later Anglo-Mysore Wars did raise enough Indian irregular cavalry to begin conducting noticeable raids that devastated local cultivators in and around Mysore. More commonly, British forces unleashed their destructive impulses in the storming and plundering of besieged positions. These acts of plunder and violence after a siege were not limited to the captured fortresses and cities of India. Raymond Callahan, *The East India Company and Army Reform, 1783-1798* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972, 4; Gavin Daly, "'The sacking of a town is an abomination': Siege, Sack, and Violence to Civilians in British Officers' Writings on the Peninsular War," *Historical Research* 92, no. 255 (February 2019): 160-182; Mesrob Vartavarian, "An Open Military Economy: The British Conquest of South India Reconsidered, 1780-1799," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 57, no. 4 (September 2014): 505.

[127] Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, October 14, 1780 and postscript of January 3, 1781, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 71:22; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, February 15, 1781, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:34; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1782, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:4.

missionaries also passed along to their supervisors some British accounts alleging the mistreatment of British prisoners of war in Mysorean custody.[128]

From these wartime experiences, other observations, and established prejudices, the missionaries concluded that Mysore's rulers were uncivilized and tyrannical. Hüttemann and Gericke likened Haidar Ali to a Tartar or Cossack.[129] Haidar Ali impressed Schwartz during his 1779 diplomatic mission to Seringapatam with his intelligence, despite his illiteracy, and some of his policies, like the regular maintenance of infrastructure and his court's comparative frugality. Yet, Schwartz also concluded that Haidar Ali was a despot who ruled by fear and violence. Schwartz noted that Seringapatam was filled with spies who prevented anyone from speaking their minds. He also counted two hundred men with whips who flogged people of all ranks within the government and court, from Haidar Ali's sons to the lowliest servant. In Schwartz's mind Tipu was no better. To the German missionary he was an intemperate tyrant, an epitome of the Asiatic despot.[130]

Missionaries and their supervisors in Halle continued to believe they could reform the EIC, persuade its leaders to promote the spread of Protestantism, and govern morally in a way they never expected from Indian rulers and regimes. After reading of Emperor Joseph II of Austria's 1782 religious reforms, Pohle pined for a transformational figure to come to India to reform the country for the benefit of Christianity.[131] Director of the Francke Foundations, Johann

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[128] Memorial of Christoph Samuel John to Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen, AFSt/M 2 E 27:3; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 80.

[129] Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann and Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, December 31, 1769, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 59:25; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 79.

[130] "Extracts from some Letters written by the late Reverend Mr Schwartz to one of his Majesty's Chaplains and another Friend, in 1779 & 1780," Western MSS, Add MSS 57313, f. 39v, 40r, 41v; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Johan Friedrich Sorge, 1780, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:30; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1782, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:4; Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, January 28, 1786, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 26:1.

[131] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1784, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:6.

Ludwig Schulze, wrote to both the Royal Danish-Halle and SPCK missionaries about how they should not rely on people outside the mission for much, but in the same letter he also shared his optimism about the newly appointed Governor-General, Charles, Lord Cornwallis. Schulze hoped Cornwallis could finally control EIC employees' behaviors that the Halle Pietists deemed "debauched" and a constant hindrance to their evangelical efforts.[132]

Several of the missionaries were likely heartened by Charles Grant's rise to prominence within the EIC. Grant first became a director in 1794, and then served three terms each as deputy chairman and chairman for the Court of Directors between 1800 and 1815. Even before his evangelical awakening in 1776, Grant had established ties with several SPCK missionaries. Shortly after Grant arrived in India as a twenty-one-year-old company employee in 1768, he started a correspondence with Schwartz that lasted until the missionary's death. During his decades of residency in Bengal, Grant also became acquainted with Kiernander and eventually provided over ten thousand rupees (around 1,650 pounds) of his own money in 1787 to save the SPCK mission station in Calcutta after Kiernander's real estate speculation ruined him. Grant was an active supporter of expanding evangelizing efforts in British India, and in the mid-1790s he consulted with Gericke about increasing missionary efforts on the Coromandel Coast. These consultations were just before Grant cofounded the Church Mission Society (CMS) in 1799, a new Anglican evangelical organization.[133] Grant's personal connections with the missionaries

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[132] Johann Ludwig Schulze to Johann Baltahsar Kohlhoff, Jacob Klein, Johan Friedrich König, Christoph Samuel John, Johann Peter Rottler, Peder Rubeck Hagelund, Christian Wilhelm Gericke, Johann Philipp Fabricius, Christian Friedrich Schwartz, Johann Zacharias Kiernander, and Johann Wilhelm Gerlach, November 5, 1787, Halle, AFSt/M 1 C 27:32.

[133] Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, Madras, AFSt/M 2 E 19:10a; Penelope Carson, "Grant, Charles (1746–1823)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11248; J.N. Lenker, "Great Men of the North. John Zechariah Kiernander—The Swede. Linguist, Philanthropist and Missionary, who United the North and South," *Northern Review* 3, no. 6 (September 1917): 86; Daniel O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company, 1601-1858* (New York: Continuum, 2012), 109.

and his advocacy for missionizing within EIC-controlled lands through Parliament and the Board of Control provided some evidence to the providentially-minded missionaries that the company might soon become a better partner in the evangelization of India.

The Royal Danish-Halle and SPCK Missions' Legacies for Missions in the British Empire

While the connections between the German-run missions and the EIC persisted into the early nineteenth century, their trajectories parted ways as the new century unfolded. The EIC continued its aggressive expansion over the subcontinent, while the two missions struggled to find candidates and finances from Europe to keep their constellation of institutions operational. The Francke Foundations' control over the missions and its personnel was already on the wane as it struggled to find interested theology students willing to commit to a career of overseas service. The Pietist fervor faded at the University of Halle and elsewhere in Central Europe in the last decades of the eighteenth century, as Enlightenment thought and rationalist approaches to Lutheranism gained popularity. The missionaries expressed a belief amongst themselves that Germans back in Europe had becoming apathetic or even skeptical of their evangelical project. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars exacerbated these struggles as the conflicts led to the University of Halle's closure almost continually from 1806 to 1817. After 1775, just ten of the twenty-two missionaries sent out to the Royal Danish-Halle or SPCK missions had studied or trained in Halle. Many of those they were able to send out to India did not impress their established colleagues with their spiritual or even physical vigor.[134]

[134] Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Johann Zacharias Kiernander, February 17, 1778, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 71:43; [Christian Wilhelm Gericke] to Charles Grant, c. 1796-1797, Coromandel Coast, Council of World Missions Archives, London Missionary Society (hereafter CWM/LMS) Home Office, Home Office Extra Box 1B, Folder 7, Jacket A, School of Oriental and African Studies (hereafter SOAS) Special Collections and Archive, London; Jürgen Gröschl, "Missionaries of the Danish-Halle and English-Halle Mission in India," in Gross, Kumaradoss, and Liebau, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, 3:1497-1527; Thomas Albert Howard, *Protestant Theology and the Making of the Modern German University* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1, 1n2.

In Britain, public interest in the SPCK began to decline with the rise of new missionary organizations. Associations like the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), London Missionary Society (1795), Presbyterian Scottish Missionary Society (1796), and Church Missionary Society (1799), drew inspiration from emerging humanitarian ideals and doctrines of justification by faith that viewed salvation as accessible to anyone who believed in the Christian God.[135] By 1825, both missions had transferred their institutions and congregants primarily to the care of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the CMS.[136] While the two missions declined in the early nineteenth century, they remained influential models for new generations of evangelists in Europe and South Asia. The missions also foreshadowed the even greater entanglements of British imperialism and Protestant missionizing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

For turn-of-the-nineteenth-century British evangelicals and the new mission societies, the Royal Danish-Halle and SPCK missions served as both evidence and guides. They were evidence of the compatibility of evangelizing and the EIC's commercial ventures in India, and guides for how to overcome the practical challenges of evangelizing halfway around the world from Europe. British evangelicals routinely cited the German-run missions in their arguments for opening British India to all would-be Protestant missionaries during the debate over renewing the EIC's charter in 1793. Charles Grant highlighted to Home Secretary Henry Dundas that the

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Christian Friedrich Schwartz noted in a 1785 letter that he was unimpressed with his four newest colleagues and that one of them, Johann Daniel Mentel, was in continual poor health, so much so that he was unable to even walk short distances. Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche, October 1, 1785, Tanjore, AFSt/M 1 C 26:2.

[135] Copland, "Christianity as an Arm of Empire," 1026-1027; Jones, *Missionary Christianity and Local Religion*, 228; Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004), 15, 32-35; Fred D. Schneider, "Parliament, The East India Company, and the Calcutta Bishopric," *Journal of Church and State* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1974): 56.

[136] Daniel Schreyvogel to George Christian Knapp, June 1, 1822, Tranquebar, AFSt/M 1 C 64:11; Extract of Fort St. George Public Consultations, August 8, 1826, IOR F/4/1169/30553, p. 28-29, BL; Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, 177-178; Nørgaard, "The Mission's Relationship to the Danes," 88-89.

German missionaries "by no other means than preaching the truth, and exposing the errors of Heathenism, have won multitudes over to the faith of Christ, and formed several respectable churches on the Malabar Coast." Grant also claimed that Schwartz had built up a positive reputation among Indians of all faiths, preserved the reputations of the company and Europeans in general on the subcontinent, and completed various diplomatic projects with Indian rulers.[137]

When Scottish evangelical theologian and London Missionary Society (LMS) member Robert Haldane and his two LMS colleagues, David Bogue and Greville Ewing, petitioned the Court of Directors in 1796 for permission to travel to and reside in Bengal as missionaries they cited the presence of the German missionaries. As the petitioners noted:

> the Danish Missionaries who have been laboring in another part of your territories for fourscore years past, have shewn themselves good & useful members of Society, and no bad consequences have arisen from any of their converts to the welfare & quiet of the country. Our principles are equally peaceable as theirs, & our business shall ever be to inculcate the obligation of every moral duty, & consequently to promote the happiness of the community.[138]

While the Court of Directors recognized the "sincerity" of their motives and "the Zeal with which you appear to be actuated in sacrificing your personal convenience to the Religious, and moral purposes described in your letter," they rejected the request due to unspecified "weighty and substantial reasons."[139]

Those supporting the EIC's continued control over all migration to occupied lands in Asia maintained that it would be a political and economic disaster if the company allowed missionaries unchecked access to its territory. These opponents of evangelization supposed that

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[137] Charles Grant, *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to Morals; And on the Means of Improving It* (1813), 86.
[138] Robert Haldane, David Bogue, and Greville Ewing to the Directors of the East India Company, December 20, 1796, London, CWM/LMS Home Office, Home Office Extra, Box 1B, Folder 7, Jacket C, SOAS Special Collections and Archives.
[139] William Ramsay to Robert Haldane, David Bogue, and Greville Ewing, January 13, 1797, [London], CWM/LMS Home Office, Home Office Extra Box 1B, Folder 7, Jacket C, SOAS Special Collections and Archive; Carson, *The East India Company and Religion*, 44-45.

British India's vast Hindu and Muslim majority would refuse to work with or for the company, or possibly enter into open revolt if the EIC appeared to be favoring Christianity or forcing conversion. Some were skeptical that the true conversion of Hindus was even possible, as they believed the faith and its adherents were immutable.[140] These defenders of the EIC's position realized that the German-run missions represented a potential counterexample to their claims and sought to discredit the two missions' efficacy. They argued that their converts to Christianity were from the lowest castes, failed to undergo moral transformation despite conversion, and were often motivated by hopes of financial assistance rather than spiritual salvation.[141] In an internal debate among EIC stockholders over the 1793 charter renewal, Montgomery Campbell, who had served as personal secretary to Governor of Fort St. George, Archibald Campbell, claimed that in one instance several of these low-caste converts had stolen Schwartz's stock with a gold buckle while he was giving an open air sermon. The anecdote helped stiffen the resolve of the EIC to fight back against the free movement of Protestant missionaries within the company's territories.[142]

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[140] Carson, *The East India Company and Religion*, 38; Copland, "Christianity as an Arm of Empire," 1031.

[141] Carson, *The East India Company and Religion*, 37-38, 40-41; Schneider. "Parliament, the East India Company, and the Calcutta Bishopric," 52, 55-56; Christina Smylitopoulos. "Graphic Satire, Hudibrastics and 'Missionary Influence' *The Grand Master; or, the Adventures of Qui Hi? In Hindostan* by Thomas Rowlandson and William Combe, 1816," *The British Art Journal* 8, No. 3 (Winter 2007/08): 40; Stern, *The Company-State*, 118; Will Sweetman, "Empire and Mission: Protestant Beginnings in India and the 'pious clause'," *Social Sciences and Missions* 28, no. 1-2 (January 2015): 15, 25.

[142] Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, *An Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London: 1795), 115, 120; Christian Friedrich Schwartz wrote a defense of the missions in response to reading Montgomery Campbell's speech in a newspaper a year later. The missionary maintained that about two-thirds of the missions' converts came from higher caste families. Furthermore, with regard to the theft of his stock, he noted that several non-Christian boys had committed the offense and that villagers upon learning of the stock's disappearance quickly located it. Moreover, Schwartz claimed that he and his colleagues had promoted the British East India Company's rule and the general welfare of the subcontinent's population by condemning felonious behavior, like bribery and theft, as well as urging listeners to obey rulers and pay their taxes. The veteran missionary also cited his and his mission workers' efforts to twice save the city of Tanjore and its British-Indian garrison from starvation during the Second Anglo-Mysore War. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, *An Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 115-119; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:498; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 66-67.

Well before the company's 1813 charter required it to allow Protestant missionaries into and around its possessions without prior permission, the new British mission societies sought the Halle Pietist network's assistance in planning and operating their own evangelical endeavors overseas. LMS leaders envisioned that before their first missionaries established themselves in the Danish enclave of Serampore in Bengal, they should first study languages, religious customs, and the caste system for a year or two with Schwartz, "the most efficient & honored Missionary in India," before proceeding north.[143] LMS treasurer Joseph Hardcastle reached out to the Royal Danish-Halle missionaries in Tranquebar in 1799 to both share his condolences on Schwartz's passing the previous year as well as pose a litany of questions about challenges new missionaries might face. Hardcastle inquired about the German missionaries' standards for accepting would-be converts for baptism, their handling of any cases of apostasy, and the material impact of conversion for potential South Asian converts.[144] Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, a pastor and Halle graduate serving as the London-based agent for the Royal Danish-Halle Mission, provided LMS leaders with cost estimates for operating mission stations based on his own experiences with the German missionaries' accounts.[145]

The German missionaries and their Halle superiors tried to balance their long-standing concerns about the possible confusion caused by denominational differences among missionaries with supporting the Protestant evangelists coming under the aegis of the new British mission

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[143] Report on Proposed Mission at Serampore, n.d., CWM/LMS Home Office, Home Office Extra Box 1B, Folder 7, Jacket C, SOAS Special Collections and Archive.
[144] Joseph Hardcastle and John Eyre to [Christoph Samuel] John, [Johann Peter] Rottler, August Friedrich Cämmerer, [Lambert Christian] Früchtenicht, March 30, 1799, London, CWM/LMS Home Office, Home Office Extra, Box 1B, Folder 7, Jacket A, SOAS Special Collections and Archive.
[145] [Johann Christian Christoph] Ubele to Mr. Sandhuis, November 29, 1797, CWM/LMS Home Office, Home Office Extra, Box 1B, Folder 7, Jacket A, SOAS Special Collections and Archive; Joseph Hardcastle and George Burder to [Christoph Samuel John, Johann Peter Rottler, August Friedrich Cämmerer, Johann Caspar Kohlhoff, Christian Pohle, Immanuel Gottlieb Holzberg, Karl Wilhlem Päzold, and Christoph Heinrich Horst], February 20, 1806, London, AFSt/M 1 C 46:127.

societies.[146] Christoph Samuel John and his fellow Royal Danish-Halle missionaries provided the LMS' first missionaries to India and Ceylon with advice and encouragement as they arrived over the last months of 1804 and the start of 1805. The LMS missionaries stayed in the city for several months, with the Ceylon-bound missionaries learning Portuguese and those missionaries staying in India learning Tamil. John, however, refused to allow the LMS missionaries to preach in the Royal Danish-Halle Mission's church. When two of the new LMS missionaries moved onto Madras, Johann Peter Rottler housed them for free, but also encouraged the missionaries to head north into the Telugu-speaking part of the Coromandel Coast where the Germans had no mission station.[147]

The veteran German missionaries often advised the newly arrived missionaries to follow their path in forging relations with the EIC. John told the LMS missionaries staying with him at Tranquebar that EIC officials, especially those in newly seized territories, would welcome any clergy, even missionaries, who could perform Anglican rites and liturgy for the company's isolated communities of Europeans. For their service, John believed, the new arrivals would receive "a great deal of protection assistance esteem and liberality" from the company.[148]

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[146] The Lutheran Pietist missionaries continued to be especially concerned with the presence of Methodists where they had mission station, likely because they had long perceived Methodists as rigidly doctrinaire and likely to create fractures within Protestant communities. Karl Wilhelm Päzold, writing from Madras, also expressed anxiety about the Baptist presence in India, noting of a rumored scandal wherein the Baptist missionaries in Serampore had supposedly performed a second baptism on an elderly Dutch woman following her conversion. Excerpt of a letter from Karl Wilhelm Päzold to Johann Christian Christoph Ubele, February 17, 1805, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 45:93; Johann Ludwig Schulze to Christian Friedrich Schwartz, February 16, 1788, Halle, AFSt/M 1 C 29b:66; Karl Wilhelm Päzold to Georg Christian Knapp, March 5, 1805, Madras, AFSt/M 1 C 46:92; Augustus Des Granges to Directors of the London Missionary Society, December 27, 1809, Vizagapatam, CWM/LMS South India General, Incoming Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 2, Jacket A, SOAS Special Collections and Archive.

[147] M.C. Vos, J.P.M. Ehrhardt, George Cran, August Des Granges to Joseph Hardcastle and William T[obias] Ringeltaube, January 1, 1805, Tranquebar, CWM/LMS South India General, Incoming Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 1, Jacket B, SOAS Special Collections and Archives; George Cran and Augustus Des Granges to [William Tobias] Ringeltaube, January 22, 1805, Tranquebar, CWM/LMS South India, General, Incoming Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 1, Jacket B, SOAS Special Collections and Archives; Augustus Des Granges to Directors of the London Missionary Society, December 27, 1809, Vizagapatam, CWM/LMS South India General, Incoming Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 2, Jacket A, SOAS Special Collections and Archive.

[148] Christopher Samuel John to Joseph Hardcastle, February 1, 1805, Tranquebar, CWM/LMS South India General, Incoming Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 1, Jacket B, SOAS Special Collections and Archive.

To varying degrees, many of the missionaries sent out under the newly founded British mission societies found ways to work with the EIC. They, too, applied their linguistic skills and locally-formed knowledge for the company's use. Like Päzold, BMS missionary William Carey worked as a language instructor at the newly established Fort William College in Bengal. Others wrote and published reference texts that may have lined company officials' shelves alongside Fabricius' Tamil lexicon or Rottler's Tamil translation of the Anglican liturgy. Or, they served as advisors for the company on local languages, legal practices, and religious customs.[149]

Education again proved to be the strongest point of mutual interest and collaboration for both British missionaries and EIC officials in the last half century of company rule in India, just as it had been for the German Lutheran missionaries in earlier generations. Company officials continued to view English-language instruction and a Western curriculum as the means through which loyalty and skills might be inculcated in its overwhelmingly non-European subjects. Missionaries continued to see education as a critical means of developing trust with local communities, spreading the Gospel, and preparing converts to sustain themselves without the traditional social networks of kinship and caste. Missionaries continued to be drivers of Western education in the Madras Presidency through the end of Company rule in 1858, and many of the new mission schools patterned their pedagogical practices and curricula on the Lutheran missionaries.'[150]

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[149] Copland, "Christianity as an Arm of Empire," 1038; O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company*, 114-115; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 1:494; Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?*, 69.

[150] Carson, *The East India Company and Religion*, 159, 194-198, 206-207, 209-212, 224; Dharmaraj, *Colonialism and Christian Mission*, 56-81; Frenz, "'A Race of Monsters'," 52-53; Robert Eric Frykenberg, "Christian Missions and the Raj," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 126-127; Frykenberg, "Modern Education in South India, 1784-1854," 37-41, 43-45; Jones, *Missionary Christianity and Local Religion*, 229; Tschurenev, "Incorporation and Differentiation," 94-97, 101, 103. The Halle Pietists also influenced nineteenth-century British education as well. Andrew Bell's system of pedagogy became a popular method of instruction in both the British Isles and India in the early nineteenth century. Bell developed the system while serving as Director of the Male Orphan Asylum in Madras between 1789 and 1796. Bell relied almost entirely

When Barthlomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau arrived in Danish-controlled Tranquebar in the summer of 1706, neither they nor their supervisors in Denmark and Prussia likely imagined their efforts and those of their colleagues that followed them would be so interconnected with those of the British East India Company. Yet necessity, pragmatism, and providential thought quickly led the early missionaries and their superiors in Halle to build connections with EIC officials and employees as well as with the SPCK and its members. With the SPCK's support, the German missionaries secured financial and logistical benefits from the EIC that kept the mission afloat as it struggled against material and legal challenges in Tranquebar. Working with the EIC meant access to more potential converts, more robust financial markets, and more reliable shipping, all of which the Halle-trained migrants and their Central European superiors deemed critical to their evangelical project.

Just as the EIC seemingly solved a host of problems for the missionaries, the company viewed the missionaries as a special type of worker suited to addressing unique difficulties. Company officials hoped mission schools and pastoral care might reinvigorate employees' lax discipline and low morale, as well as train pliant cohorts of young European, Eurasian, and Indian men and women to fill assigned roles based upon company needs and European racial and gender norms. Promoting Protestantism was also a means of signaling the company's sovereignty to both local and global challengers. In the second half of the eighteenth century, connections became more formalized as missionaries agreed to take on salaried roles with the EIC. During these later decades, the EIC also came to rely on the missionaries' linguistic skills to

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on the monitorial system that he learned from the German missionaries, a system that had been in place in Halle at the Francke Foundations for a century prior to Bell's arrival in Madras. Liebau, "Von Halle nach Madras," 31-57.

aid in military intelligence and the administration of the expanding empire. EIC officials also occasionally tapped the missionaries' independent connections with peoples across southern India to conduct diplomatic missions where the company's credibility was already suspect.

Despite the relationship's seemingly mutual benefits, tensions also emerged as many missionaries saw firsthand the negative impact of company policies and individual acts of corruption and cruelty by EIC officials and employees. For Schwartz and many of his colleagues, the connection proved more of a Faustian bargain than a providential blessing. Yet, the missionaries' unease did not break their bonds with the EIC. In a letter from late 1780, Hüttemann described his full support for the EIC, likening himself to a man who invested all his fortune upon a single ship and therefore fervently prayed and wished for its safety.[151] But Hüttemann's metaphor for the missionaries was not wholly accurate. The German evangelists who served in eighteenth-century India were not merely investors in the EIC ship of state. Rather, they were members of the crew, keeping it afloat and on a course not of their own making, but one they hoped would lead them toward the Kingdom of God.

[151] Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Secretary Jallofield, November 27, 1780, Cuddalore, ALMW/DHM 11/23:26c.

Chapter Three: The British East India Company and Its Recruitment of German-Speaking Soldiers

Over the course of the eighteenth century, thousands of German-speaking soldiers[1] across continental Europe accepted bounties from military contractors, British East India Company (EIC) agents, and Hanoverian recruiting officers, and agreed to terms of service that would send them halfway around the world. Most of the enlistees envisioned their move to the Indian Ocean basin as a temporary one, providing an opportunity for economic security, economic advancement, and adventure. But it often became a permanent one, largely due to the high mortality rate caused by the privations of the months-long sea voyage, the tropical climate of their new environment, and the long military campaigns and wars.[2] The effects of the migration endured well beyond the recruits' often short lifespans.

These soldiers were part of the EIC's military buildup from the second quarter of the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century. While Indian soldiers comprised the bulk of this expansion,[3] there was also a scaling up of the European troop presence in British India. For EIC

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[1] In this chapter, the discussion of German-speaking troops includes discussions of Swiss recruits and Swiss units sent to India. While many Swiss troops serving in or alongside EIC armies, particularly officers, were Francophone; it appears from extant muster rolls, where recruiters set up their operations within the Swiss cantons, and the general trend of eighteenth-century Swiss units taking more recruits from southern German states and Austria as Swiss volunteers declined, that a large and growing portion of Swiss units were German-speaking. "Separate List of Men Inlisted Dead Deserted Discharged gone to Subordinate factory and Entered in the Marine Service of the Swis Company of the Infantry of Bombay Since the 1st November to the 1st December 1753," c. 1753, India Office Records (hereafter IOR) L/MIL 12/120, British Library (hereafter BL), London; Letter of P.P. Polier de Bottens, December 17, 1751, IOR E/1/36, f. 263, BL; Minutes of the Committee of Secrecy, September 17, 1781, IOR H/244, f. 469, 479, BL; John Casparis, "The Swiss Mercenary System: Labor Emigration from the Semiperiphery," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 5, no. 4 (Spring 1982): 619-620, 634; John McCormack, *One Million Mercenaries: Swiss Soldiers in the Armies of the World* (London: Leo Cooper, 1993), 119, 140.

[2] Michael Mann, "Indien ist eine Karriere. Biographische Skizzen deutscher Söldner, Ratsherren und Mediziner in Südasien, 1500-1800," in *Deutsche Eliten in Übersee (16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert),* ed. Markus A. Denzel (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 2006), 289.

[3] The British East India Company had just two thousand soldiers of all types in all its establishments in 1740. The company maintained roughly 3,500 sepoys at the cessation of the First Carnatic War in 1748, approximately 100,000 in 1783, and 120,000 by 1801. Jeremy Black, *Britain as a Military Power, 1688-1815* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 131, 190; G.J. Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists: The Case of the Sepoys in the Early British Indian Army, 1750-1800," *War in History* 7 no. 1 (2000): 3; Robert Johnson, "'True to their salt' Mechanisms for Recruiting and Managing Military Labour in the Army of the East India Company during

administrators, British politicians, and generals serving with the British Army and EIC, the success of the company's military fortunes ultimately rested on the effectiveness and loyalty of the European troops serving on the subcontinent. Due to its struggles recruiting within the British Isles, the EIC turned frequently to the European continent, especially the Holy Roman Empire and Swiss cantons, to fill its ranks. While there were separate problems and intense competition in recruiting within Central Europe, the EIC and British state were able to regularly secure manpower to send to India.

As mentioned in chapters one and two, German-speaking soldiers in EIC installations became a regular presence across India. Many of them, especially in the second half of the century, had previous military training and combat experience, unlike most of the men the company illegally recruited from Britain. The recruitment of such men spiked during times of war and crisis, like the Carnatic Wars (1746-1763) and the Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-1784). These German recruits and auxiliaries made the East India Company into the leading military and territorial power in South Asia by the turn of the nineteenth century.

The growth of the British East India Company's armies and the British military presence in India fundamentally altered the company's operations in Asia over the eighteenth century. The force of arms compelled Indian rulers to grant tax collecting privileges to, sign subsidiary treaties

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the Carnatic Wars in India," in *Fighting for a Living: A Comparative History of Military Labour 1500-2000* ed. Erik Jan Zürcher (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 287; Kaushik Roy, "Military Synthesis in South Asia: Armies, Warfare, and Indian Society, c. 1740-1849," *Journal of Military History* 69, no. 3 (July 2005): 685. Not surprisingly much of the scholarship surrounding EIC's military in the eighteenth century has focused on sepoys and there has been comparatively limited discussion of the European troop presence, especially soldiers from continental Europe, in the British East Indies. G.J. Bryant, "Asymmetric Warfare: The British Experience in Eighteenth-Century India," *Journal of Military History* 68, no. 2 (Apr. 2004): 431-469; Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists"; Johnson, "'True to their salt';" Roy, "Military Synthesis in South Asia," 685; Channa Wickremesekera, *'Best Black Troops in the World': British Perceptions and the Making of the Sepoy 1746-1805* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2002). When scholars have discussed the European troop presence in eighteenth-century British India it is often to observe the growing Scottish and, later, Irish presence within the armies and ignores the continental European presence within EIC armed forces. Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East 1750-1850* (London: Fourth Estate, 2005), 48-49, 51; P.J. Marshall, "British Society in India under the East India Company," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 1 (February 1997): 91.

with, and accede land to the EIC. Instead of a commercially-focused operation with strings of small trade factories and establishments along the coasts of India, the EIC—unlike its rival European companies—became a territorial ruler whose income streams now included the taxation of millions of acres of land and millions of South Asians and subsidies from neighboring rulers. Furthermore, the resources demanded by the EIC's expanding armies of Europeans, Eurasians, and Indians continually pressed EIC officials at home and abroad to seek additional resources, and to construct an administrative apparatus able to extract ever greater revenues to fund the war machine that protected its authority.[4]

This shift in company policy sparked a series of debates within British society about the EIC and its employees' influence and roles not just in India, but in metropolitan society as well. The company's fluctuating financial fortunes, its employees' rapidly growing riches, its supplying of critical war materiel (especially saltpeter), and the slipping away of much of British North America from the empire, moved the British government to take an ever deeper interest in the EIC's operations and affairs in India. It also led the metropolitan state to send larger numbers of British Army troops to India. Ultimately these metropolitan debates led to the passage of the Regulation Act of 1773 and Pitt's India Act in 1784, granting Parliament greater oversight and control over affairs in South Asia.[5]

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[4] Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India* (New York: Cambridge University, 2012), 53-55; Chris Nierstrasz, *In the Shadow of the Company: The Dutch East India Company and Its Servants in the Period of Its Decline (1740-1796)* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 18-19.

[5] C.A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 5; C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780-1830* (New York: Longman, 1989); Bruce Lenman, *Britain's Colonial Wars, 1688-1783* (New York: Longman, 2001), 83; Bryant, "Asymmetric Warfare," 444-445; H.V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 38-39, 43-48; Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008); James W. Frey, "The Indian Saltpeter Trade, The Military Revolution, and the Rise of Britain as a Global Superpower," *Historian* 71, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 507-544; Tillman W. Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 207-213; Robert Travers, "Constitutions, Contact Zones, and Imperial Ricochets:

The presence of thousands of German soldiers in India, and the return of many of them to continental Europe provided German-speaking Europe with a direct and often durable connection to South Asia and to life in an overseas European colony. Soldiers wrote to friends, family, and German-language publications about their experiences overseas, and carried back stories and intelligence that they shared with their relations once they returned home. Although the perspectives these soldiers shared bore similarities with those of Britons in India, there were also some differences. German troops stationed in South Asia rarely discussed the EIC and its administration of the subcontinent. Instead, they focused on exotic descriptions of their lives within a tropical environment on the other side of the world and news from the battlefields of South Asia.[6] Germans' narratives reinforced notions of racial distinctions and European superiority. Yet, the accounts did not always align with contemporary British descriptions of South Asians as cowardly and unreliable that were used to justify British colonization in the region.

The Decline of the Mughal Empire, the Rise of the *Compagnie des Indes*, and a Changing Geopolitical Order in Eighteenth-Century India

Since its 1600 chartering, the company relied on negotiating treaties with

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Sovereignty and Law in British Asia," in *Britain's Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, c. 1550-1850*, ed. H.V. Bowen, Elizabeth Mancke, and John G. Reid (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 114, 116-119. Starting in 1754, British Army troops served in India and fought under regular army commanders in coordination with the British East India Company's own armies. British Army soldiers and officers received their regular pay and were eligible for certain supplemental payments that the EIC offered its own troops. British Army officers enjoyed superiority over company military officers of the same rank. The EIC routinely recruited British Army officers and troop to join the company's forces after their terms of service expired and their regiments departed the subcontinent. The regular army, regular army regiments, and regular troops in this chapter refer to the British Army and its regiments and soldiers. Raymond Callahan, *The East India Company and Army Reform, 1783-1798* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 16, 35-37.

[6] For analyses of British discussions of the nature of British rule in eighteenth-century South Asia, see H.V. Bowen, *The Indian Problem in British Politics, 1757-1773* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Bowen, *The Business of Empire*; Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire*; Nechtman, *Nabobs*; Sudipta Sen, *A Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 34-59; Joseph Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India, 1765-1858* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 17-38.

Indian polities to secure rights to trade commodities, rent or buy tracts of land, and build fortifications along the subcontinent's coastline. Despite its growing commercial strength at the turn of the eighteenth century, the EIC was still largely reliant on Mughal emperors and their provincial governors, as well as other independent rulers to protect its possessions and grant access to trade. Even the company's most important cities—Bombay (present-day Mumbai), Calcutta (present-day Kolkata), and Madras (present-day Chennai)— housed no more than several hundred European and Eurasian soldiers to guard their walls and gates and protect the goods, bullion, and personnel within them. The Bombay Council in 1739 organized militias of all the European men residing within its territories to bolster their defenses in a time of war, but the council recognized these forces were of little military value.[7]

The EIC's small armed presence became inadequate as the Mughal Empire's authority broke down and rival European trading companies expanded their positions on the subcontinent. Two wars of succession in the early eighteenth century paralyzed the central administration and eventually led to the killing of Emperor Farrukhsiyar (r. 1713-1719) in 1719. Princely states began refusing to pay tribute to Delhi. Mughal governors, who had been dispatched to administer provinces in places like Bengal and Hyderabad, instead started to carve out their own independent dynastic states in the 1730s and 1740s. Similarly, rebellious confederations of landholders and chieftains in northern India successfully resisted Mughal armies and secured their own independence.[8] Nader Shah of Persia's invasion of the Mughal Empire and sacking of

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[7] Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, vol. 3, *Administration* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1894), 84-85; Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 48; Stern, *The Company-State*, 13.

[8] Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, 3, 7-8; Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 30-31; John F. Richards, "The Seventeenth-Century Crisis in South Asia," *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 4 (October 1990): 628, 636-637.

Delhi in early 1739 underscored how dramatically both Mughal military forces and its court administration had weakened and further accelerated the empire's fragmentation.

EIC officials nervously followed these developments and worried whether their agreements with past Mughal emperors and their viziers, governors, and dependent princes would continue to be recognized. These fears were well founded as various powers scrummed for lands and revenues, including Mughal loyalists. In 1710 Sarup Singh, the commander of the Mughal-controlled Gingee Fort, besieged Cuddalore after EIC officials refused his demands for rent and control over the local waterways. In 1721 the Rani of Attingal attacked EIC-controlled Anjengo (present-day Anchuthengu) on the Malabar Coast over the price of pepper and the company's privileges in the area.[9] Several thousand Maratha horsemen raided the Coromandel Coast in 1741 burning and looting villages and towns all the way to edge of Cuddalore where cannons and musket fires turned them back.[10]

Perhaps an even more troubling development for EIC officials was the rising influence and growing military presence of their French counterpart, the *Compagnie des Indes*, in the early eighteenth century. The *Compagnie des Indes* established a string of trading factories in southern India in the 1660s and 1670s, including its capital settlement, Pondicherry (present-day Puducherry) in 1674. Over the subsequent decades the French secured additional installations in Bengal, the Malabar Coast on the subcontinent's southwestern coastline, and the Coromandel Coast. The *Compagnie des Indes* became an even greater threat to the EIC's interests once Joseph François Dupleix became governor-general at Pondicherry in 1742. Dupleix vigorously

[9] Roy, "Military Synthesis in South Asia," 655-656; Stern, *The Company-State*, 176-177.
[10] Johann Ernst Geister and Johann Zacharias Kiernander, "A Journal Containing the most material circumstances, happening in the first six Months of the Year 1741, With the British Mission at Cuddalore, near Fort St David," *Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke, Missionsarchiv mit der Indien- und der Amerikaabteilung* (hereafter AFSt/M) 2 L 2:1, Halle, Germany.

sought to make the French the superior power in India and, during his tenure, he used the military forces under his command to back candidates in succession struggles throughout southern and central India. French European and South Asian sepoy troops helped bring new rulers to Arcot and Hyderabad, who in turn provided the *Compagnie des Indes* with favorable trade agreements that often hamstrung or shut out EIC traders from their lands. Dupleix and his successors also forged alliances with established Indian rulers who were opposed to the EIC and its allies, like Siraj ud-daula, Nawab of Bengal, who invaded Calcutta in 1756.[11]

The First Carnatic War (1744-1748) marked the beginning of direct hostilities between the EIC and the *Compagnie des Indes*, their respective home governments, and local Indian allies on the subcontinent. Following its entry in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) in 1744, the British government, confident of its naval superiority, decided to send a squadron to the Indian Ocean under Commodore Curtis Barnett. The squadron attacked French shipping at the straits of Malacca and Sunda as well as the mouth of the Ganges River. This action violated the traditional neutrality of the Indian Ocean and the subcontinent maintained by the French and British governments and their respective East Indian trading companies. EIC officials at Fort St. George also rejected the French Governor-General Dupleix's proposal for local neutrality on the Coromandel Coast in early 1746.[12]

The early advantages that the British enjoyed on the Indian Ocean were overturned by the arrival of a large French squadron commanded by Admiral Bertrand-François Mahé de la Bourdonnais. With a significant superiority in ships and soldiers, Bourdonnais and Dupleix

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[11] General Letter to the Court of Directors, October 18, 1749, Fort St. David, IOR E/1/41, f. 395-396, BL; Black, *Britain as a Military Power*, 130-131; Jay Howard Geller, "Towards a New Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century India: Dupleix, La Bourdonnais and the French Compagnie des Indes," *Portuguese Studies* 16 (2000): 244-245; Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 49-50; Nierstrasz, *In the Shadow of the Company*, 33-34; Stern, *The Company-State*, 197.

[12] Robert Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan: From the Year MDCXLV*, vol. 1 (London, 1763), 60-61; Black, *Britain as a Military Power*, 98; Lenman, *Britain's Colonial Wars*, 75, 92.

proceeded to attack Madras and Fort St. George. After driving off the British squadron, the French landed almost two thousand troops and started besieging Fort St. George on September 19, 1746. The Fort St. George garrison consisted of approximately two hundred European and one hundred Eurasian soldiers, almost none of whom had any combat experience. The force capitulated after three days. Besides losing the fortification and seat of the EIC's presidency in southern India, the French seized nearly two hundred thousand pounds worth of military supplies, weapons, gold, silver, and trade commodities.[13]

The attack on Madras sent local EIC officials scrambling to secure their other possessions in southern India, most notably Fort St. David near Cuddalore. They hired several thousand local South Asians, armed with everything from bows and arrows to flintlock muskets, to garrison the fort. Ultimately, the company's ability to retain its remaining possessions on the Coromandel Coast had much more to do with the Nawab of Arcot's intervention against the French, for violating his declared policy of neutrality within his territories (Pondicherry, Madras, and Cuddalore all being within his sphere of control), and the return of British naval supremacy with the arrival of a second fleet to the Coromandel Coast. Even with additional ships and soldiers arriving from Europe, the EIC in southern India was significantly outnumbered by the French.[14] The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 ended the global conflict between the French and the British and restored Madras and Fort St. George to the EIC in exchange for the British government's restoration of Louisbourg and Cape Breton Island to the French.

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[13] Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, 1:66-68, 71; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 287; Lenman, *Britain's Colonial Wars*, 92. The pound in this chapter refers to the pound sterling.
[14] Samuel Theodor Albinus to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, January 15, 1748, London, AFSt/M 1 E 9:5; Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, 1:80-82, 87, 91.

"The steel which gives them edge:" The British East India Company's Desire for European Soldiers

The humiliating loss of Madras, the precarious position of the outnumbered and poorly trained troops on the Coromandel Coast, and Dupleix's use of the growing French military presence in India to back favored succession candidates throughout India, spurred the company to invest aggressively in its army.[15] The EIC's military expansion was both a scaling up of established company and South Asian practices and the implementation of new innovations. South Asian armies for centuries had been composed primarily of hired troops and the EIC often recruited small numbers of Indians for garrison service. Now the company went from hiring a few hundred indigenous troops to recruiting tens of thousands to serve in the second half of the eighteenth century. South Asians were the vast majority of the new soldiers in the EIC's expanded army. The EIC offered these recruits market or slightly higher wages for their services, payment in cash, and opportunities for extra pay while on campaign. The EIC copied the French practice of training these local recruits in European tactics and organizing them into European-style units. EIC officials recognized a number of advantages in recruiting Indians and training them to be sepoys. First, there were significantly more men to recruit from, and it was inexpensive to move these recruits from their home communities to the parade grounds for training and then onto the battlefield. It was also substantially cheaper to outfit and maintain Indians rather than Europeans, perhaps by as much as a factor of five. Company officials provided Indian soldiers with simpler rations, uniforms, and accoutrements than their European counterparts. Moreover, Indian soldiers were acclimated to the tropical climate and were

[15] Even when Dupleix was not directly using French forces to back succession candidates, he still found ways to place a finger on the scales. The Council at Fort St. David noted in the fall of 1749 that Dupleix had channeled his discharged sepoys towards service with Sunda Saib, a former general of the Nawab of Arcot, who killed the Nawab and took control of the territory. General Letter to the Court of Directors, October 18, 1749, Fort St. David, IOR E 1/41, f. 395, BL.

believed to be resistant to a number of diseases that slowed the marches and ravaged the ranks of European troops throughout the eighteenth century.[16]

Yet the EIC rapidly scaled up its European troop contingent in the second half of the eighteenth century as well. Contemporary military and civil figures saw a growing European armed force within India as vital to the security of the EIC's settlements and trade. European soldiers offered at least the hope to officials that British security in India was not entirely in locals' hands. Moreover, they envisioned European troops as more disciplined and obedient, and therefore superior, to their South Asian counterparts. The evident success of European units fighting for the French and British against larger forces of Indian troops during the First Carnatic War influenced this thinking and the company's military planning all the way into the nineteenth century. In 1768 the Court of Directors, comprised of twenty-four elected shareholders, concluded that it needed to increase the number of European troops in its Indian presidencies. In the Bombay Presidency the number of European troops was to rise to a minimum of sixteen hundred infantrymen and officers as well as three hundred artillerists and officers.[17] Henry Dundas, a member and later chairman of the British government's Board of Control formed in 1784 to oversee the EIC in India, recommended that "a large European Force must at all times be

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[16] "Fort St. George, den 24ten September 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 30, 1784; Samuel Theodor Albinus to [Sebastian Andreas Fabricius], April 24, 1747, London, AFSt/M 1 E 8:88; Bryant, "Asymmetric Warfare," 435; Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists," 5-6; Callahan, *The East India Company and Army Reform*, 3-5; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 270, 279; Lenman, *Britain's Colonial Wars*, 92; Mesrob Vartavarian, "An Open Military Economy: The British Conquest of South India Reconsidered, 1780-1799," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 57, no. 4 (September 2014): 488, 502-503, 506, 508.

[17] Bryant, "Asymmetric Warfare," 439; Callahan, *The East India Company and Army Reform*, 5; Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, 50; Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:145-146. The Court of Directors did in fact recommend a later reduction in the size of the European troop presence in Bombay in 1775 by four hundred infantrymen in the wake of the EIC's financial crisis in 1772. The recommended reductions for European manpower was disproportionately smaller than the recommended reduction of sepoys and the total discharge of topasses. Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:172-173; Bruce P. Lenman, "Colonial Wars and Imperial Instability, 1688-1793," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. P.J. Marshall, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 165.

kept in India." He believed that in order to secure the EIC's position in the Indian Ocean basin, the company always needed to have more European soldiers than its rival European companies and local Indian states. To ensure this superiority and its permanence, even when the company could not secure reinforcements for several years due to war in Europe, Dundas recommended sending over an additional four to five thousand troops to India immediately.[18]

Several high ranking army officers, including future Governor of Fort St. George, Archibald Campbell, recommended to the Bombay Council that while they could safely reduce the number of sepoys and lascars[19] in the city's garrison during peacetime, the European troops should never be reduced. This was because the officers believed that

> the life and spirit of a siege will fall particularly to their share, and as the means of obtaining such valuable troops in cases of emergency are sometimes extremely uncertain and almost impossible on other occasions, it appears to us of very material importance to the safety of the place to maintain the Europe corps always full and complete.[20]

General Eyre Coote, the EIC's commander-in-chief in India, estimated in the early 1780s that there needed to be ten thousand European troops stationed within the EIC's three presidencies. Coote had long maintained that European forces were what would ultimately give the EIC a military advantage on the subcontinent.[21]

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[18] "Copy of a Letter from Mr Dundas to Lord Sydney," November 1784, IOR H/389, f. 90-91, BL; Memorandum by Mr. Dundas, in *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, ed. Charles Derek Ross, vol. 1, (London: J. Murray, 1859), 330-331; Callahan, *The East India Company and Army Reform*, 18.

[19] Lascar was a contemporary term used to describe Arabs and Indians hired as sailors or militiamen for European ships and garrisons. The British used this Portuguese term that derived from the Arabic *al-askar*, meaning guard, army, or camp. Amitav Ghosh, "Of Fanas and Forecastles: The Indian Ocean and Some Lost Languages of the Age of Sail," *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no. 25 (June 21-27, 2008): 56-57; Paul Haupt, "Askari, 'Soldier,' and Lascar, 'Sailor'," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 36 (1916): 417-418.

[20] Report of Archibald Campbell and Colonel Keating, October 31, 1768, Public Diary, vol. 52, 404-405, quoted in Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:148, 149 (quote).

[21] William Fullarton to [George] Macartney and Select Committee, January 3, 1783, Pondicherry, IOR H/84, f. 385, BL; Stephen Conway, "Continental European Soldiers in British Imperial Service, c. 1756-1792," *English Historical Review* 129, no. 536 (February 2014): 89.

Maintaining sizable European forces helped the EIC address the practical concern of being massively outnumbered by sepoys and the South Asian population at large within their possessions. The company questioned their indigenous soldiers' and subjects' loyalty, and envisioned European forces would help check any potential insurrections in the ranks or in the streets.[22] In a 1771 letter defending the EIC's hiring of foreign Europeans, the writer imperiously stated: "No Impolicy can be more dangerous than to have a Dependance upon the Faith of Asiatic Sovereigns or natives of any Class, even the Seapoy who may be tempted to Desertion and treachery, either from Disgust or by Corruption."[23] Charles, Earl (later Marquis) Cornwallis, when Governor-General of India (1786-1793, 1805), recommended that Europeans troops be used in any instance of revolt as he did not trust indigenous troops to suppress their fellow Indians. He assumed an insurrection would be inevitable given the differences of custom, faith, and law between the EIC and its Indian subjects.[24]

Sepoys sometimes refused orders, especially those that they saw as violating their religious beliefs and practices. Some low caste soldiers refused to participate in the storming of some fortifications because they believed they lacked the status to enter them. Also, high caste Indian soldiers refused to go to sea or to serve beyond their home region, which created logistical headaches for moving soldiers to crisis points around the subcontinent.[25] In 1769, Muslim sepoys at Bombay petitioned for an exemption from wearing leather boots and other parts of their uniforms on the grounds that local Muslim scholars and judges had ruled such goods as

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[22] Michael Mann, "Dealing with Oriental Despotism: British Jurisdiction in Bengal, 1772-93," in *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, ed. Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann (London: Wimbledon Publishing Company, 2004), 30; Sen, *A Distant Sovereignty*, 18-19.
[23] Letter of D. Price, May 29, 1771, Oxford, IOR E/1/55, f. 526v, BL.
[24] Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, August 18, 1787, On the Ganges, in Ross, *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, 1:523-524.
[25] Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, 1:87-88; Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists," 17; Callahan, *The East India Company and Army Reform*, 13-14.

inappropriate to wear. The Muslim sepoys feared that they might be excommunicated and ostracized from their communities if they followed EIC regulations. The government in Bombay spent months attempting to resolve the situation, including consulting with Muslim religious leaders at Surat and negotiating with the aggrieved sepoy forces.[26]

Beyond acts of insubordination, the British feared major uprisings of sepoys. While none occurred until the 1806 Vellore Mutiny, there were still incidents in the eighteenth century that gave the British pause. Samuel Walker, the commanding officer in Bombay in 1739, reported that while sepoys might make up for the presidency's immediate shortage of soldiers, it would come at a cost. Walker feared that since the sepoys came from neighboring states or had social or familial connections to communities within them, in the event of war with those states they might become demoralized and susceptible to desertion or disloyalty. He did not have this concern with topasses (Eurasians or Indians troops who embraced Catholicism and other elements of European, especially Portuguese, culture) or European soldiers. Thus with regard to sepoys he wished "their numbers were less, and the number of good Europeans and topasses increased."[27] The governing council at Bombay in 1742 similarly questioned the loyalty of sepoys in noting that "provided any reduction be made, it had better be among the sepoys, as we can […] rather depend upon the fidelity of the Christian soldiers than upon sepoys."[28] In 1748 an Indian commander and ten of his officers leading a contingent of four hundred sepoys sent from Tellicherry (present-day Thalassery) to Fort St. David were sentenced to a lifetime of slavery on St. Helena for conspiring to have the force desert the garrison at the approach of the French army

[26] Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:151-154.
[27] Military Officers' Report to Bombay Government, August 24, 1739, Public Diary, vol. 12, 383-386, quoted in Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:87.
[28] Bombay Government Consultation, August 13, 1742, Public Diary, vol. 15, 374, 379-382, quoted in Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:94.

and then join the enemy. In 1785 a party of sepoys stationed near Madurai arrested their officers, packed up supplies, and urged other sepoys to join them for neighboring Mysore.[29]

The EIC also wanted to entrust its artillery to European soldiers as much as possible, as it provided a technical advantage over South Asian states' armies that it did not wish to relinquish. Officials and officers feared that native soldiers who learned how to operate and maintain the equipment and create ordinance could use such knowledge against the company, either during a mutiny or by entering the service of a neighboring state or trading company. The company's 1748 artillery regulations barred Indians, Eurasians, Roman Catholics, and even unauthorized foreign European troops from entering a laboratory or military magazine, seeking any accounts or papers related to military stores, or even looking into such facilities.[30] The Court of Directors noted to their government in Bombay in 1770 that

> it is very essential that the natives should be kept as ignorant as possible both of the theory and practice of the artillery branch of the art of war, we esteem it a very pernicious practice to employ the people of the country in working the guns. If such practice is in use with you we direct that in future you attach European artillerymen to the service of the guns which may belong to the sepoy corps and that no native be trusted with any part of this important service unless absolute necessity require it.[31]

The effective use of artillery enabled EIC and British Army forces in India to travel between installations in relative security as well as to frequently defeat Indian states' much larger armies

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[29] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1785, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 2 E 18:7.
[30] Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:106; Jangkhomang Guite, "The English Company and the Catholics of Madras, in the Age of Religious Conflicts in England, 1640-1750," *Studies in History* 28, no. 2 (August 2012): 201.
[31] Court of Directors to Bombay, April 6, 1770, Public Department, Court of Directors' Letters, vol. 8, 158-160, quoted in Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:155-156. Despite these concerns, it appears that Indians became artillerists in the company's forces in the late eighteenth century, as the missionary Christian Pohle observed that the artillerists who came with the Madras Regiment of European troops were both native and European. Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1784, [Trichinopoly?] AFSt/M 2 E 18:6.

that often consisted predominantly of horsemen.[32] Some of the earliest German-speaking troops sent to India were artillerists. Seventy Protestant German non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and privates sailed in 1752 to reinforce the Madras Presidency's recently established artillery company. A second party sent out in 1753 joined the Bombay Presidency's artillerists.[33]

Intertwined with the security concerns that led the company to recruit thousands of Europeans into its ranks were racially-motivated ideological ones. EIC and government officials' racist views of South Asian men, especially those practicing Hinduism, as "effeminate," "weak," "shiftless," and "indolent," underscored their belief that British military effectiveness ultimately rested with its European soldiers. Ascribing these characteristics to South Asian masculinity did a variety of psychological and rhetorical work for the EIC and Britons at large. For the British, Hindu Indians' weaknesses and general lack of martial prowess explained how, despite their superior numbers, much of the subcontinent came under the rule of Mughal and other Muslim dynasties. It also helped explain the EIC's own rise as a power on the subcontinent. The British alleged the Mughal and other regional polities' "Asiatic despotism," had only intensified these natural attributes and the decay of Indian civilization, and the company's superseding of these states would return India closer to its more prosperous past. British narratives of South Asians' effeminacy and shiftlessness may have also provided a form of relief for nervous colonizers. Britons could ostensibly rest comfortably knowing a small contingent of well-trained European

[32] Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, March 6, 1789, Calcutta, in Ross, *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, 1:543; Black, *Britain as a Military Power*, 133-135, 149; Bryant, "Asymmetric Warfare," 456-457; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 281-282; Lenman, *Britain's Colonial Wars*, 101.
[33] Draft of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, January 24, 1753, London, IOR E/4/861, f. 217, BL; "A List of Men Dead, Discharged, Deserted Inlisted gone to Subordinate Factorys and Entered in the Marine Service belonging to the Artillery Company from the 1st April 1753 to the 5th December 1753," c. 1753, IOR L/MIL 12/120, BL.

soldiers would be able to put larger South Asian armies, mutinous sepoys, and riotous urbanites to flight easily.[34]

As the eighteenth century progressed, British rhetoric also framed peoples of Asian and European parentage, as likely to share many of these same traits associated with South Asians, rendering them as inferior troops in the British imagination as well. Even after being trained in European tactics and being placed under British officers, commanders hesitated to pit Indian sepoys directly against Europeans troops, who were deemed to have superior discipline and morale. British officers' assumptions of Indian cowardice led them to adopt other tactics as well. They frequently placed their European contingents in the center of their first line in the order of battle. They envisioned that the Europeans' presence would steady their armies and prevent their envelopment in the face of South Asian polities' numerically superior and more mobile armies.[35]

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[34] Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 49; Partha Chatterjee, *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 36-37; Mann, "Dealing with Oriental Despotism," 30; Sudipta Sen, ""Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires: Blood, Race, Sex and the Decline of Intimacy in Early British India," *South Asia* 24, no. S1, Sexual Sites, Seminal Attitudes: Sexualities, Masculinities and Culture in South Asia (May 2001): 25-26, 39-40, 42; Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, (Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 75-79, 83-85. While eighteenth-century British writers frequently chastised Indians, especially Hindus, as effeminate in their works, many simultaneously lauded certain castes, like the Kshatriya caste of Rajputs and Brahman castes in Bengal, Awadh, and Bihar, as natural warriors and ideal candidates to serve as sepoys. These ideas would crystalize in the mid-nineteenth century around the concept of "martial races," wherein now peoples from northwestern India, including Gurkhas, Pathans, and Sikhs, were viewed as the naturally best recruits from the Indian subcontinent. Randolf G.S. Cooper, "Culture, Combat, and Colonialism in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century India," *International History Review* 27, no. 3 (September 2005): 535-536; Douglas M. Peers, "'The Habitual Nobility of Being': British Officers and the Social Construction of the Bengal Army in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies* 25, no. 3 (July 1991): 549-551; Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India*, 79-80, 134-136, 145-154.

[35] "The Consultation & Diary Book of John Hinde Esq Deputy Governor & Council of Fort St. David Being their Transactions in the Affairs of the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies," IOR G/18/6, f. 30-31, BL; Letter of D. Price, May 29, 1771, Oxford, IOR E/1/55, f. 526v, BL; Earl Cornwallis to Duke of York, November 10, 1786, Calcutta, in Ross, *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, 1:225; Black, *Britain as a Military Power*, 292; Bryant, "Asymmetric Warfare," 434-435, 455; Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists," 19; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 269; Roy, "Military Synthesis in South Asia," 667; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 5-6, 82-83. Hanoverian officers writing about the EIC's sepoys they observed during their time in India frequently viewed the sepoys as brave troops whose rigorous training was superior to that of many German soldiers. "Schreiben eines Churfürstl. Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers aus Ostindien, im Lager bei Mont, acht englische Meilen von Madras, den 7ten Januar 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 26, 1784; "Auszug eines Briefes aus Madraß auf der Küste von

Alexander Davidson, a committeeman on the Madras Council, observed that "Viteran Sepoys are the Iron of the Army, and the Europeans the steel which gives them edge Take the strength of the Europeans from the Army, the Sepoys will lose that confidence in themselves so requisite in the moment of danger."[36]

Similarly, British officers had Europeans soldiers lead the point of attack against enemy lines and ordered them to make the first assaults into breached fortifications. The Europeans' bravery was seen as crucial to spurring indigenous units to follow through on the attack or storming.[37] When General Hector Munro was preparing to campaign in Tanjore (present-day Thanjavur) territory during the Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-1784), he asked EIC officials at Fort St. George for thirty to forty European infantrymen "to show the Sepoys the way into a Fort by a Breach, which sort of ushering in, I am told they often require."[38]

To keep European units in South Asia effective, there had to be a constant flow of new men from Europe to fill the numerous vacancies created by battle casualties, diseases, and desertions. The death rate was much higher for Europeans serving in tropical environments than elsewhere on the globe. Into the early nineteenth century death rates were seven times higher for soldiers in India than those in Britain. British recruits in the King's service tried to avoid serving

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Coromandel, vom 20sten Februar 1788," *Historisch-politisches Magazin, nebst litterarischen*, 4, no. 8 (August 1788): 991-992; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 87.

[36] Alexander Davidson's Minute, October 22, 1782, [Madras], Western Manuscripts (hereafter Western MSS), Additional Manuscripts (hereafter Add MSS) 22423, BL; Thomas Rumbold gave similar council to the Court of Directors when he noted in a 1778 letter that "for however useful your black Forces may be, yet they have ever wanted the example of Europeans to lead them on, and I wish you not to be mislead by the numbers in a Return, but to make a just distinction between the Seapoy and European Battalions, tis on the latter alone you must ultimately depend." Thomas Rumbold to the Court of Directors, March 15, 1778, [Madras], IOR E/4/308, f. 167, BL.

[37] Letter of Alexander Davidson, August 14, 1781, Tanjore, Western MSS, Add MSS 22416, BL; Letter of Hector Munro, November 18, 1781, Nagapatnam, Western MSS, Add MSS 22417, BL; William Fullarton, *A View of the English Interests in India; And An Account of the Military Operations in the Southern Parts of the Peninsula, During the Campaigns of 1782, 1783, and 1784. In Two Letters; Addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of **********, and to Lord Macartney and the Select Committee of Fort St. George* (London: T. Cadell, 1787), 123-124; Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists," 19; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 269-270.

[38] Letter of Hector Munro, November 18, 1781, Nagapatnam, Western MSS, Add MSS 22417, BL.

in such climates. In 1778 Seaforth's 78th Highlanders mutinied on rumors that the regiment was embarking for India. Similarly, the 77th and 83rd regiments rebelled in 1783 when they learned of their orders to sail for India despite assurances from the regimental officers that they would not be bound for the subcontinent.[39] Several EIC directors estimated that each regular army regiment serving alongside company forces in India needed two hundred new men each year to remain at full strength.[40]

The Promises of Recruiting in German-Speaking Central Europe

The EIC naturally turned to the British Isles for its soldiers. Recruiting there, however, remained a persistent challenge throughout the eighteenth century. The EIC had to compete with the British armed forces for men. The regular army in particular was concerned that the EIC might be able to out-recruit them due to larger bounties, higher wages, and shorter terms of service. The regular army successfully blocked the EIC from publicly recruiting in the British Isles for most of the eighteenth century.[41] During those decades, the company could not provide any training for their new hires. Because the EIC was not allowed to recapture deserters, it had to employ measures like keeping recruits locked up in ships or houses until fleets were ready to sail for the Indian Ocean. Even those tactics were not always surefire solutions for getting men to

[39] Stephen Conway, "Moral Economy, Contract, and Negotiated Authority in American, British, and German Militaries, ca. 1740-1783," *Journal of Modern History* 88, no. 1 (March 2016): 42; Matthew Dziennik, *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 88; Arthur N. Gilbert, "Recruiting and Reform in the East India Company Army, 1760-1800," *Journal of British Studies* 15, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): 91-92; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 273; Marshall, "British Society in India under the East India Company," 94; Roy, "Military Synthesis in South Asia," 684-685.

[40] Henry Fletcher, Nathaniel Smith, and John Harrison to Thomas Townshend, October 10, 1782, [London], IOR H/163, f. 287-288, BL. Military rolls from both the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century show that the death rate among Europeans in EIC and regular army units remained in a range between just under four percent to a little over seven percent. Gilbert, "Recruiting and Reform in the East India Company Army," 92n7; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 284; W.H. Sykes "Vital Statistics of the East India Company's Armies in India, European and Native," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 10, no. 2 (May 1847): 114, table 9, 115, table 11.

[41] Gilbert, "Recruiting and Reform in the East India Company Army," 109; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 273, 284.

India, as on at least one occasion a Royal Navy press gang broke into an EIC recruiting agent's house and sized all the recruits present before returning just a handful back to the agent. The EIC also relied heavily on crimps, private agents who illicitly recruited men in lieu of formal recruiting officers. The EIC usually paid crimps a set fee for each man raised, and crimps relied heavily on kidnapping and enlisting convicts to turn a profit.[42] In addition, recruiting numbers plunged when both Great Britain and the EIC went to war at the same time, and the pool of British manpower available to the EIC shrank as the British Army and Navy expanded rapidly. In 1761 and 1762, the EIC secured just 197 recruits total from Britain compared to 1,001 men in 1754 and 1755 on the eve of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).[43]

The EIC persistently lobbied to be allowed to legally recruit in the British Isles. In 1769 the company proposed two plans to the British government. The first would allow the company to recruit in the British Isles just like the British Army, including having the mutiny and desertion regulations apply to their recruits. The second was to allow the EIC to raise a single regiment of up to 1,800 rank-and-file in Britain. EIC non-commissioned and commissioned officers were to be authorized to recruit for the regiment with commissioning documents from the crown, just like British Army officers. This unit would be similar to a regular army regiment, with the EIC providing the recruiting officers and funding instead of the British government.

The second proposal, which went as a bill to Parliament in both 1770 and 1771, triggered a wave of criticism. Along with concerns about the EIC taking away potential recruits from the British Army, and the threat of India becoming a sinkhole of precious manpower, there were

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[42] J. Cleveland to Robert James, March 7, 1759, [London], IOR E/1/41, f. 246, BL; Gilbert, "Recruiting and Reform in the East India Company Army," 93-95; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 276, 284; Peter Way, "'The scum of every county, the refuse of mankind' Recruiting the British Army in the Eighteenth Century," in Zürcher, *Fighting for a Living,* 295.

[43] Gilbert, "Recruiting and Reform in the East India Company Army," 93-94, 99; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 276-277; Way, "'The scum of every county, the refuse of mankind'," 291.

legal and constitutional questions about the proposed regiment. The company's envisioned regiment of recruits would constitute an independent army in Britain, and it was uncertain whether the regiment was being raised by the crown or the company. Others objected to foreigners being permitted to join the regiment and thought Roman Catholics might enter its ranks to ill effects. Despite these objections, the bill in 1771 made it to a third reading in Parliament before being voted down by a single vote.[44]

Later, during the War of American Independence (1775-1783), the EIC secured the privilege of recruiting openly in Ireland and later on throughout the British Isles, but only with annual licenses granted by the British government. The licenses capped the number of total recruits the EIC could raise each year and the cap fluctuated year to year, ranging from a thousand men in 1783 to 2,500 in 1786 and 1787. Even with the legal permission to recruit, the EIC never came close to raising its annual limit of soldiers. In 1781 the company, which had permission to raise two thousand men that year, secured just 1,200 recruits; and in 1784 the company was over six hundred men below its limit.[45] By 1799, the British Army took over recruiting in the British Isles on behalf of the EIC, but this change did not prevent the EIC from failing to meet its internal quotas for European recruits.[46]

As the British Isles could not provide the soldiers the EIC thought necessary, the company turned to German-speaking territories where there were established markets and practices for foreign powers to recruit more troops. As the Court of Directors noted in a letter to their government in Madras during the Seven Years' War, "Finding it extreamly difficult to raise

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[44] Court of Directors' Memorandum to Privy Council, c. 1770, [London?], IOR H/101, f. 341-347, BL; H.V. Bowen, *Revenue and Reform: The India Problem in British Politics 1757-1773* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 92; Gilbert, "Recruiting and Reform in the East India Company Army," 95-96, 98-99.
[45] "Licenses to the East India Company to raise Men for five Years," IOR H/389, f. 307, BL; "Number of Recruits raised in the following Season under Warrants from the Secretary of State," IOR H/389, f. 311, BL; Gilbert, "Recruiting and Reform in the East India Company Army," 100; Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 277.
[46] Johnson, "'True to their salt'," 277-278.

Recruits for Our Forces in England, We have since Writing […] sent Baron de Vaserot and Frederick William Elerson to raise about Two hundred Men in and about Hamburgh, Lubeck and Bremen."[47] Even in their 1769 proposal to allow them to raise a regiment in Britain, the EIC asked that "German, Swiss, or other Foreign Protestants" comprise a third of the force.[48]

Recruiting Germans and Swiss offered several advantages. First, German-speaking soldiers had long served in foreign armies and there was an established infrastructure for recruitment. Since 1521, Swiss cantons collectively and individually signed treaties with other European states to furnish men directly into their armies. Through these treaties, cantonal governments continued their process of organizing and controlling the already centuries old practice of Swiss seeking seasonal and temporary opportunities as mercenaries around Europe. By the seventeenth century, several European powers had standing regiments of Swiss within their armies. England first recruited in the Swiss cantons in 1690 when five Protestant cantons signed a defensive alliance with King William III (r. 1689-1702). The cantons provided men for William III's campaign in Ireland against the deposed James II.[49]

Several imperial laws dating back to the sixteenth century also regulated the process of recruitment in the Holy Roman Empire, including a ban on serving in any army of the emperor's enemies. While initially permission to recruit within the empire came from the emperor, by the eighteenth century it was standard to have the approval of the local ruler or authorities as well.[50] Imperial cities like Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck were well-established

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[47] Draft of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, December 29, 1756, London, IOR E/4/861, f. 656, BL.
[48] Court of Directors' Memorandum to Privy Council, c. 1770, [London?], IOR H/101, f. 343, BL.
[49] Casparis, "The Swiss Mercenary System," 596-599, 603, 621; Alfred Donati, "Das schweizerische Söldnerwesen," in *O mein Heimatland Chronik für Schweizerische Kunst und Literatur*, ed. Gustav Grunau (Bern: Dr. Gustav Grunau, 1935): 191, 199, 201, 204, 212, 216; L. Forrer, "A Few Notes on Swiss Officers and Mercenary Regiments in the Pay of England," *British Numismatic Journal* 25 (1947): 216; McCormack, *One Million Mercenaries*, 93, 102, 126.
[50] Peter H. Wilson, "The Politics of Military Recruitment in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *The English Historical Review* 117 (2002): 545-548.

sources of military recruits in the empire. As large cities they attracted thousands of workers annually, many of whom might be persuaded to enlist, particularly if their economic prospects had soured. One EIC agent recruiting in Hamburg estimated in 1770 that there were several thousand potential soldiers within the city.[51] Imperial cities, unlike most German states of the time, also did not maintain sizable standing armies. Their governing authorities were considerably less powerful than those of princes and other rulers, since they ultimately relied on the Holy Roman Emperor for protection. Recruiting officers wishing to recruit in an imperial city only had to apply to the magistracy upon their arrival and show their patent or commission from their home state. The magistracy would then decide whether to provide the officer with an accreditation that would enable him to enlist, house, and train men within the city's limits.[52]

Second, there was generally a large pool of Protestant men to recruit from in both the cities and countryside. This surfeit of potential soldiers was a product of several developments, including substantial population growth over forty years of near-continuous peace within the western and northern reaches of the Holy Roman Empire following the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714. While the population grew, local economies, particularly agrarian-dependent ones, did not always absorb the growing workforces as landholdings were reduced in size or less productive lands had to be tilled. Elias Buzaglo,[53] a London-born Sephardic military contractor, wrote to the Court of Directors in 1770 that following a recent tour of Scandinavia, Holstein, and Upper and Lower Saxony, he was now fully aware of "the Misery the Poor Inhabitants labour under & how desirous they are to quit their Country's." He added that there

[51] John Haberkorn to Peter Mitchell, November 20, 1770, Hamburg, IOR E/1/54, f. 378r, BL.
[52] "Instruction für die auf auswärtige Werbung comandierte Officers," June 20, 1781, Hannover, *Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv-Hannover* (hereafter NLA Hannover) Hann. 38 C, C nr. 1, f. 12-16, Hannover, Germany; Wilson, "The Politics of Military Recruitment in Eighteenth-Century Germany," 543.
[53] Also spelled Buraglo in some contemporary sources.

were many families who were "(much against their Will) Cultivating an Ungratefull Sol in a Particular Part of Germany." Buzaglo concluded that these inhabitants would be eager settlers or willing soldiers.[54]

Third, particularly after the Seven Years' War, many of these recruits had previous military training and war experience. Buzaglo offered to recruit solely military veterans for the EIC in the northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire in his 1770 proposal to the company.[55] The often trained and disciplined German-speaking recruits stood in stark contrast to the criminals and kidnapped Britons who sailed for the East Indies. One German recruiting contractor, Felix Frederick, complained that the company was wasting the former Württemberg army soldiers he recruited for them by scattering them throughout their (predominantly British) European units. Frederick argued that this policy undercut the German troops' quality, as they were being thrown into units composed of disorderly people who had been kidnapped and "who were incapable of discipline and subordination."[56] Similarly, when Hanoverian troops were placed onboard ships with British EIC army recruits off the English coast in 1783 waiting to sail for India, they were tasked with preventing any of the British recruits, who were almost entirely released prisoners, from jumping ship and swimming to shore.[57]

The appeal of hiring German veterans likely increased as the prestige of German military training rose over the eighteenth century among British military officers and imperial administrators. British officers turned to German military academies in cities like Hannover,

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[54] Elias Buzaglo to the Court of Directors, August 16, 1770, London, IOR E/1/54, f. 87, BL; Stephen Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, 1740-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 137; Cecil Roth, "The Amazing Clan of Buzaglo," *Transactions & Miscellanies (Jewish Historical Society of England* 23 (1969-1970): 11, 19.
[55] Elias Buzaglo to the Court of Directors, August 16, 1770, London, IOR E/1/54, f. 87, BL.
[56] Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL.
[57] W. Linde to General in Chief, November 9, 1783, on board the East India Ship *Ponsborn*, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 27, f. 164.

Göttingen, and Braunschweig for additional training instead of attending French institutions. Also, translated Prussian military manuals by midcentury had become critical reading for army officers and had influenced British military training and tactics. They also came to influence the EIC's own drill manuals. Governor-General Charles Cornwallis asked his brother James, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to send his son to a German military academy should the boy desire to start a military career while he remained in India.[58]

On several occasions, the EIC had the opportunity to hire hundreds of men or even entire regiments from German states demobilizing their forces. Commodore William James learned in late 1770 that the Duke of Württemberg was preparing to reduce the size of his army. James contacted Felix Frederick, who was serving as a private agent and colonel for the duke. Frederick was already planning on raising between a thousand and four thousand of the discharged men for the Portuguese Army, but EIC chairman Sir George Colebrook convinced Frederick instead to raise a thousand men for service in India.[59] In 1781, the company investigated intelligence that three to four hundred non-native soldiers from the Württemberg Army were about to be discharged and that the men might be acquired for service in India if enough money was offered to them.[60]

Fourth, the EIC could select Protestant recruits from German states and Swiss cantons, whose identification with the company was thought to be far stronger than Catholic, Muslim, or

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[58] Earl Cornwallis to Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, July 13, 1791, Camp near Bangalore, in Ross, *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, 2:98-99; Bryant, "Asymmetric Warfare," 454; Stephen Conway, "The Eighteenth-Century British Army as a European Institution," in *Britain's Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society, 1715-1815,* ed. Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 33.

[59] Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL; Friedrich Wilhelm, "Deutsche Soldaten für die East India Company. Materialien zum Fall Frederick," *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 63 (2004): 204.

[60] Minutes of the Committee of Secrecy, August 25, 1781, [London?] IOR H/244, f. 410-412, BL.

Hindu troops, especially in conflicts with the French and Indian states.[61] The company felt it had an obligation as a state actor to ensure a Protestant character to its administration and to preserve the faith wherever its established itself. By maintaining Protestant practices within India it was assumed Protestant European troops would remain motivated and loyal to preserving the institution that not only paid them, but also preserved their faith thousands of miles from home.[62]

Fifth, there was the idea that German soldiers would be cheaper to enlist than British recruits. Almost all the recruiting schemes for raising German soldiers set the price at seven pounds a head, which included a possible profit for the recruiter. But this price could rise during times of war as demand for potential recruits rose.[63] John Haberkorn, an agent for the EIC, reported from Hamburg in 1770 that the company enjoyed a substantial advantage in recruiting in the city because the wages the EIC offered were approximately three times greater than the other armies recruiting there.[64] German EIC army captain, Gabriel Muller, made a similar observation a decade later from Amsterdam. Muller noted that the city was full of foreigners, mostly Germans, who would prefer to serve the British rather than the Dutch due in part to higher wages. He was confident that he could recruit just outside the borders of the Dutch Republic and lure men to leave Amsterdam and enlist with him for service with the EIC in India.[65] As will be discussed later in the chapter, however, the cost estimates rarely held true in

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[61] Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists," 8; Stern, *The Company-State* 38, 117; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 36.
[62] Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists," 8.
[63] Elias Buzaglo to the Court of Directors, October 10, 1770, London, IOR E/1/54, f. 236, BL; Meeting of an EIC Committee, November 10, [1770], [London], IOR E/1/54, f. 89, BL; Samuel Vullyamoz, "Answer to Sir George Colebroke on the informations he has desired to have," 1770, London, IOR E/1/54, f. 339, BL.
[64] John Haberkorn to Peter Mitchell, November 20, 1770, Hamburg, IOR E/1/54, f. 378r, BL. While the British East India Company's monthly salaries might have been higher than other services, then Cuddalore-based Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge missionaries, Johann Zacharias Kiernander and Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann noted that the extra pay was largely taken up by the higher cost of living in India and other expenses, so that German soldiers serving in South Asia had the same or worse quality of life as their counterparts back in Central Europe. Johann Zacharias Kiernander and Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, October 11, 1755, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 45:38.
[65] Letter of Gabriel Muller, July 10, 1780, Amsterdam, IOR E/1/67 f. 17r, BL.

reality much to the detriment of recruiters and to the annoyance of the company's Court of Directors. The EIC's constant demand for European recruits and the promise of cheaply and easily recruiting Protestants, many of whom were military veterans, led Deputy Chairman of the EIC, John Purling to note that recruiting in German-speaking Europe "was not a temporary expedient, but a permanent one."[66]

The Mechanisms of the British East India Company's Recruiting in German-Speaking Central Europe

In order to secure this manpower from the continent, the EIC relied on a combination of recruiting practices. It contracted with private agents to raise a set number of men or an entire unit. The company also sent their own officers or employees to recruit in the Holy Roman Empire and Swiss cantons. The British government mediated contracts between the company and German states and individuals as well. Veteran military officers and other entrepreneurs submitted a steady stream of recruiting proposals to the Court of Directors in London. Baron Charles de Freudenberg, a Protestant Hessian who had served as an officer for sixteen years in the services of the Landgrave of Hesse, the King of Prussia, the Prince of Waldeck, and the Dutch Republic, sent three different proposals to the EIC in 1757. He offered to raise a company of *Jägers*[67] with sixty-nine men and officers in three months or a 140-man infantry company including thirty *Jägers* in three months. He also outlined a permanent recruiting operation based in Hamburg. From there he and several recruiting sergeants would travel to Lübeck and other

[66] Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL.

[67] *Jäger*, a German word for hunter, huntsman, or gamekeeper, was used in eighteenth-century military contexts to describe members of elite light infantry units that were becoming a regular part of European armies. Most of these soldiers were professional *jägers* prior to their enlistments. Rodney Atwood, *The Hessians: Mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel in the American Revolution*, 1st ed. paperback (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 132-133.

German states, in exchange for a salary for himself, expenses for himself and his officers, and a per capita bonus.[68] Samuel Vullyamoz, a Swiss officer from Lausanne, who had served over seventeen years with a Swiss regiment in foreign services, offered in 1770 to raise men in Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, and Frankfurt am Main and send them to England.[69] Vullyamoz estimated he could raise five hundred men in Frankfurt alone.[70] Jacques Prevost, a Genevan whose family had long served as officers in the Sardinian and Dutch service, agreed in 1757 to sell four companies of Swiss troops to the EIC he had initially raised for service with the Royal American Regiment of the British Army.[71] Elias Buzaglo, while not a soldier, cited his knowledge of nine languages and extensive contracts throughout Germany having worked there for almost two decades in his 1770 proposal to raise one hundred German veterans of the Seven Years' War for the company.[72] A D. Price offered himself as a recruiter to Peter Michel, the Secretary for the East India, noting that he possessed the travel experience and knowledge of foreign languages and customs needed to effectively raise recruits for the EIC over the summer of 1771 to go out with the winter fleet to India.[73]

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[68] Baron Charles de Freudenberg, "Proposal of Baron Freudenberg to raise Company of German Hunters of the Company's Service," c. August 1757, IOR E/1/40, f. 324-325r, BL; Baron Charles de Freudenberg, "Proposal of Baron Freudenberg to raise a Company of German Foo[t] for the Company's Service in the East Indies," c. August 1757, IOR E/1/40, f. 326-327, BL; [Baron Charles de Freudenberg], "Scheme of an Annual Levy of German Protestant Soldiers, for the Service of the East India Compagny," IOR E/1/40, f. 355-356, BL.

[69] Sometimes spelled Vallyamoz in contemporary sources.

[70] [Lord] Pembroke to Lord [Barrington?], September 25, 1770, London, IOR E/1/54, f. 296, BL; [Samuel] Vullyamoz to [Lord Barrington?], September 20, 1770, [London], IOR E/1/54, f. 297, BL; Letter of Samuel Vullyamoz, November 16, 1770, London, IOR E/1/54, f. 336, BL; Samuel Vullyamoz, "Mr. Vullyamoz's First Proposals," IOR E/1/54, f. 299, BL; Samuel Vullyamoz, "Answer to Sir George Colebroke on the informations he has desired to have," 1770, IOR E/1/54, f. 339, BL; Forrer, "A Few Notes on Swiss Officers and Mercenary Regiments in the Pay of England," 225.

[71] Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "German Auxiliary Troops in the British and Dutch East India Companies," in *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era*, ed. Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 39; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 35.

[72] Elias Buzaglo to the Court of Directors, August 16, 1770, London, IOR E/1/54, f. 87, BL; Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries*, 137.

[73] D. Price to Peter Michell, April 30, [1771], [London], IOR E/1/55, f. 445, BL.

When the Court of Directors accepted one of these independent proposals, it usually offered terms designed to raise men rapidly and limit the EIC's expenses and exposure to financial risk. The EIC often provided some money in advance to a contractor to help cover initial recruiting costs, but almost never offered a second advance until the first one was paid for by the money the entrepreneurs earned through sending recruits to Britain.[74] In an agreement to form several Swiss companies in 1751, the EIC insisted that the captains recruiting the companies provide securities before it would send the officers any advances. The agreement also stipulated that the captains would be responsible for all the recruiting and maintenance expenses until the end of November, the deadline for when the companies had to be at the mouth of the Thames River.[75]

Contracts often specified the age, height, religious, health, and experience requirements of potential recruits. In the directors' terms with Elias Buzaglo, the two to three hundred German recruits were to be between twenty and thirty-five years old, between 5'6" and 5'10", and delivered to the EIC within three months.[76] The directors ordered Felix Frederick in 1771 to secure only German Protestants who were between 5'5" and 5'10" and were "stout, able, healthy men, proper for service" in the tropical climes of South Asia.[77]

The Court of Directors contracted agents to raise the stipulated number of men within three or four months so that the men would arrive quickly and just before an EIC fleet made its twice yearly passage to India. Quick recruiting reduced maintenance costs as the EIC paid all the expenses of recruits once they reached Britain. The company also had to deal with the legal

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[74] Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680.
[75] Articles of Agreement, July 17, 1751, IOR E/1/36, f. 142, 145, BL.
[76] Elias Buzaglo to the Court of Directors, October 10, 1770, London, IOR E/1/54, f. 236, BL; Pro Memoria and Articles of Agreement, IOR E/1/54, f. 238-239, BL.
[77] Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL.

ambiguities of housing recruits in Great Britain and preventing desertions. German recruits generally remained on their ships waiting for the convoy to sail for India without ever touching British soil. A minor scandal occurred on April 17, 1771 when a party of about 120 armed German recruits disembarked without permission at Gravesend and set up a military camp with guards. Thomas Dade, the commander at Gravesend and Fort Tilbury, informed Viscount William Barrington, the secretary at war, of the incident and the ministry castigated the EIC directors for landing foreign troops on British soil. The incident occurred just as Parliament debated the EIC's bill for authorization to raise a regiment in the British Isles that would include foreign Protestant troops.[78]

With the risks squarely on the contractor's shoulders, they routinely went into debt to fulfill the contract. When there were fewer recruits, unforeseen expenses, bad weather conditions, or legal troubles, contractors often faced significant financial losses or even personal ruin.[79] EIC army officer James Francis Erskine, despite his troubles with authorities from several Swiss cantons, did raise hundreds of Swiss and discharged Württemberg troops in the summer of 1781. But since he was unable to present them for muster by the agreed upon date, the EIC refused to take the men on and Erskine was left with over a thousand pounds sterling of personal debt.

Many contractors blamed their recruiting failures and financial losses on the Court of Directors and their alteration of the terms of recruitment that ultimately left the EIC bereft of both recruits and cash. Felix Frederick complained that he had failed to fulfill his agreement with

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[78] Thomas Dade to Lord Viscount Barrington, April 17, 1771, Gravesend, IOR E/1/55, f. 402r, BL; [John] Purling to Earl of Rochford, April 19, 1771, [London], IOR H/105, f. 121-122, BL; Earl of Rochford to Chairman of the East India Company, April 20, 1771, [London], IOR H/105, f. 125-126, BL; Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL.

[79] Elias Buzaglo to [Peter] Mitchell, November 18, 1770, Bassum, IOR E/1/54, f. 366-367, BL; Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL; Petition of Gabriel Muller to the Court of Directors, c. December 1773, IOR E/1/57, f. 516, 517v, BL.

the company because its leadership repeatedly changed the terms and failed to provide basic logistical support. Frederick initially was to raise a thousand former Württemberg army soldiers, but while he was recruiting them he learned that the directors instead wanted just a trial party of one hundred to three hundred men to evaluate the costs and logistical requirements. Deputy Chairman Purling further delayed Frederick's work by failing to secure him a recruiting certificate to operate in Hamburg.[80] Elias Buzaglo disbanded his party of recruits at Bassum in Hanover when he received orders in late 1770 that his men were to march to a Dutch port rather than his intended plan to go to Hamburg or Bremen. Buzaglo decided to cut his losses as he would have to apply for a special passport and cover the recruits' expenses while he waited for it. Moreover, many of his recruits informed him that they would not march the longer route in the dead of winter and demanded to be discharged instead.[81]

In addition to contracting with independent entrepreneurs or retired or veteran officers in continental European services, the EIC sent its own officers and agents throughout the Holy Roman Empire and Swiss confederacy to raise men. In 1756 the EIC sent Baron de Vaserot, a Swiss nobleman who had previously served as a lieutenant in Captain Alexander Ziegler's Swiss company in India, along with Frederick William Elerson to raise two hundred men in Hanseatic port cities.[82] In the fall of 1770, the EIC secured formal state protection from the Secretary of

[80] Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL.
[81] Elias Buzaglo to [Peter] Mitchell, November 18, 1770, Bassum, IOR E/1/54, f. 366-367, BL; Elias Buzaglo to the Court of Directors, March 12, 1771, London, IOR E/1/55, f. 145, BL.
[82] "A Muster Roll of Swis Company of Military for the month [November] 1753," October 31, 1753, Bombay, IOR L/MIL 12/120, BL; Commission of David Baron de Vasserot and Frederick William Elerson, December 8, 1756, IOR H/24, f. 110-111, BL.

State for the Northern Department's office for their newly appointed recruiter in Hamburg, John Haberkorn, and also supplied him with letters of credit to draw on the city's merchants.[83]

The EIC also sought the British government's assistance in raising continental units. Sir Luke Schaub, a native of Basel who had a decades-long diplomatic career in the British service, arranged the hiring of several companies of Swiss soldiers to serve in India.[84] On July 17, 1751 the EIC signed an agreement that two companies of Swiss troops would arrive at Gravesend by the end of November. In total four companies would be raised under this agreement with two companies at Fort St. George, one in Bengal, and one in Bombay.[85] The troops were primarily German-speaking and Francophone Swiss, but there were also Germans and a few Dutch in the ranks as well.[86] The Swiss companies provided the EIC with an immediate influx of European soldiers during the Second Carnatic War (1749-1754). In Bombay, upon a Swiss company's arrival, the Swiss represented almost a third of all European soldiers in the city.[87] In its 1769 proposal to form and legally recruit for a regiment in Great Britain, the Court of Directors asked that the king appoint two captains and four lieutenants from among his German subjects, "for the purpose of Recruiting in Germany" to help fill the unit's ranks.[88]

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[83] Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL; Graham Jefcoate, *Deutsche Drucker und Buchhändler in London 1680-1811: Strukturen und Bedeutung des deutschen Anteils am englischen Buchhandel* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 191.
[84] Forrer, "A Few Notes on Swiss Officers and Mercenary Regiments in the Pay of England," 214; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 34-35; Philip Woodfine, "Schaub, Sir Luke (1690–1758)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24798.
[85] Articles of Agreement, July 17, 1751, IOR E/1/36, f. 142, BL; Extract of General Letter to Fort St. David, August 23, 1751, [Fort St. David], IOR H/244, f. 105, BL; Commission of John Chabbert, November 14, 1751, IOR H/24, f. 100-101, BL.
[86] "Separate List of Men Inlisted Dead Deserted Discharged gone to Subordinate factory and Entered in the Marine Service of the Swis Company of the Infantry of Bombay Since the 1st November to the 1st December 1753," c. December 1753, Bombay, IOR L/MIL 12/120, BL.
[87] "State of the Military of Bombay October the First 1752," c. October 1752, Bombay, IOR L/MIL 12/120, BL; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 36.
[88] Court of Directors' Memorandum to Privy Council, c. 1770, [London], IOR H/101, f. 346, BL.

News of Mysorean ruler Haidar Ali (r. 1761-1782)'s attack on British-held parts of the Coromandel Coast and his victories in the field against company forces at the start of the Second Anglo-Mysore War led the EIC in 1781 to turn directly to the British monarchy for assistance in recruiting German-speaking troops. Initially the EIC requested three thousand regular army troops be sent that year to replenish already depleted ranks from recent conflicts with the Marathas. The Court of Directors resolved, after learning that just a thousand regular troops could be sent, to apply to the British government and King George III (r. 1760-1820) to help procure "on as advantageous terms as possible, 2000 German Protestants, to proceed to, & be employed in the Company's Pay and Service in the East-Indies, under their ow[n] officers."[89]

Whereas George III and the electoral government rejected the previous proposal in 1770 to enable the EIC to recruit in the Electorate of Hanover, George III in 1781 was willing to help broker an agreement.[90] In May, the EIC's Chairman and Deputy Chairman agreed to preliminaries that the King, as Elector of Hanover, would form two thousand-man regiments in this capacity with the EIC paying for the raising, arming, clothing, and maintaining of the regiments during their term of service.[91] Hanoverian officers who volunteered led the regiments, but Hanoverian subjects were barred from serving in the ranks. George III and the Hanoverian government did not want the electorate's own defense and manpower to be drained defending overseas colonies that had little importance to the territory. The rank-and-file were thus foreign volunteers from Hanoverian regiments and those recruited throughout the Holy Roman Empire.[92]

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[89] "Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council of Bombay in their Secret Department," December 22, 1776, [Bombay], IOR H/84, f. 59, BL; "At a Court of Directors held on Wednesday the 4th April 1781," April 4, 1781, [London], IOR H/244, f. 200, BL.

[90] Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL; [Burckhard Heinrich von] Behr to Colonel Stewart, October 9, 1770, London, IOR E/1/54, f. 233, BL; [Burckhard Heinrich von] Behr to Colonel Stewart, October 9, 1770, London, IOR H/102, f. 539, BL.

[91] "At a Committee of Secrecy," May 25, 1781, IOR H/244, f. 266-267, BL.

[92] "Actum Herrnhausen in der Behausung des herrn Feld-Marschalls von Hardenberg Excellenz," June 9, 1781, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 1, f. 20-21; Memorandum to all Cavalry and Infantry Regiments, June 11, 1781,

Beyond the clusters of recruits sent by contracted agents or EIC recruiters, some German troops trickled on their own into the EIC's service in India. A German, John Tudweller, arrived in Bombay on the ship *Anjongo* with thirty-four other European recruits and enlisted on March 1, 1752.[93] John Kotterick of Saxony and Jonas Smidt of Hanover traveled through England and then to India where they enlisted in Bombay on October 1, 1752, several days after they arrived on the subcontinent.[94] Private Lewis Smith from Germany died in Bombay in the fall of 1753 after nearly twenty years of military service with the EIC, and Godfrey Weader was discharged in Bombay that year after serving nearly seven years as an infantryman.[95] Eight Germans castaway from a Dutch East India Company (VOC) ship on one of the Cape Verde islands agreed to join the EIC army after they were picked up by a British ship sailing for India in 1770.[96]

Some veteran German officers offered their services to the EIC individually without proposals to raise men or serve in distinctly German or Swiss units. Carl von Imhoff from Mörlach in the Upper Palatinate served during the Seven Years' War with the Württemberg army and after his discharge he moved to London to work as a portraitist and miniaturist. Using some connections he had with the royal family, he was able to secure a cadetship for himself in 1769 and shipped out to India.[97] In 1780, Friedrich Otto, a first lieutenant in the Prussian service

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Hannover, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 1, f. 3-4; "Stam-Rolle Von des Herrn Hauptmann von Zastrow Compagnie des 14ten Infante Regiment," June 5, 1786, Nienburg, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 24, f. 121.

[93] "An Account of Men Inlisted, dead, Discharged, Deserted, gone to Subordinate Factorys, and Entered into the Marine Service of the First Company of the Military of Bombay since the first of January Last to this first day of October 1752," October 1, 1752, [Bombay], IOR L/MIL 12/120, BL.

[94] William Lane, "Separate List of Men dead, run, di[s]charged &c. in the 4th Compy of the Infantry of Bombay since the 1st January to the 1st December 1753," c. December 1753, [Bombay], IOR L/MIL 12/120, BL.

[95] "Separate List of Men dead, run, discharged &c:a in the 3d Comp:y of the Infantry of Bombay since the 1st January to the 1st December 1753," c. December 1753, [Bombay], IOR L/MIL 12/120, BL; "A List of Men Dead, Discharged, Deserted Inlisted gone to Subordinate Factorys and Entered in the Marine Service belonging to the Artillery Company from the 1st April 1753 to the 5th December 1753," c. December 1753, [Bombay], IOR L/MIL 12/120, BL.

[96] David Wedderburn to Peter Mitchel, May 8, 1770, Island of St. Iago, IOR E/1/53, f. 225r, BL.

[97] Mann, "Indien ist eine Karriere," 281-282.

during the Seven Years' War, asked for a commission in the EIC army promising to do his utmost for the company and offered to provide the directors assurances that he was not acting in a mercenary manner. That same year, John Adam Kisselbach, a native of Cassel and veteran lieutenant of the Hesse-Cassel army, offered his services as an engineering officer. He produced certification of his having studied mathematics at the University of Marburg and martial subjects at the military academy in Cassel.[98]

The Challenges of Recruiting and Moving German-Speaking Recruits

Recruiting in the Holy Roman Empire and Swiss cantons also came with its own set of challenges. On the continent, the EIC was not just competing with the British Army and Navy for men, but with continental states and trading companies to the East and West Indies. Within the empire, Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria had well-developed networks of recruiters and the Dutch, French, and Sardinians had long-established recruiting relationships with many Swiss cantons.[99] Recruiting agents frequently attempted to lure away their competitors' recruits as they marched through the countryside and across various borders to reach mustering points and ports. A party of 180 Swiss recruits dwindled to just 114 men by the time they enlisted, thanks to rival agents encouraging desertion and inducing some of the Swiss to enlist with their militaries. Recruiters for the Dutch trading companies seemed to be the most aggressive in poaching away EIC recruits on the continent. John Haberkorn arrived in Rotterdam expecting to review and take over a party of men he had engaged, instead he found out that the eighty-four recruits had been

[98] Friedrich Otto to [Court of Directors], January 16, 1780, [London], IOR E/1/66, f. 31-32, BL; Petition of John Adam Kisselbach to the Court of Directors, January 12, 1780, London, IOR E/1/66, f. 22, BL; Letter of George Smith, January 1, 1780, Woolwich, IOR E/1/66, f. 24, BL; Letter of Baron de Kutzleben, January 4, 1780, London, IOR E/1/66, f. 26, BL.

[99] McCormack, *One Million Mercenaries*, 142; Wilson, "The Politics of Military Recruitment in Eighteenth-Century Germany," 544.

taken up by the Dutch and were on their way to Curaçao.[100] In March 1771 at Vught in the Dutch Republic, VOC agents kidnapped several men from Felix Frederick's party of Württemberg army veterans bound for EIC service in India and local magistrates refused to help him get them back.[101] Contractor Elias Buzaglo protested against the Court of Director's insistence in 1770 that he embark his men at a Dutch port because he feared VOC agents operating around the Dutch Republic's borders would lure away his recruits.[102]

Agents also attempted to block their counterparts from recruiting in territories at all. An unknown recruiter tried to prevent a train of EIC recruits from entering Hamburg by spreading rumors that the men were not military recruits, but rather settlers about to illegally emigrate from the Holy Roman Empire. The rumor may have been particularly effective because the EIC had just approved a proposal to allow a party of Germans to settle near Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen (present-day Bengkulu City) to help establish a sugar works.[103]

Geopolitics disrupted recruiting in Central Europe. Territorial rulers and magistrates of imperial cities had the final say over who was allowed to move through their lands or recruit within them.[104] The Hamburg Senate during the Seven Years' War and the War of American Independence resisted permitting any British force to recruit, move, or house men in its territory,

[100] Letter of John Chabbert, c. 1751, IOR E/1/36, f. 256, BL; John Haberkorn to Peter Mitchell, November 20, 1770, Hamburg, IOR E/1/54, f. 377r, BL.
[101] Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL.
[102] Elias [Buzaglo] to Joshua Mendes da Casta, November 15, 1770, Bassum, IOR E/1/54, f. 356, BL; Elias Buzaglo to [Peter] Mitchell, November 18, 1770, Bassum, IOR E/1/54, f. 366, BL.
[103] "Proceedings relative to the establishment of Arrack and Sugar Works as they respect, The Conduct of the Governor and Council; The views and expectations of the Company Servants in general at Fort Marlborough; and, The late engagement of the Court with Mr. Baker and the German Protestants," c. 1769, Bencoolen, IOR H/770, f. 375-403, BL; Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS, Add MSS 23680, BL.
[104] Wilson, "The Politics of Military Recruitment in Eighteenth-Century Germany," 557.

as the city was deeply reliant on the Habsburg emperors' goodwill and protection.[105] Following complaints in 1771 from the Austrian *chargé d'affaires* in Hamburg, Count von Raben, that Germans were sailing out of the city for service overseas in violation of the emperor's wishes and the city's own ban on illegal emigration, the senate launched an investigation. British military officers and EIC contractors had to defend their activities before the senate, including their previously approved procurements of some of the city's orphans, convicts, and workhouse occupants.[106]

George Gibson, a Scottish merchant operating in Rotterdam, wrote to the EIC in 1771 that he feared Dutch authorities might prevent foreign military recruits from leaving through their ports, just as they had begun to limit German migrants leaving for America. Gibson recommended that parties of recruits be split up into smaller groups to avoid the notice of Dutch authorities.[107] EIC army officer James Francis Erskine complained in 1781 that the French ambassador at Soleur was working ceaselessly to stop his recruiting efforts, and to punish Erskine as well as the Swiss who agreed to sign up with the EIC. Erskine alleged that the ambassador succeeded in persuading the cantons of Berne and Zürich to pressure the magistrates of Stein to violate their signed agreement with Erskine and return all the men and officers from those two cantons to face punishment.[108] French invasions of Hanover and other German states

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[105] Manuel Mathias to [James Mathias], July 26, 1757, Hamburg, IOR E/1/40, f. 301-302r, BL; [Manuel Mathias] to James Mathias, July 29, 1757, Hamburg, IOR E/1/40, f. 303, BL; Letter of H. Wittmann, June 23, 1778, London, IOR E/1/62, f. 347, BL; Wilson, "The Politics of Military Recruitment in Eighteenth-Century Germany," 545-547.
[106] Wilhelm, "Deutsche Soldaten für die East India Company," 231.
[107] Letter of George Gibson, April 2, 1771, Rotterdam, IOR E/1/55, f. 268, BL; P.W. Klein, "'Little London': British Merchants in Rotterdam During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Enterprise and History: Essays in Honour of Charles Wilson*, ed. D.C. Coleman and Peter Mathias (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 131n41.
[108] Minutes of the Committee of Secrecy, September 17, 1781, IOR H/244, f. 467, 469, BL. For centuries the Swiss cantons had aggressively worked to limit the number of Swiss serving as soldiers abroad and to prevent individual Swiss from leaving the cantons to independently enlist with a foreign military. Cantonal officials feared that unregulated movements would not only generate social instability, but political unrest as well. Casparis, "The Swiss Mercenary System," 598.

also interrupted EIC recruiting, ending recruitment efforts in occupied lands. The French invasion of Hanover in 1757 and Hamburg's shutting its borders to the British effectively ended EIC recruiting efforts in German-speaking Central Europe for several years.[109]

There were a host of penalties in Central European states, including the seizure of property and death, for those who recruited illegally or agreed to serve in a foreign army without permission. When Erskine first arrived in the Swiss cantons to recruit for the EIC in 1781, he sought officers for his new unit and to help with recruiting. These officers consulted local lawyers who assured them that while there was a penalty of forfeiture and death for engaging another man for military service, this was outweighed by the principle of a man's freedom to seek his fortune however he thought fit. Unfortunately for the officers and recruits, the governments of the Canton of Berne and Canton of Zürich disagreed and arrested dozens of them on the march and at a recruiting depot. Berne officials threatened Erskine with arrest if he ever set foot in their territory again. They also considered hanging the officers and soldiers they imprisoned and tried many of the officers captured ex post facto with new laws that enabled them to be stripped of all their property. Much to Erskine's bitter disappointment, neither EIC officials nor the British government wished to intervene in the situation.[110]

When EIC officers and hired contractors successfully raised German-speaking recruits, there was still the challenge of moving the men through the web of states and cities to the planned port of embarkation. The recruiting process was frequently delayed, as contractors, British diplomatic officials, and EIC agents worked to secure the required permissions and

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[109] Manuel Mathias to [James Mathias], July 26, 1757, Hamburg, IOR E/1/40, f. 302v, BL; [Manuel Mathias] to James Mathias, July 29, 1757, London, IOR E/1/40, f. 304r, BL.

[110] Letter of Captain Toone, August 28, 1781, IOR H/244, f. 54-55, BL; Minute of Committee of Secrecy, September 10, 1781, IOR H/244, f. 439-442, BL; Minutes of the Committee of Secrecy, September 17, 1781, IOR H/244, f. 475-476, 480-482, BL; Letter of [James Francis] Erskine, February 1, 1782, Ranelagh, IOR H/244, f. 87-88, BL; James Francis Erskine to the Court of Directors, October 16, 1782, [London], IOR H/163, f. 326, BL.

passports to move the recruits. John Chabbert, the captain of the first Swiss company raised by the 1751 agreement, explained that he was unable to recruit a full company by the agreed upon deadline because he was unable to secure passports to move his men through several German states. The alternative route he had to take exposed his enlistees to the lures of other recruiting agents and officers that caused a steady stream of desertions as the party marched northward to the coast.[111]

After traversing Central Europe, recruits usually embarked at a German or Dutch port, sailed to Gravesend, and then waited at the mouth of the Thames River to travel in a larger convoy for India. This short trip sometimes proved devastating for soldiers' health and morale. Almost one hundred soldiers of the 15th Hanoverian Regiment died waiting at Stade for favorable winds and a convoy to travel with across the North Sea. While the troops began to be loaded onto the first transports in late October 1781, some of the transports did not arrive at Portsmouth until January 1782. The delay so strained the troops' shipboard provisions so that by mid-December there was not even enough hard zwieback to give each soldier a full ration. These conditions exacerbated an outbreak of contagious disease and also triggered a mutiny on the ship *Polly*.[112] Almost 150 of the 236 men onboard participated in the multiday mutiny, and about forty soldiers escaped the ship and returned to land. Leading Hanoverian ministers offered cash rewards to anyone who could capture an escaped mutineer and recommended that the instigating corporal be executed either by decapitation or firing squad.[113]

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[111] Letter of John Chabbert, c. 1751, IOR E/1/36, f. 256, BL.
[112] von Scharnhorst to [von Hardenberg], October 26, 1781, Stade, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 10, f. 31-32; Letter of S. Mutio, December 19, 1781, Otterndorf, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 18, f. 11-12; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 43.
[113] Letter of von Münchhausen, December 13, 1781, Hannover, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 4, f. 113r; Letter of von Münchhausen, December 16, 1781, Hannover, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 4, f. 114-115; Letter of von Münchhausen, February 24, 1782, Hannover, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 4, f. 125.

By the time the transports reached Portsmouth, many of the troops were in such poor condition that the EIC chairman and vice chairman wrote several times to the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, Wills Hill, Earl of Hillsborough, to allow the sick Hanoverians to disembark and be admitted into the Royal Navy's Haslar Hospital and other neighboring hospitals.[114] The chairs feared that if the troops were not given access to the hospitals, George III's desire to send regiments to India "will, in a great degree, be frustrated and the very heavy expense which has attended raising and maintaining the said Troops, will have been incurred, without producing adequate advantage to the State or to the East-India Company."[115] The attrition during these voyages and the transoceanic ones increased the EIC's demands for European troops to make up for the losses.

Once the EIC secured men from the continent, there was still the issue of moving them across two oceans to India. The months-long voyage to India was dangerous in many ways. Ships routinely ran low on food and beverages, and often suffered outbreaks of disease aboard the small ships. In the last decade of the eighteenth century about one and a half percent of soldiers bound for British India died at sea, and about one in five men was sick when the ship reached its destination.[116] The Swiss company under Alexander Ziegler lost forty-two men on the voyage to Bombay, almost a third of the entire unit.[117] Lieutenant Colonel Carl Ludwig Reinbold, the initial commanding officer of the Hanoverian regiments raised in 1781, noted that the *Nottingham* provided very favorable conditions for the Hanoverians. The ship was roomy, well stocked with fresh provisions that included live sheep, pigs, geese, and ducks, and allowed

[114] Laurence Sulivan and William James to Earl of Hillsborough, January 11, 1782, [London], IOR H/157, f. 85, BL; Laurence Sulivan and William James to Earl of Hillsborough, January 30, 1782, [London], IOR H/157, f. 265, BL.
[115] Laurence Sulivan and William James to Earl of Hillsborough, January 30, 1782, [London], IOR H/157, f. 265, BL.
[116] Gilbert, "Recruiting and Reform in the East India Company Army," 91-92, 92n7.
[117] Memorial of Alexander Ziegler to the East India Company, February 24, 1753, Bombay, IOR E/1/37 f. 277r, BL.

only healthy men aboard. The troops had limited work responsibilities and lots of time for leisure. The Hanoverian officers enjoyed fresh, daily-baked bread, good small beer, and punch every evening at the table with the ship's officers.[118] Despite all of the *Nottingham*'s positive features, scurvy and dysentery broke out aboard the vessel and its partner transport ship less than two months after leaving Portsmouth. By the time the ships docked at Rio de Janeiro after about three months at sea, fifty-eight men had died and many more were ill with fever and scurvy.[119]

In addition to outbreaks of various disease, nature and enemy fleets also wreaked havoc with German-speaking soldiers on their sea voyages to India. In 1752, French ships captured a Swiss company under Captain John Henry Schaub, nephew of the diplomat who brokered the EIC's 1751 agreement for the Swiss soldiers, as the unit was sailing for Fort St. David. The action enraged the Fort St. George government as the troops were sailing with proper passports that should have allowed them to travel by sea unmolested, despite the fact that the French and British East India companies were at war again in southern India. Captain Schaub and his men spent many months at Pondicherry waiting for their release and return to active service.[120]

The two hundred Hanoverian soldiers traveling on the *Brilliant* suffered one disaster after another in 1782 and 1783. The *Brilliant* shipwrecked on rocks off the island of Anjouan near Madagascar in August 1782. Twenty-three men drowned trying to get off the ship and onto the island. Seventy-nine more men died over eight months on the island while suffering from a lack of provisions and medicines. The ship that picked up the remaining Hanoverians was damaged in

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[118] Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, on board the East Indianman *Nottingham*, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 27, f. 1.
[119] Report of the Regimental Surgeon Schwartze, c. March 1782, on Board the *Nottingham*, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 15; Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, May 4, 1782, Rio Janeiro, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 20.
[120] "Extract of Separate Letter from Fort St. George," November 3, 1752, IOR H/244, f. 125, BL; "Extract of General Letter from Fort St. George," February 12, 1753, [Madras], IOR H/244, f. 126, BL; Draught of Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, March 25, 1757, London, IOR E/4/861, f. 721-722, BL; Draught of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, November 11, 1757, London, IOR E/4/861, f. 842-843, BL.

several storms and had to stop by the island of Socotra near where the Red Sea meets the Indian Ocean. Socotra had little fresh water or anything to eat besides dried fish. The vessel continued on to the Arabian Sea, but ran out of water and almost all food several days before reaching the Indian coast. Over a dozen more soldiers could not survive this voyage after their shipwreck experience and more died shortly after reaching India in June 1783. By late 1783, the survivors consisted of just two officers, five NCOs, a drummer, and thirty-one privates who were back on duty in Tellicherry on the Malabar Coast.[121]

In the 1790s the company started hiring of units and individuals in the Indian Ocean basin presently or previously in the service of another European trading company. This practice was spurred by the return of war in both Europe and Asia in the wake of the French Revolution. Renewed conflict with the French created the usual collapse in recruiting numbers from the British Isles, and heightened the demand for soldiers by all the major European powers and trading companies. French victories and territorial expansion closed the usual recruiting grounds in Central Europe for the EIC.[122] The company sent Lieutenant John Owen along with a Lieutenant Mason to the Cape of Good Hope following its fall into British hands in 1795, "in the hope of obtaining a further Supply of German Soldiers from that Garrison."[123] Owen quickly found 225 German troops to sign a five-year term of service with the EIC in exchange for a bounty of five guineas. He also believed that five to six hundred more German soldiers at the Cape's garrison could be enlisted, as many had expressed a willingness to serve the EIC if they

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[121] Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, January 30, 1784, [Madras], NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 82; "Extract of Military Letter from Fort St George," August 1, 1788, [Madras], IOR H/85, p. 69; "Die Errichtung des 15. Und 16. Churhanoverschen Infanterie Regimenten betreffend," NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 4, f. 209-211; [Carl Ludwig Reinbold], "Auszug authentischer Berichte, die in Ostindien befindlichen beiden Chur-Hannoverischen Regimenter betreffend," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, February 2, 1784.
[122] Gilbert, "Recruiting and Reform in the East India Company Army," 103, 107, 109-110, 110n91.
[123] "Extract of Military Letter from Bengal," February 1, 1796, [Bengal], IOR F/4/3/634, BL; John McAleer, "'The Key to India': Troop Movements, Southern Africa, and Britain's Indian Ocean World, 1795-1820," *International History Review* 35, no. 2 (February 2013): 302-303.

could receive the same terms under which they had served the Dutch East India Company. By his recall to India in 1797 Owen had enlisted almost eight hundred men, mostly Germans with some Austrians and Poles as well. In addition, the EIC's forces at St. Helena sent a recruiting party to the Cape in 1796 and secured one hundred men to serve on the island.[124]

Similarly, the British state negotiated with the Swiss de Meuron Regiment in Ceylon to have the unit leave VOC service and fight alongside the British Army in India, like the Hanoverian regiments the decade before.[125] In its agreement with the VOC, the unit's personnel was to be two-thirds Swiss and one-third German, but the unit also had some Frenchmen, mostly officers. A major appeal of the transfer, especially for the rank-and-file, was that the unit had months of back pay due and the VOC was nearly bankrupt. The EIC agreed to pay off the officers and soldiers' outstanding wages and place the unit on the British Army's pay scale. The EIC also sought to recruit part of a Württemberg regiment captured on Ceylon, yet only a company's worth of soldiers enlisted, with the rest remaining prisoners of war for years.[126]

Integrating German Troops on the Indian Subcontinent

The EIC faced more challenges once the thousands of German troops arrived in India. EIC officials hoped that shared Protestantism, and in the case of Hanoverian troops, a shared

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[124] "Copies of Minute of the Commander in Chief, and Resolutions of Council upon it, respecting Lieutenant Owen: also Copy of a Letter from the Company's Agent at the Cape of Good Hope," January 22, 1796, IOR F/4/3/634, BL; "Extract of Military Letter from Bengal," June 30, 1796, IOR F/4/3/634, BL; "Extract of Letter from Mr. John Pringle, at the Cape of Good Hope," September 7, 1796, IOR F/4/3/634, BL; "Extract of Military Letter to Bengal," July 5, 1797, IOR F 4/74/1609, BL; John Owen to Robert Abercromby, July 31, 1797, IOR F 4/74/1609, BL. Similarly, the British East India Company also recruited among prisoners of war who were captured when the company took over VOC installations, like Nagapatnam (also now spelled Nagapattinam), on the Indian subcontinent during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, [Madras], AFSt/M 2 E 19:10a.

[125] "Capitulation between the British Government, and the Count Charles De Meuron," IOR F/4/78/1728, BL; Forrer, "A Few Notes on Swiss Officers and Mercenary Regiments in the Pay of England," 221.

[126] "Capitulation between the British Government, and the Count Charles De Meuron," IOR F/4/78/1728, BL; Proposed Draft to Fort St. George, July 30, 1806, IOR E/4/898, f. 317, BL; Nierstrasz, *In the Shadow of the Company*, 1; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "German Auxiliary Troops in the British and Dutch East India Companies," 37-38.

ruler, would create a spirit of unity among the company's continental recruits and its British soldiers, and loyalty to the EIC.[127] Yet hopes often ran into harsher realities. Soldiers in the Swiss companies raised in the early 1750s routinely complained that they did not receive equal treatment from local authorities, despite a stream of orders from the Court of Directors that the units be treated like any other Europeans in the EIC's army.[128] Captain Alexander Ziegler protested that the barracks assigned to his company were in disrepair and local EIC officials in Bombay did not offer alternative housing, nor were they willing to give Ziegler an additional allowance to rent other housing for his men and officers.[129] Ziegler noted in a later letter to the Court of Directors that three years after orders were given in 1753 to build a new barracks for his officers there was still no progress, and he continued to personally pay to rent a house to quarter himself.[130]

Hanoverian officers made similar complaints about unequal treatment in the 1780s, although they were contracted to have the same wages, benefits, and privileges as regular army officers and soldiers.[131] Lieutenant Colonel Carl Ludwig Reinbold, the first commander of the two Hanoverian regiments sent to India, complained in 1783 that much of his regiment was living in tents due to a lack of quarters at Fort St. George. Later he also observed that both British Army and EIC officers seemed to be promoted at a much faster rate than his Hanoverian officers. The EIC also appeared to Reinbold to pay the Hanoverians' arrears in wages and *batta*[132] more slowly than to their British colleagues. He feared that if this discrimination

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[127] John Caillaud to Laurence Sulivan and William James, c. September 1781, IOR H/244, f. 494, BL.
[128] Extract of General Letter to Fort St. George, December 6, 1751, IOR H/244, f. 111, BL; Draft of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, January 24, 1753, London, IOR E/4/861, f. 219, BL.
[129] Memorial of Alexander Ziegler to the East India Company, February 24, 1753, Bombay, IOR E/1/37, f. 276, BL.
[130] Letter of Alexander Ziegler to the Court of Directors, June 1757, London, IOR E/1/40, f. 270r, BL.
[131] Fort Circular, January 25, 1782, IOR E/4/870, f. 117, BL; Untitled Circular from East India Company, IOR H/157, f. 124, BL.
[132] *Batta* was a South Asian practice of rulers granting allowances to both civil and military officials under their authority. The British adopted the practice and made it a form of supplemental payment to officers and soldiers

continued it would undermine the loyalty and zeal of his officers and men, weaken military discipline, and spark desertions.[133]

Reinbold's complaints about the slow promotion of Hanoverian officers was part of the broader tension surrounding questions of rank and superiority between German-speaking officers and the EIC's Anglophone ones. In response to a 1766 petition from some of its military officers, the directors had agreed that no foreign-born officer could rise above the rank of major, ensuring that the top commands remained in the hands of British officers whose loyalty, they believed, could not be in doubt.[134] In the negotiations for bringing over the two Hanoverian regiments in 1781, the directors representing the EIC expressed concern that under the draft agreement Hanoverian officers would be superior to EIC officers of the same rank. Since the Hanoverian soldiers were to be placed on the same footing as regular British Army units rather than EIC units, it would mean that they would possess the same command superiority of British Army officers over EIC army officers of the same rank. King George III refused to budge on the point, since Hanoverian troops serving in Gibraltar and Minorca were already recognized as equals to their British Army counterparts. The EIC's desperate need for the German soldiers led the negotiating directors to concede the point with assurances that the highest ranked Hanoverian officer would be a lieutenant colonel, ensuring that an EIC officer would have ultimate control over the Hanoverian regiments and larger EIC armies.[135]

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when they were in the field to cover the added expenses of being on campaign. Callahan, *The East India Company and Army Reform*, 28-30; Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson The Definitive Glossary of British India*, selected ed., ed. Kate Teltscher (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 87.

[133] Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, March 21, 1783, Madras, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 41; [Carl Ludwig] Reinbold to General in Chief, December 10, 1784, Madras, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 99, 108; [Carl Ludwig] Reinbold to [George] Macartney, February 17, 1785, Madras, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 149-150.

[134] Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, 50.

[135] Minutes of the Committee of Secrecy, August 24, 1781, IOR H/244, f. 402-403, BL; Minute of Committee of Secrecy, August 30, 1781, IOR H/244, f. 413-415, BL; John Caillaud to Laurence Sulivan and William James, c. September 1781, IOR H/244, f. 496-497, BL.

Despite this maneuver, Lieutenant Colonel Reinbold became a line commander for the EIC's Madras Army, commanding a force consisting of the two Hanoverian regiments, three British Army regiments, and seven Company regiments during the Second Anglo-Mysore War. After the war, Reinbold continued to enjoy control over a brigade operating in Madras. The British officers, especially those serving with the EIC military, resented what they perceived as the favorable treatment that the Hanoverians received while in India. EIC military officers petitioned the directors in 1783 to end the superiority that British Army officers of the same rank enjoyed over them. The petition highlighted how the Hanoverian officers also enjoyed this privilege of outranking equivalent British-born EIC officers.[136] In 1787, Richard Smith, the former brigadier general and commander-in-chief of EIC forces in Bengal in the late 1760s, wrote to the Court of Directors and chastised them for allowing Hanoverian officers to hold superiority over EIC officers of the same rank. Such a policy, Smith worried, could undercut EIC military officers' zeal for serving the EIC and undermine the company's interests.[137]

One area where the Swiss and Hanoverian units insisted on being treated differently from their fellow soldiers was military justice. The EIC directors conceded that the Swiss companies should be under their own military code, noting that armies throughout Europe who hired Swiss forces accepted this arrangement and the Swiss military code was seen as crucial to their units' renowned good order and discipline.[138] In the 1781 formal agreement with the Hanoverian government for the two regiments, EIC and regular army officers might arrest offending Hanoverians, but judgment and punishment rested with the Hanoverian officers. A British

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[136] Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 44-45.
[137] Richard Smith to the Court of Directors, November 13, 1787, [London], IOR H/389, f. 26, BL.
[138] Draft of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, January 24, 1753, London, IOR E/4/861, f. 218-219, BL; "Extracts of General Letter of Fort St. George," January 24, 1753, [Madras], IOR H/244, f. 115-116, BL; Donati, "Das schweizerische Söldnerwesen," 209; McCormack, *One Million Mercenaries*, 130-131.

officer's recourse in these matters was either a negotiated settlement between the British and Hanoverian commanding officer, or an appeal to the king.[139]

Central European officers bristled against any perceived violations of their jurisdiction. Captain Ziegler noted that the commander of EIC forces in Bombay, Thomas Rich, prevented him and the other captains from disciplining their own men. Ziegler charged that Rich's laxness was encouraging insubordination and drunkenness. Furthermore, the Governor of Bombay, Richard Bourchier had on several occasions punished some Swiss troops without even informing Ziegler. The Swiss captain asked the directors to allow capital offenses to be tried by a Swiss-led court that would conform to English law and to reserve punishing offenders to the Swiss officers alone. Another Swiss company commander, Captain John Chabbert, protested against the Council at Fort St. George when it contemplated establishing a general court martial to deal with deserters from the Swiss companies. The Court of Directors clarified that the council should not continue with plans for a general court martial.[140]

Cultural barriers between Anglophone and German-speaking soldiers had to be negotiated as well. German soldiers preserved their separate identity while serving in India, largely through their language and religions. It was easiest to preserve this identity while serving in the distinctly German and Swiss units stationed on the subcontinent. In the published accounts of their experiences in India, Hanoverian officers routinely described themselves as European when wishing to show a commonality with British soldiers. Yet, Germanness also remained central to them as every interaction they had with another German, whether with the Society for

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[139] "Regulation concerning the two Batallions of Our Electoral Troops during the Time of their Service in the East Indies," IOR H/244, f. 397-400, BL.

[140] "Extract of General Letter from Fort St. George," July 5, 1752, [Madras], IOR H/244, f. 121, BL; Draft of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, January 24, 1753, London, IOR E/4/861, f. 218-219, BL; Memorial of Alexander Ziegler to the East India Company, February 24, 1753, Bombay, IOR E/1/37, f. 276, BL; Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:120-121.

Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and Royal Danish-Halle missionaries, or soldiers fighting for French or South Asian armies, was described in detail for audiences back home.[141] When the Second Anglo-Mysore War ended in 1784, the Hanoverians who had been besieging Cuddalore began to regularly visit with the French force, sharing meals and their mutual desires to return to Europe. This ready fraternization was likely aided by the fact that many in the French camp were members of the German La Marck Regiment.[142]

Besides the immediate benefit of being able to speak German with fellow soldiers and give and hear commands in German, the units provided distinct supports to preserve Germanic cultural practices. The Hanoverian government sent German-language New Testaments and song books for their two regiments serving in India.[143] While the de Meuron Regiment was stationed in India, regimental officers established schools in each of their three garrisons that instructed both soldiers and children, often in German, with soldiers serving as schoolmasters.[144]

The Lutheran missionary presence in India was critical in enabling German-speaking soldiers to conduct various religious rites in German from the holy sacrament to baptisms to burials. In the 1750s, Madras-based missionaries Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt ministered to the German soldiers around the city and loaned them German books for their edification. A generation later, missionary Christian Wilhelm Gericke provided pastoral care for German soldiers throughout his extensive travels. He also donated German language

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[141] Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries*, 215; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 63-65.
[142] "Schreiben eines Churfürstl. Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers aus Ostindien, aus dem Lager nahe bei Coudelour oder Fort St. David, den 13ten Julius 1783" *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 30, 1784; "Auszug aus dem Schreiben eines andern Churfürstlich Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers in Ostindien, aus dem Lager bei Coudelour, den 16ten Julius 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 30, 1784; Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Hanoverians, Germans, and Europeans: Colonial Identity in Early British India," *Central European History* 43, no. 2 (June 2010): 228.
[143] Memorandum of [von der] Ostens, August 2, 1787, Hannover, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 26, f. 23.
[144] Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, December 11, 1798, Madras, IOR European Miscellaneous Manuscripts (hereafter Mss Eur) Photo Eur 136/2, letter 6, BL.

books for the de Meuron regimental schools.[145] In turn, many German soldiers serving with the EIC, from the rank-and-file to officers, supported their compatriots and their evangelical work. An unidentified German soldier serving with the EIC in Bengal sent the missionaries at Madras five rupees (about ten shillings) in 1752 for the mission's poor. Another German stationed in Bengal in 1765 gave money for mats for the church in Calcutta where Johann Zacharias Kiernander preached in German and Portuguese.[146] Baden-native Georg Friedrich Gaupp, who took over command of a Swiss company from John Chabbert, deposited a thousand pagodas (four hundred pounds) with the mission in Madras in the mid-1750s, likely a part or all of his prize money from the EIC's successes in Bengal. This deposit gave the missions a needed infusion of cash and allowed Gaupp to draw credit on Gotthilf August Francke in Halle to deal with business back at home.[147]

Money was also often at the root of cultural conflicts between Central European soldiers and the EIC. Company officials had to work diligently to pay the Swiss company troops in cash daily as specified in their contracts, whereas EIC soldiers were paid weekly or, more commonly, monthly. The practice of daily pay and cash payment of wages was likely tied to the fact that German and Swiss troops in Europe bought their own daily provisions, while in British armies the provisions were provided for and the costs deducted from the soldier's daily wage.[148] Lieutenant Colonel Reinbold explained to the Governor of Fort St. George, George Macartney,

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[145] Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt to Gotthilf August Francke, April 30, 1759, Madras, AFSt/M 1 B 49:28; Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Lady Jodrell, December 11, 1798, Madras, IOR Mss Eur Photo Eur 136/2, letter 6, BL.

[146] Journal of Johann Philip Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt, c. 1752, Madras, AFSt/M 2 H 11:1; Johann Zacharias Kiernander to Gotthilf August Francke, December 31, 1765, Calcutta, AFSt/M 1 B 55:22.

[147] Gotthilf August Francke to Johann Christian Wiedebrock, Johann Balthasar Kohlhoff, Daniel Zeglin, Oluf Maderup, Jacob Klein, Christian Friedrich Schwartz, and Peter Dame, November 6, 1758, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 47:43; Gotthilf August Francke to Johann Philipp Fabricius and Johann Christian Breithaupt, February 26, 1759, Halle, AFSt/M 1 B 47:55.

[148] Conway, "Moral Economy, Contract, and Negotiated Authority," 56; Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:120, 131.

in 1785 that the governor was about to violate a deep-seated norm and implicit promise for German soldiers by paying their arrears in paper financial instruments rather than cash. Reinbold warned that the troops might become upset as they had no experience with negotiating bills and might see it as a violation of their term of service. Reinbold suggested that the company either pay the arrears in cash or secure an order from the king explicitly stating the men were to receive their arrears in bills.[149] Reinbold, like any effective eighteenth-century military officer, knew that the rank-and-file's discipline and effectiveness rested on commanders respecting the often unspoken and deeply ingrained additional terms of service.[150]

While EIC officials envisioned that the men they sent to India from Central Europe and the Swiss cantons would be Protestants, a noticeable number of troops were in fact Roman Catholic. This seems to have been particularly true among the Swiss companies raised in the 1750s, as the Court of Directors was concerned to hear of reports from India that there were Catholics in the ranks. The directors assured their officials that precautions had been taken to prevent this and that the commanding captains of the companies were not at fault for the situation.[151] A small number of Roman Catholic troops also joined the two Hanoverian regiments that served in India in the 1780s and early 1790s.[152]

Given these added challenges, it is perhaps not surprising that the EIC attempted to integrate the units of continental European into the company's forces as quickly as possible. Just four years after contracting to establish the Swiss companies in 1751, the Court of Directors decided to no longer recruit specifically for the Swiss companies. The Swiss companies going

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[149] [Carl Ludwig] Reinbold to [George] Macartney, January 27, 1785, Madras, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 151.
[150] Conway, "Moral Economy, Contract, and Negotiated Authority," 34-59.
[151] Draft of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, January 24, 1753, London, IOR E/4/861, f. 218, BL.
[152] "Stam-Rolle Von des Herrn Hauptmann von Zastrow Compagnie des 14ten Infante Regiment," June 5, 1786, Nienburg, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 24, f. 121.

forward could be replenished with Europeans of any origin as well as topasses. Swiss captains would retain their units until the expiration of their terms of service. At that point any Swiss troops and officers would serve within EIC European units.[153] In 1761, the Court of Directors wrote "It is a real Satisfaction to us That Wee have now no Swiss Company, subsisting as the Officers have been the occasion of much trouble both at home and abroad by their constant Craving and unreasonable Expectation and Demands."[154] EIC officials routinely scattered clusters of German recruits among various companies and within various military establishments to integrate them into the EIC's army and practices, prevent the creation of any nodes of resistance, and strengthen their loyalty to the company.[155]

Governor-General Cornwallis, while a proponent of a robust European troop presence in EIC territories, strongly preferred British troops and doubted the ultimate reliability of foreign European soldiers. He quietly sought through Dundas to have the Hanoverian regiments return to Europe, as he thought their expenses outweighed their usefulness. The Hanoverians stayed because of their ongoing enlistments. Yet just a few years later, Cornwallis had to direct the regiments' second commander, Colonel Christian Ludwig von Wangenheim, to recruit his men to stay additional years as the EIC was desperate for soldiers when war with Mysore broke out again in 1789.[156] Over two hundred of the Hanoverians stayed in India and enlisted with the EIC after their regiments returned to Hanover. While these troops were initially clustered together in

[153] Draft of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, December 19, 1755, IOR E/4/861, f. 553-554, BL.
[154] Draft of the Company's General Letter, March 13, 1761, London, IOR E/4/862, f. 258, BL.
[155] Wilhelm, "Deutsche Soldaten für die East India Company," 233.
[156] "Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors," November 16, 1787, Ganges, IOR F/4/3/634, BL; Earl Cornwallis to William Fawcett, December 30, 1790, [Madras], in Ross, *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, 2:64.

the same units in the 1st Regiment of the Madras Presidency's army, by the spring of 1792 they had been intentionally scattered within the regiment's companies.[157]

Whatever the challenges German troops posed to EIC officers and officials, both in India and Great Britain, they served their primary purpose of defending EIC possessions and preserving company rule. Swiss companies were half of Robert Clive's European contingent in his larger invasion force to retake Calcutta from Siraj-ud-daula, and they played a critical role in the decisive Battle of Plassey in 1757.[158] By the end of the Carnatic Wars in 1763, continental Europeans were fifteen percent of the Madras Presidency's army.[159] When Hanoverian troops began arriving in southern India in late 1782 they helped bolster the depleted EIC forces in southern India. Haidar Ali's victories at Pollilur (present-day Pullalar) over Colonel William Baille of the British Army in September 1780, and against Colonel Malcolm Braithwaite's battalion of EIC troops in the kingdom of Tanjore in February 1782, resulted in the capture of both defeated detachments, leading to the deaths or imprisonment of thousands of European and Indian soldiers serving the British Army and EIC. In January 1783, soldiers from the 15th Hanoverian Regiment were the only European troops left at Fort St. George. In their desperation for manpower to fight French and Mysorean forces, the EIC secured permission from the British government to recruit NCOs and privates from the remnants of the eight British Army regiments stationed in India for their own army when their terms of service ended.[160]

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[157] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1792, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:11; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 46.
[158] McCormack, *One Million Mercenaries*, 151-152; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 35.
[159] Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 36.
[160] Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, January 20, 1783, In camp near Velout twenty miles from Madras, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 31, 35; R. FitzPatrick to Eyre Coote, September 11, 1783, [London], IOR H/84, f. 213, BL; William Fullarton to [George] Macartney and Select Committee, January 9, 1783, Pondicherry, IOR H/84, f. 267, 269, BL; Conway, "Continental European Soldiers in British Imperial Service," 83.

Hanoverian troops were initially deployed to defend Madras and surrounding areas, but then were attached to various offensive operations against the EIC's enemies. A detachment served with a larger British force that captured Caroor (present-day Karur), Aravarcourchy (present-day Aravakurichi), and Dindigul in southern India from French and Mysorean troops.[161] A party of Hanoverians consisting of almost 650 men and officers served in the campaign to retake Cuddalore in the summer of 1783. On June 13, the Hanoverians led an attack on the main French redoubt outside the city that possessed nineteen eighteen-pound cannons. Despite taking heavy casualties from grapeshot and intense close quarters combat, the Hanoverians successfully captured the redoubt from the two French regiments occupying it. The Hanoverians pulled back, however, when a French counter-attack threatened to overwhelm their right flank. With the reinforcement of additional troops, the Hanoverians led a second assault on the fortification and kept it. The capture of the French position enabled British forces to begin bombarding the city directly.[162] Ten days later, these Hanoverian troops helped turn back a French night attack as the enemy attempted to break the siege, capturing about ninety French troops and the Comte de Namur.[163]

Other Hanoverian detachments during the Second Anglo-Mysore War and its aftermath participated in the capture of Mysore-controlled Cannanore (present-day Kannur), the suppression of revolts led by Dutch-supported *poligar* chiefs in southern India, and the invasion

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[161] Fullarton, *A View of the English Interests in India*, 101-102.
[162] Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, January 20, 1783, in camp near Velout twenty miles from Madras, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 31, 35; Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, August 8, 1783, [Madras], NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 50-51; [Carl Ludwig Reinbold], "Auszug authentischer Berichte, die in Ostindien befindlichen beiden Chur-Hannoverischen Regimener betreffend," *Hanoverisches Magazin*, February 2, 1784; Fullarton, *A View of the English Interests in India*, 120-131; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 43-44.
[163] "Auszug aus dem Schreiben eines andern Churfürstlich Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers in Ostindien, aus dem Lager bei Coudelour, den 16ten Julius 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 30, 1784.

of Mysore through its southern border.[164] Immediately after the end of the Second Anglo-Mysore War, the two Hanoverian regiments encompassed about ten percent of all effective European troops in British India and about a third of European soldiers serving in the Madras Presidency.[165] During the several subsequent years of peace, Hanoverian companies performed primarily garrison duty. But they also quelled emerging garrison unrest at a fort fifteen miles from Madras, ensured the enforcement of the terms of peace with the new ruler of Mysore, Tipu Sultan (r. 1782-1799), and oversaw the Northern Circars' transition from the Nizam of Hyderabad to the EIC.[166] Other Hanoverian soldiers participated in surveys and mapping projects throughout southern India. Captain Hermann Martin Christian von Wersebe produced a large and detailed collection of maps, battle descriptions, and fortification drawings while serving as an engineer with British force under Colonel William Fullarton in 1783 and 1784.[167] After agreeing to serve under the EIC, de Meuron's regiment moved to India and participated in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1798-1799), including the storming of the capital Seringapatnam (present-day Srirangapatna), as well as the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-1805).[168]

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[164] Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, August 8, 1783, [Madras], NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 52, 55; Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, September 3, 1783, [Madras], NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 65; Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, September 30, 1783, [Madras], NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 67; Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, January 20, 1784, [Madras], NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 78; Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, January 30, 1784, [Madras], NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 82-83; Fullarton, *A View of the English Interests in India*, 101-102, 121-124, 134, 155, 157-158; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 44.

[165] "Establishment of the Company's European Troops, at the different Presidencies by the order of Septem: 1785," c. 1785, IOR H/389, f. 224-225, BL.

[166] "Extract of Bombay General Consultations," May 4, 1784, IOR H/84, f. 231, BL; Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, February 5, 1785, Madras, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 11; Spangenberg to [Johann Wilhelm] von Reden, September 29, 1788, [Madras], NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C N. 26, f. 29; Report of Christian Ludwig von Wangenheim, April 6, 1789, Madras, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 26, f. 73; Journal of Christian Pohle, c.1789, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:9.

[167] Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, December 10, 1784, Madras, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 101; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 1, 49-50.

[168] "Extract of Military Letter from Fort St. George," January 22, 1800, [Madras], IOR F/4/78/1728, BL; Forrer, "A Few Notes on Swiss Officers and Mercenary Regiments in the Pay of England," 214, 221.

Several German-speaking officers went on to have long and successful careers within the EIC military establishment in India. Daniel Frischmann of Basel went to India in 1751 as a cadet with one of the first Swiss companies, and by his return home in 1770 he had served as a colonel for almost a decade and held command of Fort St. George.[169] Alexander Ziegler, despite his complaints about unfair treatment for himself and his men in Bombay, continued to serve the EIC after his company's term of service expired. He became thereby one of the most senior captains in the army at Bombay, and on several occasions offered to recruit additional German troops.[170] Gabriel Muller, who was recruited by John Haberkorn to go to India and himself personally recruited other German to go to India in 1771, started as a cadet before rising to being a major with the artillerists after about ten years in India.[171]

German troops appeared to have earned more praise than derision from their contemporaries in India, which helps explain why the EIC so regularly returned to Central Europe for troops despite all the challenges in recruiting and managing these forces.[172] The Madras government wrote to the Court of Directors shortly after the Swiss companies began arriving in India "that the Swiss, who have been in action, have behaved very gallantly."[173]

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[169] Forrer, "A Few Notes on Swiss Officers and Mercenary Regiments in the Pay of England," 224; Stuart Reid, *Armies of the East India Company 1750-1850* (Oxford: Osprey, 2009), 42; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 35.

[170] Draft of the Company's General Letter to Bengal, March 3, 1758, London, IOR E/4/616, f. 746, BL; Company's General Letter to Bengal, March 23, 1759, [London?], IOR E/4/616, f. 928, BL; Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries*, 42.

[171] P[eter] Michell to James Francis Erskine, October 15, 1782, [London], IOR H/163, f. 315, BL; Timeline for Gabriel Muller, c. 1783, IOR E/1/72, f. 212, BL.

[172] Some EIC officials questioned the policy of hiring so many continental European soldiers or hiring them at all. These EIC directors and officials worried that foreign European troops would be more likely to mutiny or desert the EIC and British in general and join local Indian states' or foreign European armies. Through their desertions they would thus strengthen the company's enemies while simultaneously weaken and disrupt the company's military. Governor General Cornwallis was a noted skeptic of the effectiveness and loyalty of foreign European soldiers. Letter of [James Francis] Erskine, February 1, 1782, Ranelagh, IOR H/244, f. 85, BL; "Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors," November 16, 1787, Ganges, IOR F/4/3/634, BL; "Extract of Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Mr. Dundas," November 30, 1786, Calcutta, IOR H/389, f. 73, BL.

[173] "Extract of General Letter from Fort St. George," November 3, 1752, [Madras], IOR H/244, f. 123, BL.

Contractor Felix Frederick in his arguments for why the EIC should take on the additional recruits he had raised in Hamburg, noted that General David Wedderburne was already impressed with the discharged Württemberg army veterans Frederick previously recruited.[174] The Hanoverian regiments received praise over their decade of service in India in the general orders and comments of General James Stuart, Colonel William Fullarton, Governor Archibald Campbell, and the Madras Presidency's government.[175]

Connecting Central Europe and South Asia Through Military Service

The German troops who served in British-controlled India in the eighteenth century numbered in the thousands. The four Swiss companies raised in the early 1750s were each to have 140 men and officers. Several of the companies sailed for India without the full complement, but other companies sailed with supernumerary soldiers and for several years after their initial deployment small parties of Swiss sailed to replenish the companies' ranks.[176] Over 2,800 men were sent to India as part of the two Hanoverian regiments during their time in India. This figure includes both the original regiments raised in 1781, a reinforcement of fifty men and officers in 1783, and additional companies George III ordered in December 1785, at the EIC's request, to be formed from foreigners serving with Hanoverian regiments in garrisons around the electorate.[177] Beyond the distinct Swiss and German units, there were the various bodies of

[174] Frederick's Case Concerning his Transactions with the East India Company, c. 1773, Western MSS Add MSS 23680, BL.
[175] Report of Carl Ludwig Reinbold, August 8, 1783, [Madras], NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 20, f. 51.
[176] Articles of Agreement, July 17, 1751, IOR E/1/36, f. 145, BL; Letter of P.P. Polier de Bottens, December 17, 1751, IOR E/1/36, f. 263, BL; Government of India, *Materials Towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay in Three Volumes*, 3:123.
[177] "At a Court of Directors held on Wednesday the 8th January 1783," January 8, 1783, [London], IOR H/169, f. 25, BL; Letter of Henry Fletcher, February 15, 1783, [London], IOR H/169, f. 169, BL; Johann Friedrich Carl von Alvensleben to [Johann Wilhelm] von Reden, c. January 1786, Hannover, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 15, f. 1-2; "Vermehrung der in Ostindien dienden Regimenter mit vier neuen Compagnien," *Annalen der Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Churlande* 1, no. 1 (1787): 45-46; [Christian Ludwig] von Wangenheim to [Johann Wilhelm] von

recruits, ranging in size from a handful to several hundred, raised by military contractors and EIC agents who served in established EIC companies throughout India as well as the trickle of men who independently or with a friend or two traveled to Britain or India to enlist with the company, as previously mentioned.

These thousands of men came from all over German-speaking Europe. While the imperial cities of Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck were the most popular areas to raise men, recruiters often traveled farther afield. In 1770, Elias Buzaglo and two agents he employed raised Germans in Westphalia, Münster, Osnabrück, The Hague, and the County of Tecklenburg in Lower Saxony.[178] To find the men for the two Hanoverian regiments, the Hanoverian army recruited not only among foreigners within its already established regiments, but sent out agents across the Holy Roman Empire. Beyond the major imperial cities, agents established recruiting operations in smaller imperial cities, like Goslar in Lower Saxony and Nordhausen and Mühlhausen in Thuringia as well as in Osnabrück, Constance, the County of Bentheim, Württemberg, and Hildesheim. Significant numbers of Hessians, Mecklenburgers, and Brunswickers joined the regiments as well. In one company, the muster list reveals that the eighty-seven NCOs, privates, and drummers came from twenty-one different cities and states within the Holy Roman Empire, plus two from Denmark and one from Poland.[179]

The recruits were not only geographically diverse, but also socially diverse. The German rank-and-file recruits heading to India were primarily a mixture of rural and urban laborers and

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Reden, May 12, 1788, Madras, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 26, f. 14; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 1, 45.

[178] Elias [Buzaglo] to Joshua Mendes da Casta, November 15, 1770, Bassum, IOR E/1/54, f. 356, BL.

[179] "Actum Herrnhausen in der Behausung des herrn Feld-Marschalls von Hardenberg Excellenz," June 9, 1781, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 1, f. 20-21; "Stam-Rolle Von des Herrn Hauptmann von Zastrow Compagnie des 14ten Infante Regiment," June 5, 1786, Nienburg, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 24, f. 121; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 40; Wilson, "The Politics of Military Recruitment in Eighteenth-Century Germany," 559.

artisans.[180] Cobblers, tailors, bakers, carpenters, butchers, glazers, millers, weavers, button makers, masons, smiths, and many other semiskilled and skilled artisans enlisted with EIC forces, or with the distinct Swiss or Hanoverian units going to fight in India. Service with the Hanoverian regiments even attracted men who held professional credentials or previously worked in middling occupations, like merchants, lawyers, monks, and assessors. The EIC was able to attract from such a varied pool of men because it offered sizable bounties, higher wages, and shorter terms of services than most other militaries, bonuses during campaigns, the opportunity for adventure, and the ability to see a distant part of the world.[181]

For officers offering their services to the company, going to India provided a chance to experience combat, to gain promotions faster than in peacetime Europe, and earn sizable bonuses in the form of *batta*, the Queen's Bounty, and gratuity from their unit's stock purse. Several officers received promotions upon their joining units bound for India, rising from ensigns to lieutenants or from lieutenants to captains. Similarly, non-officers also tried to negotiate their enlistments to accelerate their military careers. Native of Franckenberg, Hesse, Johannes Heymann of the Hanoverian Regiment von Stockhausen offered to volunteer with one of the new Hanoverian regiments going to India if he were promoted to corporal, and corporal Johan Jürgen Vorthmüller asked to be made an NCO as a condition of his enlistment and service in India.[182]

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[180] While the vast majority of German recruits were volunteers, military contractors and EIC agents also negotiated with municipal German authorities for the release of prisoners, orphans, and workhouse inmates to serve as soldiers in India, just like their British counterparts crimping in Great Britain. Wilhelm, "Deutsche Soldaten für die East India Company," 231-232.

[181] "Actum Herrnhausen in der Behausung des herrn Feld-Marschalls von Hardenberg Excellenz," June 9, 1781, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 1, f. 20-21; "Stam-Rolle Von des Herrn Hauptmann von Zastrow Compagnie des 14ten Infante Regiment," June 5, 1786, Nienburg, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 24, f. 121; Mann, "Indien ist eine Karriere," 288.

[182] "Stamm Rolle von den Infanterie Regiment von Stockhausen, wie viel Mann nach bekant machung der Ordre, vom 5ten Aprill a.c. sich gemeldet haben, bey den neuen Regimentern freywillig zudienen," April 18, 1782, Münden, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 13, f. 103; "Actum Hannover in des Herrn Feld Marschalls v Reden Hause," January 10, 1786, NLA Hannover, Hann. 38 C, C nr. 15, f. 50; "Jährliche Einname des Obersten, der Stabs Officiere, und Compagnie Cehfs vom 15den Hannoverschen Infanterie Regiment zu *Madras* und *Arcoth* nach allen

The deployment of these thousands of German-speaking troops to the Indian subcontinent during the second half of the eighteenth century generated new connections between German-speaking Central Europe and India. Families and communities with relatives, friends, and neighbors serving the EIC struggled to find information about their men and the region they were being sent to. In 1768 the Council of Basel wrote to the EIC's directors on behalf of the family of Swiss soldier Anthony Studin, who had gone to India with the Swiss company under Captain John Henry Schaub and by 1757 was in Captain Daniel Frischman's Swiss company. The family wished to know if their relation was still alive and, if not whether he had disposed of his effects.[183] To help encourage volunteers and assuage the fears of relatives and neighbors, the *Hannoverisches Magazin* published a series of articles about India. In 1781 it carried excerpts of Guillaume Le Gentil's writings on his Indian travels as well as German Lutheran missionary Wilhelm Christian Gericke's 1770 portrait of Haidar Ali. In 1782 the magazine published parts of William Macintosh's contemporaneous travelogue related to India. Not coincidentally, almost half of all articles about India in the eighteenth-century German press were published in the 1780s.[184]

The soldiers abroad wrote and carried back anecdotes and observations about the subcontinent. Hanoverian troops wrote almost thirty pieces over a dozen years about their time traveling to and across India that were printed in German publications: *Hannoverisches Magazin* and *Neues Hannoverisches Magazin*, *Politisches Journal*, *Stats-Anzeigen, Niederelbisches historisch-politisch-litterarisches Magazin*, *Neues militärisches Journal* and *Hanauisches Magazin*. Many of these publications enjoyed circulations in the thousands, and copies were

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Abzügen; exclusive *Batta*, und so weit die übrige Einname fixirt warden können," *Stats-Anzeigen* 10, no. 38 (1787): 150-151; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 40-41.

[183] Draft of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, March 23, 1768, IOR E/4/864, f. 187, BL.

[184] Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 52, 59.

found in libraries and reading societies throughout the Holy Roman Empire. Several officers published memoirs in the years and decades following their terms of service in India.[185] These sources offered firsthand perspectives on life in India, its peoples, and the political situation there.

In their accounts, the writers frequently exoticized their new surroundings as well as the people they came across. The tropes and narratives German soldiers deployed about India and its peoples were not always the same as those used by the British. Germans relied more on their lived experiences rather than ideological frameworks in their accounts. Yet, they still articulated orientalist views, and notions of decay and racial hierarchy, viewing themselves and Europeans at large as superior to the non-Europeans they interacted with in South Asia.[186] German soldiers articulated India's differences to audiences back in Central Europe through topics such as climate, foods, and people.

The tropical heat of India was a common subject that German soldiers tried to convey to their audiences back in temperate Europe. Soldiers described the heat, rather than the enemy army, as both the commanding officer and the soldier's greatest concern. The heat killed many Europeans on the march, and officers had to be diligent about where they placed their camps as access to vast quantities of fresh water was essential. Troops complained about how inappropriate their Europe-made uniforms were for the climate and the adjustments they made to survive. Europeans slept in the streets or the fields at night when they could, stopped wearing kerchiefs inside residences, and replaced their wool and heavy linen uniforms with cottons, silks,

[185] Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 10, 49-50, 59, 99.
[186] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* 25th anniv. repr. (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 1-3, 12; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 9-10, 75.

and white dyed and unlined articles of clothing. On the march Hanoverian troops picked up the habit of wearing moistened cloths on their heads.[187]

Food was another issue that several officers addressed as part of their adjustment to living in India, and for them it seemed a particularly important matter. An anonymous Hanoverian officer noted that in such a tropical climate one had to watch everything that kissed one's gums, both food and drink, as eating the wrong thing or enjoying too many dishes one after another would harm one's health or even kill a person.[188] While some troops continued their previous diets, including coffee, soups, and European-style vegetables and meats, others embraced local dishes. One officer described the local dish of "Corri" that doctors advised men to eat. It consisted of meat, fish, or oysters flavored with the strongest spices. The officer concluded that anyone who had never had the dish before would find it nearly impossible to eat a full spoon of it. However, he assured his readers that over time one got used to the dish and it became an indispensable part of one's diet. The heat also dictated that officers drink primarily water mixed with rum, arrack, or brandy, possibly with a little sour tamarind as well.[189]

In their imagined racial hierarchy, German soldiers, like other eighteenth-century Europeans, tended to position South Asians as superior to many other non-Europeans, but inferior to Europeans. The Germans contrasted Indians in a favorable light with Africans. One Hanoverian officer emphasized that despite what was reported in German almanacs, South Asians were physically distinct from Africans. In a crude assessment of phenotypical traits, the

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[187] "Fort St. George, den 24ten September 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 30, 1784; "Schreiben eines Churfürstl. Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers aus Ostindien, im Lager bei Mont, acht englische Meilen von Madras, den 7ten Januar 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 26, 1784.
[188] "Auszug eines Briefes aus Madraß auf der Küste von Coromandel, vom 20sten Februar 1788," *Historisch-politisches Magazin, nebst litterarischen*, 4, no. 8 (August 1788): 991.
[189] "Schreiben eines Churfürstl. Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers aus Ostindien, im Lager bei Mont, acht englische Meilen von Madras, den 7ten Januar 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 26, 1784; "Fort St. George, den 24ten September 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 30, 1784.

officer reported that, unlike Africans, Indians did not possess curly hair nor blunt noses. Moreover, several Germans commented on South Asian women's beauty with their exceptionally proportionate or European-like bodies and faces, in contrast to eighteenth-century European discourses about African bodies that frequently declared them to be antithetical to western conceptions of beauty.[190]

Yet, South Asians could also be collectively described as "black" in Hanoverian officers' published articles, indicating their permanent difference and inferiority in comparison to Europeans.[191] The same officer who noted the proportionality of Indian women's bodies and beautiful faces also believed them to remain inferior to European women. He observed that "many European women would gladly trade for such an Indian face, if they could give back the black color."[192] He revealed his and his comrades' sexual desires for exoticized bodies of South Asian women, while simultaneously imparting upon their bodies an immutable sign of otherness and difference from white Europeans' ideals. Such a dual framing was ubiquitous among men's travel narratives throughout the Americas, Africa, and Asia. It justified white masculine hierarchies over indigenous communities and resources within these regions and, by extension, legitimated sexual conquest over and violence against indigenous women. Deeming indigenous women as simultaneously desirable yet inferior allayed anxieties among German-speaking audiences back in Central Europe. These worries included that the Hanoverian troops were being

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[190] "Schreiben eines Churfürstl. Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers aus Ostindien, im Lager bei Mont, acht englische Meilen von Madras, den 7ten Januar 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 26, 1784; "Auszug eines Briefes aus Madraß auf der Küste von Coromandel, vom 20sten Februar 1788," *Historisch-politisches Magazin, nebst litterarischen*, 4, no. 8 (August 1788): 992; Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men*, 42, 47; Jennifer L. Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (January 1997): 167-168, 182.

[191] "Schreiben eines Churfürstl. Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers aus Ostindien, im Lager bei Mont, acht englische Meilen von Madras, den 7ten Januar 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 26, 1784.

[192] "Auszug eines Briefes aus Madraß auf der Küste von Coromandel, vom 20sten Februar 1788," *Historisch-politisches Magazin, nebst litterarischen*, 4, no. 8 (August 1788): 992. "Manche Europäerin würde mit solchem indischen Gesichte gerne tauschen, wenn sie die schwarze Farbe zurück geben konnte."

sent to live amongst strange and threatening people, or that they might become attached to local women and would never to return home. Meanwhile, accounts of the local populaces' beauty might have also been used to encourage more German-speaking men to consider serving abroad with the Hanoverians.[193]

German soldiers in their written accounts shared only some of the orientalist tropes that contemporary Britons deployed to justify their colonial rule. Germans rejected one key British justification for their presence in South Asia, namely Indian men's physical and moral unsuitability for military service. Rather, the bearing of EIC sepoys impressed Germans serving in India in the late eighteenth century. Besides being seen as well-adapted to the climate, Hanoverian officers described sepoys as brave and well-trained. According to the officers' published letters, the sepoys' training matched or surpassed what Europeans received in their homelands, and sepoys could conduct large unit movements twice as fast as any German unit.[194]

The soldiers, like contemporary British observers, found it convenient to use narratives of India being in a state of decay to explain current events and their hopes for the subcontinent's future. A decay narrative allowed them to recognize the social, technological, and economic sophistication around them, while still critiquing local rulers whom they believed were "despotic" and "corrupt," and "superstitious" locally practiced religions. While Britons used these conditions to justify colonial rule, German troops' accounts were much less explicit in

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[193] Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 55, 80-86; Catherine Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony: Encountering Atlantic Slavery in Imperial Britain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 52-55; Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder'," 168, 191; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 52-53.

[194] "Schreiben eines Churfürstl. Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers aus Ostindien, im Lager bei Mont, acht englische Meilen von Madras, den 7ten Januar 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 26, 1784; "Auszug aus dem Schreiben eines andern Churfürstlich Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers in Ostindien, aus dem Lager bei Coudelour, den 16ten Julius 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 30, 1784; "Auszug eines Briefes aus Madraß auf der Küste von Coromandel, vom 20sten Februar 1788," *Historisch-politisches Magazin, nebst litterarischen*, 4, no. 8 (August 1788): 991-992; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Hanoverians, Germans, and Europeans," 233.

making that connection, likely reflecting at least some degree of detachment from British imperial rule. Like the German missionaries, they framed the Mysorean rulers Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan as tyrannical and cruel to their subjects.[195] Germans placed Indian religious practices under greater scrutiny and maintained that Brahmins had corrupted Hinduism and promoted superstitions amongst believers. One Hanoverian officer wished that the British would set a better moral example to South Asians so as to lead them towards an engagement with Christianity.[196]

German soldiers wrote very little about the nature of company rule on the subcontinent. Hanoverian officers did not defend the EIC and its practices but did occasionally defend the actions and character of individual EIC leaders, like Governor Sir Archibald Campbell, whom the officers saw as a just reformer combatting corruption. Only once did a Hanoverian officer in an article directly criticize the EIC, noting that there seemed to be fewer poor and beggars away from the European settlements.[197]

Besides offering a window into India for their readers, published accounts by Germans there offered information on the conditions of troops in India for relations back in Europe. The *Hannoverisches Magazin* published excerpts from Lieutenant Colonel Reinbold's August 8, 1783 report that include the names of a number of Hanoverian officers who died in recent months, including those killed at the Battle of Cuddalore as well as casualty totals for the two regiments at the battle.[198]

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[195] Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men*, 195; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 75-76, 79-80.
[196] "Schreiben eines Churfürstl. Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Officiers aus Ostindien, im Lager bei Mont, acht englische Meilen von Madras, den 7ten Januar 1783," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, April 26, 1784; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Hanoverians, Germans, and Europeans," 233-234.
[197] Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Hanoverians, Germans, and Europeans," 230-234.
[198] [Carl Ludwig Reinbold], "Auszug authentischer Berichte, die in Ostindien befindlichen beiden Chur-Hannoverischen Regimenter betreffend," *Hannoverisches Magazin*, February 2, 1784.

The Lutheran Pietist missionary network's connections with Europe also provided German soldiers in British India a means to stay connected to their homelands. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the missionaries sometimes accepted cash from soldiers and issued instructions that their supervisors back in Halle pay out an equal sum at the request of the depositing soldiers. Lieutenant Simon Corherr[199] deposited 150 Reichsthaler with the missionaries Christian Wilhelm Gericke and Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann in Cuddalore and asked that the same amount be paid out to several relations living in Swabia.[200] The missionaries also sent back information about German troops in India in their letters and diaries, which were then frequently published in the *Hallesche Berichte*. An unnamed German officer informed Christian Friedrich Schwartz of the May 1768 passing of Alsatian cavalry officer, Stephan Kuhn. The officer hoped the missionary could publicize the news back in Europe and that Kuhn's family might then be able claim his property as he had left no testament.[201] Christian Pohle in his annual journals noted the passing of German soldiers and their family members. In 1784 he wrote of the life and death of a pious German sergeant's widow from Dresden, Christiana Friderica Müllerin. In his 1792 diary he noted corporal George Heiderich, private Heinrich Vossbein, and George Stehan, veterans of the Hanoverian regiments who signed another term of service and were with the company's 1st European Regiment in the Madras Presidency, died while their unit was stationed near Trichinopoly (present-day Triruchirappalli).[202]

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[199] Alternatively spelled Chaherr in some of the sources.
[200] Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann to Gotthilf August Francke, October 9, 1766, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 56:33; Georg Heinrich Conrad Hüttemann and Christian Wilhelm Gericke to Gotthilf August Francke and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, December 31, 1769, Cuddalore, AFSt/M 1 B 59:25.
[201] Christian Friedrich Schwartz to Gotthilf August Francke, January 13, 1770, Trichinopoly, AFSt/M 1 B 59:28.
[202] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1784, AFSt/M 2 E 18:6; Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1794, [Trichinopoly?], AFSt/M 2 E 18:11.

Some soldiers established intimate and familial connections with both Britons and Indians while serving on the subcontinent. The chaplains for the two Hanoverian regiments conducted sixty marriages during the regiments' deployment. These unions followed the established racial and social norms surrounding matrimony for European men in EIC-controlled lands. Hanoverian officers, as elites earning wages high enough to maintain an independent household along European material standards, married only European women, either Britons or other Hanoverians' widows or daughters. NCOs and enlisted men married European women, or, more commonly, Christian Eurasian women. Many of these Eurasian women were likely the daughters of current or former EIC or British Army soldiers who were also NCOs or enlisted men. Half of the sixty ceremonies the regimental chaplains performed involved Eurasian brides. No Hanoverian soldier married an Indian woman during their decade-long tour. This was likely because of the soldiers' own racial prejudices, or the company's, officers' or clergy's discouragement of such a union on racial, social, or religious grounds.[203]

Many more German-speaking soldiers created informal families or fathered children with local Indian or Eurasian women. Forming intimate relationships with indigenous women gave soldiers access to companionship as well as regular domestic and sexual labor. A soldier's wages helped finance the household and, for some women, other family members. As discussed in chapter two, these relationships and the children born from them spurred concerns about European degeneracy and disorderliness for EIC officials and Protestant clergy in the late eighteenth century.[204] A German captain serving in Tirupattur hired a young Indian woman to be

[203] C.J. Hawes, *Poor Relations: The Making of a British Eurasian Community in British India 1773-1833* (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 1996), 2, 6, 13, 17; Marshall, "British Society in India under the East India Company," 93; Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 63.
[204] Travel Journal of Johann Peter Rottler, c. 1805, AFSt/M 2 E 24:16b; Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 39-40, 207, 210; Hawes, *Poor Relations*, 4-5; Sudipta Sen, "Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires, 25-45; Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Ann Laura Stoler,

his *dubash* and then he shifted the relationship into a sexual one, much to the consternation of the Pohle and the local mission congregations.[205] While some of these unions forged in India continued on in Europe, for those who had married or formed relations with Eurasian and Indian women, leaving India meant the end of the relationship, beyond maybe a pension organized by the soldier for his partner. Both the EIC and British Army barred native wives and children from sailing for Europe, except in exceptional cases and only for elite officials' and officers' relations. Gericke noted that many of the Hanoverian troops left behind partners, wives, and children when they returned to Europe, and he scrambled to find the women employment as nannies or domestic servants.[206]

Some soldiers preserved connections to India even after their return home, remaining in contact with colleagues who continued to live in India or applying what they learned abroad in their future endeavors. Frederick Leaber from Ansbach arrived in India in 1759 to fight for the EIC as a lieutenant. He returned to Europe several years later due to hearing loss and grapeshot wounds to his right arm. Leaber maintained a correspondence with the Madras-based Thomas Pelling who kept Leaber informed both of major political and military events as well as of their mutual friends.[207] Captain Georg Friedrich Gaupp, who led a Swiss company during Clive's early campaigns in Bengal, returned to Baden and established a successful indienne textile factory in Lörrach, using knowledge he gained and connections he forged as an EIC army officer.[208]

"Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 199.

[205] Journal of Christian Pohle, c. 1782, [Trichinopoly?] AFSt/M 2 E 18:4.

[206] Fragment of a Journal of Christian Wilhelm Gericke, c. 1797, [Madras], AFSt/M 2 E 19:10a; Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*, 129-130, 241; Hawes, *Poor Relations*, 8, 25.

[207] Thomas Pelling to Frederick Leaber, October 14, 1765, Madras, IOR E/1/69, f. 272-273, BL; Frederick Leaber to Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of Directors, November 6, 1781, IOR E/1/69, f. 266, 275, BL.

[208] Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India*, 35.

Several factors limited the connections that soldiers might have forged between South Asia and German-speaking Europe. Many of the soldiers who went to the British East Indies were illiterate and were therefore unable to articulate their experiences back to their friends and families at home until they were able to step back into their neighborhoods and houses. Furthermore, the high death rates for newly arrived Europeans due to disease and heat, as well as the high casualty rates due to war, silenced many potential written or oral messages before they could begin. More than half the men who sailed for military service in the Indian Ocean basin died before returning home.[209] Some veterans who completed their term(s) of service decided to live on in India as pensioners or by working as civilians. Other recruits had troubles back home from which they wished to escape from and avoided contact with relations in Europe.

The breakdown of the Mughal Empire's authority and the rise of the French *Compagnie des Indes* created great geopolitical instability on the Indian subcontinent as well as security risks to the EIC's possessions there. The defeats at the hands of the French during the First Carnatic War catalyzed a concerted effort by the EIC to build up its military forces, including European units. British metropolitan and colonial military officers and politicians saw European troops as essential to the successful defense and peaceable possession of the EIC's East Indian territories. This increased demand for European soldiers, as well as the EIC's inability to legally recruit or find sufficient numbers of men in the British Isles, moved the company to look to the continent to find soldiers.

[209] Mann, "Indien ist eine Karriere," 289.

The EIC became yet another player in the mature military labor market of German-speaking Central Europe. The company constantly struggled to secure quality recruits quickly and cheaply in the face of rivals' opposition and political machinations within the Swiss cantons and German states. Despite these challenges, the company, through its persistence and comparatively strong finances, drew thousands of Germans into its army to serve in its Asian colonies. In addition, thousands of other German troops fought alongside EIC forces in India, while nominally being a part of the British Army's command structure. These soldiers enabled the EIC to defend its positions, rapidly scale up its armies during major conflicts and moments of crisis, and win battles that led to the company's status as the dominant power on the subcontinent by the early nineteenth century.

The deployment of thousands of German soldiers in British India stimulated new connections between the subcontinent, German-speaking Europe, and the British Empire. Soldiers' writings and memoirs provided a unique perspective to German audiences about the subcontinent's peoples, lifestyles, and current events. The thousands of troops fortunate enough to return to their home communities throughout the continent likely carried with them similar tales of extra-European colonial life. Through these narratives, German peoples could read and hear of life on the other side of the globe without necessarily embracing the political framework and ideologies of the EIC, the British government, or British norms. Soldiers also formed friendships and families on the subcontinent that sometimes endured well after the end of terms of service and provided individuals with constant reminders of their time in India as well as the latest news and developments on the subcontinent.

German soldiers were a numerically smaller force compared to both Indian sepoys and troops from the British Isles. Yet, British figures, from army officers to EIC colonial

administrators, viewed German soldiers as part of the core of the British military in Asia. They were part of the European presence that EIC officials relied upon to do the most dangerous and technical military duties, from storming fortifications to operating artillery. Their perceived superior loyalty, discipline, and military effectiveness was supposed to ensure the bulk of the army, comprised of Indians, would also fight loyally and effectively for the EIC. Their service ensured that British forces always had more Europeans in the field than their European and Indian opponents, and that the ratio of Indian to European soldiers within the British ranks never tilted too dangerously towards the EIC becoming totally reliant on sepoys.

The British military successes on the subcontinent shifted the EIC from a colonial commercial power to a territorially-centered power that increasingly wore the trappings of authority once held by the ever weakening Mughal Empire. Arms enabled the company to control territory, protect its trade by land and sea, and cajole neighboring Indian states into dependent relationships. The ever-growing military needed to fulfill these tasks not only increased the demand for European troops, including German ones, but also catalyzed the rapid expansion of EIC administrative personnel in India in the late eighteenth century. The directors charged these men with fiscal and judicial control over newly acquired lands to ensure the military was supplied with what it needed and that the company remained solvent. German-speaking troops in eighteenth-century India helped win the subcontinent for the British through force of arms and by providing the assurance that the military power in the hands of Indians remained channeled towards British interests for the foreseeable future.

Chapter Four: German Migrants and Negotiated Settlements on the Eighteenth-Century British North American Borderlands

Over the first decades of the eighteenth century, thousands of Germans migrated to several state-planned settlement schemes in the North American interior. British officials established these settlements in spaces deemed strategically important to the empire, and where the British had recently secured land from indigenous peoples through force of arms or from Native Americans yielding territory in the hopes of stalling or stopping further dispossession.[1] German labor was meant to fortify British claims to these lands and defend British colonies against attacks by indigenous peoples or Europeans rivals.

To British imperial planners, there were several reasons why German Protestants appeared to be ideal candidates for undertaking the politically sensitive and potentially dangerous work of claiming contested lands and exploiting their resources. First, thanks to William Penn and other proprietors of colonies and proprietary colonial officials, there were already established flows of promotional information about British North America and immigrants making the transatlantic voyage from German-speaking Central Europe to prime further recruitment.[2] Second, sending Germans out to North America enabled the British to close

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[1] For how the British secured land in what became New York, see "Propositions made by the Maquas Indians, owners of the Land Called Skohere and divers other Sachims of Said Nation to his Excellency Robert Hunter Capt. Gen. and Gov. in Chief," August 22, 1710, [Albany], Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1, American Indian Collection (MS 322), The New-York Historical Society (hereafter NYHS), New York; Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 24-25, 27-28, 34, 42, 65, 90; David L. Preston, *The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 99, 107; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 271-272. For how the British secured land in what became South Carolina, see Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land*, 23-25, 58-59; Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 52-54; William L. Ramsey, *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 116-117, 220-223; Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History*, 1st pbk. ed. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 111-112.

[2] For discussions of British proprietary regimes recruiting in German-speaking Europe, see Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times* (1901; repr., New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), 22-24; Farley Grubb, *German*

the demographic gap with their European rivals without depopulating the metropole.[3] Third, British officials believed that as fellow Protestants and Europeans, Germans would hold political and racial sympathies that would make them pliable workers and loyal to the British in any conflicts.[4] Fourth, German-speaking peoples were willing to relocate entire families overseas to these settlements, which provided immediate social and demographic stability.[5]

The arriving Germans viewed these settlement schemes not through the lenses of imperial expansion and geopolitical struggle, but as opportunities for economic and social advancement. Almost all the German-speaking borderland settlers emigrated from the Holy Roman Empire's southwest region or from Swiss cantons. Denizens of these regions at the turn of the eighteenth century faced the prospect of shrinking landholdings and declining availability of land due to rising populations and the widespread practice of partible inheritance. Moreover, regional

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Immigration and Servitude in America, 1709-1920 (New York: Routledge, 2011), 4; William O'Reilly, "'Strangers come to devour the Land': Changing Views of Foreign Migrants in Early Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of Early Modern History* 21, no. 3 (June 2017): 184; William O'Reilly, "Working for the Crown: German Migrants and Britain's Commercial Success in the Early Eighteenth-Century American Colonies," *Journal of Modern European History* 15, no. 1 (January 2017): 130-152; Ingrid Schöberl, "Daniel Pastorius and the Foundation of Germantown," in *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983*, ed. Günter Moltmann (Stuttgart: Eugen Heinz Durck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1982), 17-18; Marianne S. Wokeck, "German Immigration to Colonial America: Prototype of a Transatlantic Mass Migration," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, eds. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, vol. 1, *Immigration, Language, Ethnicity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 3-4.

[3] For seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europeans states expanding the domestic population was a critical policy issue on both economic and military grounds. For much of the eighteenth century, France had a metropolitan population twice the size of the entire British Isles. Stephen Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, 1740-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 5; Daniel Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen: The Controversy over Immigration and Population, 1660-1760* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), esp. 49-51.

[4] For discussions of early modern linkages between political loyalty and religious identity, see G.J. Bryant, "Indigenous Mercenaries in the Service of European Imperialists: The Case of the Sepoys in the Early British Indian Army, 1750-1800," *War in History* 7, no. 1 (January 2000): 8; Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 48-72, 99-124; Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 38-39.

[5] Georg Fertig, "Transatlantic Migration 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 P. Canny (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 215; Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 63; Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America*, 17-18; Wokeck, "German Immigration to Colonial America," 5.

German and Swiss governments had expanded their surveillance and taxation regimes to the detriment of subject populations, many of whom already performed additional duties to the state or local lords.[6] Migration to British North America seemed to offer an escape from these demographic and economic pressures.

Having moved onto Native Americans' lands and into colonies that permitted chattel slavery, the German arrivals found themselves face to face with Native Americans as well as Africans and their descendants. The immigrants had limited knowledge of and little to no previous engagements with non-European peoples. A Christian/non-Christian worldview framed the migrants' early interactions with Native Americans and blacks in British North America. Germans largely accepted the real or potential spiritual equality with Native Americans and blacks as fellow Christians. This belief helped some migrants forge close social ties with indigenous peoples. In contrast, increasing numbers of other European and Euro-American colonists in the eighteenth-century British Atlantic embraced a black-white binary and saw an insurmountable spiritual and cultural gulf between themselves as white Christians and all others, even those who also identified as Christians.[7]

Yet Germans' desires for land, and the means of securing their and their descendants' economic well-being, led them away from respecting indigenous sovereignty as the century progressed, as did their emerging numeric superiority in certain locales. Germans became

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[6] Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 24-25, 27; Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America*, 8; Sheilagh Ogilvie, *State Corporatism and Proto-Industry: The Württemberg Black Forest, 1580-1797* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 38-41; David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 15-16, 27-28, 39-40, 42-44; Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 10-11.

[7] Katharine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018); Rebecca Anne Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012); Jennifer L. Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (January 1997): 186.

increasingly willing to contesting indigenous land rights through activities like squatting, or coercing or intoxicating individuals to sign away communal land rights.[8] Similarly, personal economic motivations, the wider cultural and legal acceptance of slavery, and the lack of strong religious or moral condemnation of slavery within the borderland communities led some Germans to accept that practice quickly and to procure enslaved blacks for their own economic ventures in the North American interior.

This chapter explores the German migrants and British officials' negotiations over their competing visions and objectives for these settlements, as well as the Germans' evolving relationships with indigenous and black peoples, by comparing borderland schemes in New York and South Carolina. In these spaces on the British Empire's edge, migrants became explicitly part of the metropolitan state's imperial designs and pressed to have a say in them. These cases show how German migration to British North America went well beyond Pennsylvania, how German migrants across North America's Atlantic seaboard participated in settler colonialism, and how they shaped Great Britain's expansion and imperial defense on the continent.

The New York scheme, arranged in 1709, hoped to settle Germans in northern pine forests and set them to work producing naval stores for British fleets.[9] The Germans, believing

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[8] "Favorable opinion of council on the following petition for lands purchased from the Indians and surveyed before the receipt of an additional instruction of December 9, 1761…," February 27, 1765, [New York], vol. 29, p. 64-66, New York Colonial Council Minutes (Collection A1895), New York State Archives (hereafter NYSA), Albany; Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 47; Eugene W. Lyttle, "Nicholas Herkimer," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 5 (1904): 24; Gail D. MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements: Iroquois Change and Persistence on the Frontiers of Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 95-96; Robert Kuhn McGregor, "Cultural Adaptation in Colonial New York: The Palatine Germans of the Mohawk Valley," *New York History* 69, no. 1 (January 1988): 26; David L. Preston, "George Klock, the Canajoharie Mohawks, and the Good Ship Sir William Johnson: Land, Legitimacy, and Community in the Eighteenth-Century Mohawk Valley," *New York History* 86, no. 4 (Fall 2005): 472-499; Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 99, 108-110; Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 390-392, 395.

[9] Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration: A British Government Redemptioner Project to Manufacture Naval Stores* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1937), 135-142; Philip Otterness, *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 71-74.

they had been promised freehold land grants in North America by Queen Anne, had no interest in laboring as crown servants or engaging in the hot, sticky, and unfamiliar work of making tar, pitch, and resins. Instead, they engaged in wide-ranging acts of resistance that collapsed the scheme less than two years after they arrived in the Hudson River valley. The New York colonial government, likely learning from the previous scheme's failure, made a second attempt by offering land grants in the early 1720s to several hundred veterans of the first scheme in the Mohawk River valley and authorized others to negotiate land sales with Mohawks. British officials envisioned that the Germans would shield New York's northern and western borders during wartime from indigenous and French forces. The new settlements were also to undergird British claims on what had become a critical fur trade route connecting the Great Lakes and the Hudson River.[10]

In South Carolina in the 1730s, British officials sought to establish a series of inland townships. The townships were to protect Charleston and the lucrative lowcountry from the growing French and Spanish presence in the Southeast, as well as from the constellation of indigenous nations alienated from the colony by its unbalanced trade relations and incessant encouragement of indigenous slaving. The incoming white settlers were also to serve as a demographic counterweight to the colony's black majority. South Carolina's government made a conscious effort to provide land grants and provisions, tools, and even political offices to

[10] Commissioners of Indian Affairs to Robert Hunter, March 27, 1717 Albany, vol. 60, p. 156, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Response to a Petition of Several Palatines, September 9, 1721, [New York?] vol. 13, p. 162, New York Colonial Council Minutes (Collection A1895), NYSA; Wolcott Webster Ellsworth, "The Palatines in the Mohawk Valley," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 14 (1915): 301; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 204-205; Thomas Elliot Norton, *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York, 1686-1776* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), 152, 162, 174-177, 179-180.

integrate the new German arrivals into the colonial economy and political system, avoiding many of the issues that plagued the initial scheme in New York.[11]

By midcentury, the Germans borderland settlers in the Mohawk Valley and South Carolina sandhills had successfully shaped these settlement schemes to meet their desires. They possessed landholdings recognized under British law and backed by the state's force, and they were free to pursue the economic ventures of their choosing without state interference. In contrast, British officials believed that the settlement schemes had largely failed to fulfill their intended security purposes. From their perspective, the settlements were not populous enough nor their peoples organized or trained enough to check attacks from indigenous or European forces. In South Carolina, the German settlers also failed to reverse the colony's demographic trends, and local officials were ambivalent about their abilities to suppress enslaved peoples' acts of self-liberation.

Yet colonial governments and other British officials recognized that the German migrants aided the empire in other unintended ways. The immigrants were creating settler societies, discouraging indigenous peoples from returning or migrating to these areas, and helping reorganize land along Western norms of private property. Furthermore, their farms and other enterprises diversified the New York and South Carolina economies and reoriented local Native Americans' and Europeans' economic activities towards Western, market-oriented norms.[12] While German colonists on the borderlands sometimes challenged or shifted British imperial

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[11] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 52-56; Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 346; Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*, 39-40; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 222-223; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 111-113, 123, 209-210; Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 36, 143, 144, table 1.

[12] Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*, 5-6, 43; MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 3-5, 93-98, 100; Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 388, 402.

plans, they did not question the underlying settler colonial project; they benefited and furthered it.

The importance of the British state, settler colonialism, and slavery in shaping eighteenth-century German transatlantic migration and settlement has largely been ignored in the literature.[13] Bernard Bailyn's framing of the 'peopling' of British North America remains deeply influential in discussions of these migrations. In the 'peopling' process, the state is largely impotent or ignored. In these analyses, local economic factors, market forces, information flows, business networks, and private land speculation are viewed as the drivers of migration processes alongside the commercial infrastructure moving tens of thousands of people across the ocean. These economic factors are also seen as driving migrants' settlement patterns once they reached North America. Native Americans and Africans, like the British state, are of minimal importance in this narrative.[14] The pushback on Bailyn from scholars of these German migrants has centered

[13] This chapter views settler colonialism as the structure through which Europeans and their descendants took control of lands and eliminated indigenous peoples and societies. The elimination of indigeneity occurred across physical, cultural, and rhetorical dimensions. Simultaneously, settlers sought to establish their own distinct societies and to transform lands physically, economically, legally and symbolically to conform to their own norms and desires. This transformation of the land was a further means to remove indigenous claims to the physical space. Lorenzo Veracini, "The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism," in *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity*, ed. Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 182-183, 190; Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 387-388, 390-393, 397, 402.

[14] Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Knopf, 1986); Andreas Brinck, *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 134-152; Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys***;** Mark Häberlein, "German Migrants in Colonial Pennsylvania: Resources, Opportunities, and Experience," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (July 1993): 555-574; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*. Andreas Brinck and Stephen Conway do acknowledge that metropolitan-planned settlement schemes in places like Nova Scotia and South Carolina, alongside general recruiting literature from proprietary colonies and individuals, contributed to the largest waves of German immigration to British North America in the mid-eighteenth century, peaking between 1749 and 1754. Moreover, the British state often relied upon these private networks to recruit and move migrants across the Atlantic to state-planned settlements. Brinck, *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 54-62; Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries*, 36-37, 128-135.

on his belief in a smooth assimilation of Germans into a distinct North American culture and society.[15]

The experiences of the thousands of German-speaking migrants who moved into New York pine forests and the South Carolina midcountry, however, cannot be told or understood without incorporating a much wider array of actors and forces. British imperial anxieties and strategic thinking created the demand for labor that Germans were supposed to fill. British metropolitan and colonial governments paid for these migrants' passages in many cases. Indigenous peoples' toleration of, and even occasional support of the German settlements, enabled the migrants to move onto indigenous lands in relative peace, adapt more quickly to local environments, and enter regional commercial networks. Tariffs on incoming enslaved Africans were a principal funding source for the South Carolina township scheme for decades. The tariffs paid for surveying townships and individual land grants, as well as an array of material aid for Germans and other European and Euro-American migrants who entered the colony's interior.[16] Germans enslaved blacks to labor on various economic ventures. Moreover, the immigrant colonists' sales and exportation of foodstuffs helped fuel the expansion of

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[15] Cynthia G. Falk, "Of Dwelling Houses, Painted Checks, and Stove Plates: What Material Culture Tells Us About the Palatines in Early New York," in *A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, ed. Jan Stievermann and Oliver Scheidling (University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 85-116; Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen, ed. *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011); Bruce R. Penner, "Old World Traditions, New World Landscapes: Ethnicity and Archaeology of Swiss-Appenzellers in the Colonial South Carolina Backcountry," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 1, no. 4 (December 1997): 275-277, 285-286; Hermann Wellenreuther, "Contexts for Migration in the Early Modern World: Public Policy, European Migrating Experiences, Transatlantic Migration, and the Genesis of American Culture," in *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 6, 34; Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine: A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

[16] S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 52; Arlin C. Migliazzo, *To Make This Land Our Own: Community, Identity, and Cultural Adaptation in Purrysburg Township, South Carolina, 1732-1865* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 32-33; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 208.

plantation agriculture and its enslaved labor force in the British Caribbean and southeastern lowcountry.

In these borderland spaces, German immigrants negotiated and resisted to try and bend British directives to their own aims. The Germans were not always the dependable and obedient workers that British officials envisioned. British attempts to use material incentives and occasionally coercion did not always bring German migrants in line, especially when the migrants felt British aims were at cross-purposes with their own.[17] The migrants played on British state actors' desperation for white Protestant labor, and the limited state presence in these areas marginal to the British Empire, to ensure they had a voice in the development of these imperial projects.

The Germans' interactions with Native Americans and Africans and their descendants in these borderlands challenge enduring notions of Germans' natural sympathies with Native Americans or innate and enduring German abolitionist sentiments. The idea of Germans and Native Americans sharing a special affinity developed in the late eighteenth century, as Enlightenment and Romantic writers compared ancient Germans' struggles with the Romans and their own with the French to British, French, Spanish, and American attempts to dominate Native Americans. These parallels were drawn not to create transatlantic solidarity, but to justify both contemporary fictive and potential future colonization by Germans or to criticize emerging capitalism and cultural homogenization. Such sentiments of affinity, if they ever existed, did not influence earlier eighteenth-century German immigrants to New York and South Carolina.[18]

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[17] Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries*, 200-203.

[18] H. Glenn Penny, *Kindred By Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 15-19, 30-31, 96-126; Hartmut Lutz, "German Indianthusiasm: A Socially Constructed German National(ist) Myth," in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, ed. Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2002), 169-170, 172-173; Johann J.K. Reusch, "Germans as Noble Savages and Castaways: Alter Egos and Alterity in German Collective Consciousness during the Long Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 1 (Fall 2008): 102, 117; Susanne Zantop,

The idea of German colonists in North America as more sympathetic to indigenous concerns and less avaricious for indigenous lands persists in scholarship in part due to the limited studies of German colonists' relations with indigenous peoples.[19] Works on individual Germans with ties to Native Americans, like German Moravians or the New York borderland settler and later interpreter for Pennsylvania, Conrad Weiser, are disproportionately represented in this subfield. In a limited archive for these Central European migrants, the Moravians' well-preserved practices of textual self-reflection and reportage stand out. [20]

Yet the Moravians were a tiny portion of German-speaking colonists in eighteenth-century British North America and they did not reside within these state-planned communities.[21] The German borderland settlers and Moravians may have shared, at least temporarily, ideas about Christian brotherhood and hopes for conversion. But the predominantly Reformed and Lutheran migrants did not share the Moravians' acceptance of many indigenous and African

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"Close Encounters: Deutsche and Indianer," in Calloway, Gemünden, and Zantop, *Germans and Indians*, 4-5; Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 80-82.

[19] Some scholars of eighteenth-century North American borderlands have mentioned in passing German colonists' involvement in expanding settler colonialism, from committing acts of violence against indigenous peoples to agitating for the further seizure of indigenous lands. Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians & Empire on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 37, 42; Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), 10, 149-150, 152, 154-156.

[20] Daniel Claus and Conrad Weiser, *The Journals of Christian Daniel Claus and Conrad Weiser: A Journey to Onondaga, 1750*, trans. and ed. Helga Doblin and William A. Starna (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1994); James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999); Jane T. Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 4 Religion in Early America (October 1997): 723-746; Earl P. Olmstead, *David Zeisberger: A Life Among the Indians* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997); Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696-1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945); Joseph Solomon Walton, *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: G.W. Jacobs & Co., 1900); Joseph Wandel, *The German Dimension of American History* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979), 17-18; Carola Wessel, *Delaware-Indianer und Herrnhuter Missionare im Upper Ohio Valley, 1772-1781* (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 1999); Rachel Wheeler, *To Live Upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

[21] Germans who identified as Moravians or with sectarian churches (e.g. Dunkers, Schwenkfelders, Swiss Brethren) were at most seven percent of all German transatlantic immigrants over the eighteenth century. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 102-103, 103 table 4.1.

cultural practices as being in line with Christianity, their zeal for evangelizing, or the commitment to polyglot education and interactions that facilitated Moravians' ability to form deep, multigenerational, and peaceable relations with Native Americans.[22] The Germans in the planned settlement schemes formed connections with Native Americans rooted in the idea of spiritual equality, but also in practical consideration of indigenous groups' superior strength and control over resources the migrants needed to survive and thrive. These attachments, despite growing for decades, did not stop most German borderland settlers from ignoring their indigenous neighbors' wellbeing and sovereignty when the settlers chose to pursue their own self-interests and economic gain.

A similar dynamic plays out in German immigrants' views of slavery as depicted in popular and scholarly works. Again, the literature projects a nineteenth-century political narrative backwards in time, and singular events and religious minorities' views stand in for the larger migrant population's experiences. While current scholars have largely rejected the idea of Germans carrying over a cultural abhorrence of chattel slavery to North America, others continue to argue that German colonists' outlooks and experiences in Central Europe made them abolitionists.[23] Moreover, the idea that German immigrants were hesitant or slow to tolerate the

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[22] Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 108-111; Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood," 726-728, 736; Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute for Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 36-37; Wheeler, *To Live Upon Hope*, 6, 9. Many Lutherans and Reformed feared Moravians would try to take over their churches or succeed in their early attempts to create a unified Christian church, especially before more ordained German-speaking Lutheran and Reformed clergy arrived from Europe in the 1740s. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 117, 119-120; Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 19, 22, 31; Hermann Wellenreuther, "Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg and the Pietisms in Colonial America," in *Pietism in Germany and North America 1680-1820*, ed. Jonathan Strom, Hartmut Lehmann, and James Van Horn Melton (New York: Routledge, 2009), 127-132.

[23] Katharine Gerbner argues that the difference between German and Dutch Quakers' early embrace of an anti-slavery position compared to their English coreligionists had "more to do with the rhetorical, philosophical, and behavior customs that defined the *mores* of each groups' homeland," and that Germans were unfamiliar with slavery or blacks and therefore did not carry over cultural acceptances of slavery. While German and Dutch Quakers may have been early and at least somewhat enduring anti-slavery advocates, their non-Quaker and non-Mennonite Rhineland neighbors, who were part of the same regional milieu, did not adopt these sentiments in British North America. Katharine Gerbner, "'We Are Against the Traffik of Men-Body': The Germantown Quaker Protest of

practice or engage in enslaving others themselves has even wider acceptance.[24] This misconception in part dates back to German-speaking political refugees to the United States from the failed 1848 revolutions, who developed an ethnic self-definition of Germans as freedom-loving. Abolitionism and free soil politics were central components of this ethnic identity. Other abolitionists, including Frederick Douglass, picked up on this idea of Germans as abolitionists and promoted it as well.[25]

Late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century studies of ethnic history and the German-American experience have picked up the Forty-Eighters' narrative and applied it retroactively to the colonial period as well. The German as anti-slavery actor narrative draws on events like the 1688 Germantown Protest, the first formal antislavery document produced in British North America, and efforts by the German-speaking settlers of Ebenezer in the 1730s and 1740s to keep slavery out of colonial Georgia.[26] Moreover, social historical analyses in the second half of the twentieth century revealed German colonists owned slaves at lower rates than their European and Euro-American neighbors in places like Philadelphia.[27]

1688 and the Origins of American Abolitionism," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 72 no. 2 (Spring 2007): 158.

[24] These scholars often attribute Germans' discomfort with slavery to fears of blacks, fears of violence committed by slaves, and fears that slave labor would drive down wages and commodity prices. James Van Horn Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 4, 135-137, 152-153, 208-218; Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 49-51.

[25] Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 53-55; Mischa Honeck, "Abolitionists from the Other Shore: Radical German Immigrants and the Transnational Struggle to End American Slavery," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 56, no. 2 (2011): 172; Bruce Levine, "Immigrants, Class, and Politics: German-American Working People and the Fight Against Slavery," in *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States*, ed. Charlotte L. Brancaforte (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 130-131.

[26] For recent studies on the Ebenezer community and its relations to slavery, see Charlotte E. Haver, *Von Salzburg nach Amerika: Mobilität und Kultur einer Gruppe religiöser Emigranten im 18. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 118-145; Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier*.

[27] Gary B. Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (April 1973): 254-255; Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 49-50.

The borderland settlers' experiences run counter to ideas of innate anti-slavery sentiment among Germans, making the Germantown and Ebenezer cases exceptions to the larger German experience in British North America. Moments of anti-slavery activism emerged under extraordinary circumstances that existed neither in the state-planned borderlands communities nor practically anywhere else in eighteenth-century North America. The Dutch and German colonists who signed the Germantown Protest compared the oppression of blacks to their personal experiences as persecuted Mennonites and Quakers in continental Europe. Few of the eighteenth-century German migrants coming overseas had such potentially empathy-inducing experience as suffering religious prosecution, especially after the 1720s. Rather, most of them came for economic and social advancement.[28] The German community at Ebenezer was divided over the introduction of slavery, though its influential minister, Johann Martin Boltzius, attempted to maintain unity in favor of keeping slavery out of Georgia. Yet even Boltzius would come to be a reluctant slaveowner and his successor as pastor, Christian Rabenhorst, enslaved thirty-three people at the time of his death.[29] The lower rates of slave ownership among German colonists likely reflects less of an ideological position and more of the colonists' economic realities. Eighteenth-century German migrants routinely lacked the capital upon arrival to establish ventures large enough to require slave labor. As most Germans elected to concentrate on grain farming, they did not need the year round labor supply that slaves provided. For the majority who lived in the Mid-Atlantic colonies, there was also the option of hiring indentured laborers, including many fellow German-speakers. Rates of Germans enslaving blacks rose in the

[28] Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 5-6; Gerbner, "'We Are Against the Traffik of Men-Body'," 148-159; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 41-42, 48, 58.
[29] Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier*, 205-235, 249-250; Douglas C. Stange, "'A Compassionate Mother to Her Poor Negro Slaves': The Lutheran Church and Negro Slavery in Early America," *Phylon* 29, no. 3 (1968): 276.

last decades of the colonial period as the supply of potential indentured laborers arriving from Europe largely dried up.[30]

In the South Carolina townships and the Hudson and Mohawk River valleys, Germans did not hear strong criticism of slavery from community or colonial leaders. Neither did their religious beliefs condemn the practice. Despite initial shocks at the treatment of slaves, especially in South Carolina, the migrants did not object to enforcing the institution. When German borderland settlers had the resources and demands for more labor, they did not demure from enslaving people and extending the reach of slavery deeper into the North American interior.

The Germans who migrated into state-planned settlements further strengthened the British Empire's position on North America in often unintended ways. They were apathetic about supporting British officials' goals for imperial defense, especially when it prevented them from securing an independent livelihood. But they embraced the larger settler colonial project, seeking to control indigenous lands for themselves and to exploit such property for their enrichment. The immigrants came to instrumentalize their connections with other peoples in North America and their position within the British Empire. While the British saw unintended benefits through these maneuvers, Native Americans and blacks increasingly saw Germans challenging their autonomy and well-being.

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[30] Walter M. Kollmorgen, "The Pennsylvania German Farmer," in *The Pennsylvania Germans*, ed. Ralph Wood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), 33; Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier,* 250-251; Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," 255; Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 51-52. Kollmorgen argues that slavery and plantation agriculture also went against Germans' ethos of self-sufficiency. Kollmorgen, "The Pennsylvania German Farmer," 33.

The British State, Imperial Defense, and the Recruiting of German-Speaking Immigrants to North America

The British metropolitan state built upon William Penn and other colonial proprietors' campaigns to attract German-speaking immigrants to launch their own settlement schemes. Penn visited Central Europe several times in the 1680s to attract colonists and arranged for German translations of his early writings on the colony. Penn's German-language promotional campaign deeply influenced his fellow Quaker and Governor of Carolina colony, John Archdale, as well as the colony's Lords Proprietors. They launched their own recruiting efforts in Central Europe. Archdale sought to secure naturalization rights for non-British colonists and exemptions from military service for his fellow Quakers and members of other pacifistic religious bodies. Starting in 1705 Archdale began negotiations with representatives of the High German Company of Thuringia to bring over German colonists. The company proposed recruiting Germans to go to Carolina and that the Lords Proprietors pay for the transatlantic voyage. The new arrivals would work for the company while they paid their debts to the Lords Proprietors.[31] The company also proposed sending over an initial party of German settlers whose experiences would be published as a pamphlet to attract additional colonists. Like Penn, Archdale believed original or translated promotional literature was critical to drawing prospective migrants. The Lords Proprietors employed the Lutheran pastor Joshua Kocherthal,[32] who had come to London in 1704 proposing to lead a party of Lutheran settlers to Carolina, to produce a promotional German-language pamphlet. This pamphlet, *Ausführlich und umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschafft*

[31] Rosalind J. Beiler, "Bridging the Gap: Cultural Mediators and the Structure of Transatlantic Communication," in *Atlantic Communications: The Media in American and German History from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Norbert Finzsch and Ursula Lehmkuhl (New York: Berg, 2004), 54-55; O'Reilly, "Working for the Crown," 134-136, 138.

[32] Joshua Kocherthal was also known by the name Joshua Harrsch. He will be referred to by his better-known name, Joshua Kocherthal in this chapter. Marianne S. Wokeck, "Rethinking the Significance of the 1709 Mass Migration," in Stievermann and Scheidling, *A Peculiar Mixture*, 28.

Carolina, in dem Engelländischen America gelegen (1706), described a land where a multitude of crops could grow, from citrus fruits to maize, and where the colonial government provided freedom of conscience to all Protestants, land grants to heads of households, and three to seven years of exemptions from quitrents. The tract helped spark a frenzy of interest in immigrating to British North America in the early eighteenth century that contemporaries in Central Europe referred to as *rabies Carolinae*.[33]

For the planned settlement schemes in colonial New York and South Carolina, imperial defense took priority over economic development. In the summer of 1709, the Board of Trade scrambled to find tenable opportunities for moving some of the over twelve thousand German-speaking peoples who arrived in Great Britain earlier in the year. These people emigrated from the upper Rhineland and Neckar River valley to flee the ongoing War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) and the aftermath of one of the harshest winters in the eighteenth century. They also sought land grants in North America, which Queen Anne had offered to Kocherthal and a small party of migrants the previous year for free, and which he had documented in the 1708 and later editions of his pamphlet.[34] Queen Anne and the ruling Whig ministry initially sought to settle the new arrivals in Great Britain, believing that they might expand Britain's economic output by providing labor to a range of ventures. The government entertained numerous proposals, including settling the migrants in the Crown-controlled New Forest to farm it, or sending hundreds or thousands to work in copper and silver mines in Penlyn in Wales. However, the migrants generated popular resentment as competitors for charity and employment during

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[33] [Joshua Kocherthal], *Ausführlich und umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschafft Carolina, in dem Engelländischen America gelegen*, 3rd ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1709), 11-15; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 18; O'Reilly, "Strangers Come to Devour the Land'," 174; O'Reilly, "Working for the Crown," 134-136, 138.

[34] Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 14, 31-46; O'Reilly, "'Strangers Come to Devour the Realm'," 171-172, 174; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 22-23, 25-27, 29-30.

wartime and an economic downturn. They also drew the Tory opposition's ire as a threat to the Church of England and unworthy of British subjecthood.[35] Opposition only grew against the immigrants once it became clear that thousands of them were Roman Catholics who had no interest in becoming Protestants. This revelation undercut supporters' claims that the migrants were victims of Catholic oppression and aiding them would bolster the international cause of Protestantism.[36]

The Board of Trade then reviewed opportunities to have the migrants labor for Great Britain within its colonies, and examined plans for settlement from Ireland to Jamaica. The body gave its greatest support to a proposal to send thousands to New York, where the Germans would produce critical war materiel, naval stores, and decrease the empire's dependence on Sweden and Russia for these products. While an army might march on its stomach, sail-powered wooden warships and merchant vessels relied on tar, pitch, rosin, and rope to keep afloat and to maneuver. Despite enacting several bounties in the seventeenth century to encourage their production, Great Britain remained reliant on imports from the Baltic and Scandinavia.[37] When the War of the Spanish Succession began in 1701, England rushed to secure additional stocks, and Russia and Sweden leveraged this dependency to their advantage. Great Britain's critical shortage of tar early in the war spurred the passage of the 1705 Naval Stores Act, which offered

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[35] United Governors, Assistants and Society of London for Mines Royal and Battery to Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, c. 1709, Records of the Colonial Office (hereafter CO) 388/76, f.76r, The National Archives (hereafter TNA), London; Great Britain. Board of Trade, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantation*, vol. 2, *From February 1708-9 to March 1714-5* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925), 37; H.T. Dickinson, "The Poor Palatines and the Parties," *English Historical Review*, 82, no. 324 (July 1967): 469, 472-475, 475n1; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 52, 56, 65, 68, 71, 76; O'Reilly, "'Strangers Come to Devour the Realm'," 172, 177-179, 182; O'Reilly, "Working for the Crown," 145; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 39, 41-43, 49, 59-60, 63-64; Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen*, 132-33, 137-153.

[36] Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 66, 78-79; O'Reilly, "'Strangers Come to Devour the Realm'," 184; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 62, 69.

[37] Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 115-117; Supplying the Royal Squadron under Sir Francis Wheeler, and Col. Foulkes Land Forces in the West Indies Referred to a Committee, April 8, 1693, [New York?], vol. 6, p. 186, New York Colonial Council Minutes (Collection A1895), NYSA; O'Reilly, "'Strangers Come to Devour the Land'," 181; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 68-69; Wood, *Black Majority*, 110-111.

a new wave of bounties on colonial-produced pine-based products.[38] Newly appointed Governor of New York, Robert Hunter, who crafted the initial proposal, believed that the law and earlier bounty schemes had failed because the critical bottleneck in production was not price, but rather the lack of labor. The Board of Trade estimated that a single adult male worker could produce six tons of naval stores annually, but that by setting a body of six hundred men working together in New York's pine forests they might produce seven thousand tons together.[39]

Hunter's proposed plan also promised to better protect New York against attacks from French and indigenous forces. During the Nine Years' War (1688-1697), joint indigenous-French forces struck allied English and Mohawk settlements around northern New York. Most dramatically, they sacked Schenectady in February 1690 killing sixty residents.[40] The situation for the English deteriorated in subsequent years. Relations between the English and the Haudenosaunee strained as the English refused to continue fighting alongside the Haudenosaunee against their indigenous and French enemies following the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick. The Iroquois League of Nations subsequently shifted towards a more neutral position between the two European empires. This loss of indigenous allies left New York colonial officials feeling that allied Native American and French armies could strike against their frontiers from anywhere. The 1704 raid on Deerfield, Massachusetts that left 150 colonists killed

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[38] Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 113-114; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 318; Thomas P. Slaughter, *Independence: The Tangled Roots of the American Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2014), 201; Justin Williams, "English Mercantilism and Carolina Naval Stores, 1705-1776," *The Journal of Southern History* 1, no. 2 (May 1935): 170-174.

[39] "A Memorial Representing the materials there are for raising Naval Stores in the British Possessions in North America; with a State of the Palatins Imploy'd in that Service in the Province of New York," c. 1711, Western Manuscripts (hereafter Western MSS), Harley 7021, f. 280-282, British Library (hereafter BL), London; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 136.

[40] Thomas E. Burke Jr., *Mohawk Frontier: The Dutch Community of Schenectady* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 104-107, 107 table 6; Daniel K. Richter, *Trade, Land, Power: The Struggle for Eastern North America* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2013), 84-86.

or captured underscored the sense of vulnerability.[41] The New York colonial government authorized militia forces and semi-permanent independent companies to serve in the north as well as build and improve fortifications around Schenectady and Albany.[42] Yet in the fall of 1709 the colonial assembly admitted to Lieutenant Governor Richard Ingoldsby that while the colony had been put to "a vast Fatigue and Expence" in financing the colony's defense and that year's failed invasion of New France, the colony remained exposed. Northern fortifications were in a poor state and it was difficult to find enough men with military training to garrison those posts and the northern-most settlements.[43]

Hunter was offering to bring over hundreds of potential soldiers and their families and place them on what the Board of Trade described as "the most advanced Frontier of Your Majesty's Plantations on the Continent of America, the Defence and Preservation of that Place is of the utmost Importance to the Security of all the rest."[44] The Board of Trade recommended sites with pine forests on the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, where Mohawks, Oneidas, Mahicans, and several Munsee-speaking peoples resided, but which the Board of Trade deemed crownland. The body envisioned that additional acres in the Mohawk River valley might be secured from the Mohawks if needed.[45] Hunter's initial proposal included providing the Germans who sailed for New York with six hundred muskets and bayonets from royal stores as well as quantities of

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[41] Adam Lyons, *The 1711 Expedition to Quebec: Politics and the Limitations of British Global Strategy* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 18-19; Richter, *Trade, Land, Power*, 87, 90.
[42] Edward, Viscount Cornbury to Henry Beekman, December 12, 1705, [New York?], vol. 50, p. 184, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Petition of Hendrick Hansen, June 19, 1707, [Albany?], vol. 52, p. 48, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; New York Assembly, *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New-York*, vol. 1, *Began the 9th Day of April 1691; And Ended the 27th of September, 1743* (New York: Hugh Gaine, 1764), 260, 269-270.
[43] New York Assembly, *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New-York*, 1:260-261, 269.
[44] Additional Instructions to Robert Hunter, January 26, 1710, [London?], CO 5/1231, f. 1v, TNA.
[45] Additional Instructions to Robert Hunter, January 26, 1710, [London?], CO 5/1231, f. 1v-2r, TNA; Tom Arne Midtrød, *The Memory of All Ancient Customs: Native American Diplomacy in the Colonial Hudson Valley* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), xiii-xv.

gunpowder and shot. In the end the British government spent 1,500 pounds sterling on weapons, gunpowder, and ammunition for the settlers.[46]

Protecting South Carolina lay at the heart of the scheme launched a generation later. The now royal government of South Carolina, in coordination with the Board of Trade, planned to establish eleven townships sixty miles inland from Charleston along many of the colony's major rivers. These concentrated areas of settlement were to protect the rest of the colony "against the Insult & Incursions of the Neighbouring Indians." The townships would also consolidate British claims over lands along the lower Savannah River and the sandhills previously settled by indigenous peoples, like the Yamasees, Apalachicolas, and Yuchi. In 1731, the colonial government enacted a law providing land and other financial incentives to those free Protestants who would reside within the proposed townships.[47] Thousands of Germans settled in these planned communities in the coming years.

The South Carolina township scheme emerged as a response to European, indigenous, and African challenges and resistance to the colony. Even after the establishment of Georgia just a year after the townships' authorization, imperial officials continued to view South Carolina as British America's southern bulwark.[48] It faced the brunt of any Spanish offensive and served as the springboard from which British forces might invade Florida or the Spanish Caribbean. During the War of the Spanish Succession, Spanish and French forces attempted to take Charleston and South Carolinians unsuccessfully besieged the Spanish at St. Augustine. In the

[46] Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 135, 142.
[47] Draft of Instructions for Robert Johnson, September 17, 1730, [London?], CO 5/192, f. 49r-50r, TNA; Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 340.
[48] Board of Trade to Lord Harrington, December 5, 1734, [London?], CO 5/383, f. 218r, 219r, TNA.

1720s the Spanish and British empires had clashed over lands in modern-day Georgia, while the French expanded their network of fortifications into the Lower Mississippi valley.[49]

The townships were also a response to over a decade of warfare between the colony and Southeastern indigenous nations starting in 1715. South Carolinians relied on numerous connections with Southeastern Native Americans to defend the nascent colony, engage in slaving, attack the colony's enemies, and trade in lucrative animal skins.[50] However, commercial activities that had once bound the colony to many of its indigenous neighbors began to generate rifts in the first years of the eighteenth century. South Carolinian Indian traders defrauded their indigenous partners. The colony's voracious demand for enslaved Native Americans to exploit on plantations and export to other colonies started to lead even allied peoples into bondage, sometimes as a result of debts to British traders and merchants.[51] The Yamasees, who lived along the lower Savannah River, led a coalition of alienated indigenous communities that killed hundreds of colonists and burned down scores of houses and plantations. South Carolinian colonists, in turn, destroyed Yamasee towns and fields along the Savannah. While South Carolinian militia were eventually able to prevent the Yamasees and their allies from threatening

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[49] Bruce P. Lenman, "Colonial Wars and Imperial Instability, 1688-1793," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 154-157; Steven J. Oatis, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 272-273; Wood, *Black Majority*, 96, 303-304; Alyssa Zuercher Reichardt, "War for the Interior: Imperial Conflict and the Formation of North American and Transatlantic Communications Infrastructure, 1727-1774" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2017), 44, 96.

[50] Thomas Nairne, *A Letter from South Caroling; Giving an Account of the Soil, Air, Product, Trade, Government, Laws, Religion, People, Military Strength, &c. of that Province* (London, 1710), 31, 34-35; Mary Elizabeth Fitts and Charles L. Heath, "'Indians Refusing to Carry Burdens' Understanding the Success of Catawba Political, Military, and Settlement Strategies in Colonial Carolina," in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2009), 147-150; Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, esp. 40-69, 199-222, 241-256, 288-314, 338-341; Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*, 38-41; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 59, 83.

[51] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 99-100; Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 318-322; Larry E. Ivers, *This Torrent of Indians: War on the Southern Frontier 1715-1728* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), 1-2, 31; McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 173-174; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 114-122; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 13-78.

the heart of the colony around Charleston by 1718, Yamasees, Waccamaws, and Apalachicolas continued raiding into the 1720s.[52]

As the colony's economy and society became centered around the plantation production of rice, the threat from enslaved peoples also grew. The colony's enslaved African and Native American population rose dramatically at the turn of the eighteenth century. By 1710 the colony was majority black, and the enslaved population grew in subsequent decades so that a contemporary in 1730 estimated the colony had one adult white male for every six enslaved persons.[53] The Yamasee War heightened fears of the enslaved joining indigenous enemies, and enslaved men serving with South Carolinian forces turning their weapons against white colonists.[54] Not only might indigenous nations rally enslaved populations to their side, but the Spanish in Florida offered freedom to self-emancipated men and women who entered their territory, enticing scores of enslaved peoples to St. Augustine in the second half of 1715 alone. These people could provide the Spanish with intelligence about South Carolina and could safely plot attacks from Florida.[55]

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[52] For discussions of the causes, course of, and aftermath of the Yamasee War on southeastern North America, see Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 329-335; Ivers, *This Torrent of Indians*, 38-50; Paul Kelton, "'Shattered and Infected' Epidemics and the Origins of the Yamasee War, 1696-1715," in Ethridge and Schuck-Hall, *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone*, 312-332; James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal*, 20th anniv. ed. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 2009), esp. 67, 75-77; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 83-222; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*.

[53] "Queries to be answer'd by every MINISTER," April 15, 1724, Charleston, vol. 9, f. 160, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace Library, London; Answer to Queries for the Parish of St. Thomas South Carolina, June 15, 1724, St. Thomas Parish, South Carolina, vol. 9, f. 163, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace Library; Stephen Conway, "Continental European Involvement in the Eighteenth-Century British Empire," in *Kommunikation & Kulturtransfer im Zeitalter der Personalunion zwischen Großbritannien und Hannover*, ed. Arnd Reitemeier (Gottingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2014), 138; Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina*, 5-6; Wood, *Black Majority*, 36, 143, 220.

[54] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 19, 339, 345-349; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 108-109, 170-171; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 163-164.

[55] Jane Landers, "Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida, 1687-1790," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (January 1984): 297-298; Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier*, 214-215; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 173, 274; Wood, *Black Majority*, 304-305.

As in New York during the War of the Spanish Succession, South Carolina struggled to implement and sustain defensive strategies during and after the war with Yamasees and their allies. The colonial legislature authorized the construction of a series of forts and fortified trading posts around the colony in the late 1710s. Many of these fortifications were short-lived. The garrison abandoned one palisade fort at the confluence of the Broad and Saluda Rivers in 1722 after it flooded, just four years after its completion. The colony had slightly greater success maintaining a small garrison of rangers sixty miles up the Savannah River at Palachuccolas until 1735.[56] Attempts to encourage small groups of indigenous coastal peoples living among the South Carolinians as well as local groups of larger nations, like Cape Fears and Chickasaws, to move further inland also failed. Colonial leaders had hoped these indigenous peoples might serve as a buffer and that shifting these people inland would also limit their ability to interact with enslaved Africans on lowcountry plantations.[57]

The British government's turn toward German settlers built on earlier efforts by proprietary governments to make their colonies economically viable. However, Robert Hunter's

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[56] Mark D. Groover, "Evidence for Folkways and Cultural Exchange in the 18th-Century South Carolina Backcountry," *Historical Archaeology* 28, no. 1 (1994): 45; Robert L. Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina 1729-1765* (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers Inc., 1940), 10, 12; Migliazzo, *To Make This Land Our Own*, 26; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 148, 151; Daniel J. Tortora, "Fort Congaree II: British Outpost in the South Carolina Midlands, 1748-1756," (2010), 1, http://www.historysoft.com/granby/Fort_Congaree_II.pdf; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 207-208.

[57] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 341-343, 345-349; Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 101; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 276-277. South Carolinians referred to the small coastal nations who resided near Charleston and surrounding plantations as "Settlement Indians." Disease, slave raiding, and warfare drastically reduced these nations' populations by the turn of the eighteenth century. They pursued close ties with the colony as means to protect themselves from enslavers and to access trade and economic opportunities within the colony, including producing pottery and day laboring. Their proximity to British settlements stood in contrast to almost all other contemporary southeastern indigenous nations. Eric E. Bowne, "'Carrying awaye their Corne and Children': The Effects of Westo Slave Raids on the Indians of the Lower South," in Ethridge and Shuck-Hall, *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone*, 107-108; Elizabeth N. Ellis, "The Many Ties of the Petites Nations: Relationships, Power, and Diplomacy in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1685-1785," (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2015), 8n14; Oatis, *A Colonial Complex*, 8; Theda Perdue, "American Indian Survival in South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 108, no. 3 (July 2007): 215, 217- 218; W. Stitt Robinson, *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 85.

New York 1709 settlement plan and the South Carolina townships focused primarily on imperial defense, establishing permanent buffers to protect the major port cities of New York and Charleston as well as the lowcountry plantations that fueled South Carolina's economic rise. In the case of New York, the German immigrants were also expected to jumpstart naval stores production within British North America, and free the British Empire from relying on foreign powers to keep its fleets on the water. While both plans were a response to precarious military situations, their execution and outcomes would differ because of how the settlers negotiated their positions within their newfound colonial contexts.

The Hudson Valley and Mohawk Valley Settlement Schemes of New York

The settlement plan for New York was designed not only to remove thousands of continental European immigrants from Britain, but also to resolve some of the empire's long-standing strategic issues in North America. Yet, the decisions that Governor Hunter, the Board of Trade, and governmental ministers reached in the fall of 1709 would ultimately doom the scheme. The Board of Trade decided that the migrants should be made servants of the crown until they had paid for their transportation and maintenance through the established bounty for naval stores. Once the immigrants paid off their debts, Hunter was authorized to provide them with forty acres of land per head and seven years' exemption from quitrents on the gifted land.[58] Secretary of State for the Southern Department Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, recommended that the Germans sign a formal contract agreeing to their obligation as servants of

[58] Additional Instructions to Robert Hunter, January 26, 1710, [London?], CO 5/1231, f. 1-4, TNA; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 135-136, 138; Mary Lou Lustig, *Robert Hunter, 1666-1734, New York's Augustan Statesman* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1983), 60-61; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 73.

the crown to produce naval stores until they had paid off their debts.[59] These provisions sparked resistance, and Hunter's increasingly coercive measures only further embittered the migrants. The struggles to establish the settlement scheme in New York were compounded by the general chaos of attempting to relocate thousands of people with limited planning and the lack of a sustained funding source for the project.

After the British government and Queen Anne approved Hunter and the Board of Trade's plan to send three thousand German-speaking Protestants to New York, the migrants embarked on chartered vessels to take them across the Atlantic. The ships spent almost four months off the English Coast near Plymouth before proceeding across the ocean. The delay might have been due to waiting to form a convoy with better armed ships, or to provide time for officials in New York to prepare for such a large number of arrivals coming all at once. The British government refused to let the immigrants off the ships, fearing another wave of popular and parliamentary protest and criticism like the previous summer and fall. An outbreak of what was likely typhus struck some of the ships even before they reached open ocean, sickening and killing scores of migrants, especially younger children. Over four hundred passengers died by the time the transport ships reached New York City between June 13 and August 2, 1710.[60]

The German migrants' morale plunged further, and some became resentful of Governor Hunter even before they had left the environs of New York City. The colonial government quarantined the migrants on Nutten Island (present-day Governor's Island) south of Manhattan,

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[59] "A Memorial Representing the materials there are for raising Naval Stores in the British Possessions in North America; with a State of the Palatins Imploy'd in that Service in the Province of New York," c. 1711, Western MSS, Harley 7021, f. 280-282, BL; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 140-141.

[60] "A Memorial Representing the materials there are for raising Naval Stores in the British Possessions in North America; with a State of the Palatins Imploy'd in that Service in the Province of New York," c. 1711, Western MSS, Harley 7021, f. 280-282, BL; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 146-147. The transport ship *Herbert* did not quite reach New York City instead wrecking on Long Island's eastern end. Ellsworth, "The Palatines in the Mohawk Valley," 297.

where about 250 more migrants died in subsequent months from typhus and other maladies.[61] Governor Hunter took the unilateral decision to apprentice some of the German children who were now orphans, as well as others who still had parents living in the tents and hastily built wooden structures on Nutten Island. New Yorkers took in about eighty children over the summer and fall of 1710.[62] The settlers believed that Hunter's decision deprived both parents and the wider immigrant community "of the Comfort of the Childrens' Company and education as well as the assistance and Support they might in a small time have reasonably expected from them."[63] The action fueled the migrants' emerging distrust of Hunter and was a harbinger of Hunter's governing style, which the migrants found imperious.

Without any input from the German immigrants, Hunter also decided on the final location of the settlement. The Board of Trade's instructions to Hunter asked him to investigate a few sites on the Mohawk River and one of its tributaries, the Schoharie River, as well as a site on the Hudson River.[64] Hunter decided against the sites along the Mohawk and Schoharie Rivers, believing that they were too exposed militarily, the waterways were not navigable, and that the forests were too dense to connect the settlements conveniently with the rest of the colony.

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[61] Palatines Arrived in the Ship *Lyon* to be Examined by Doctors Law, Moone, and Garran and Quarantined on Nutten Island Where Johs. Hebron and Peter Williamse Carpenters are to fit up Buildings, June 13, 1710, [New York?], vol. 10, p. 511-512, New York Colonial Council Minutes (Collection A1895), NYSA; Account of John Christof Kurtz and John Philips Rüger, September 16, 1710, [New York?], vol. 54, p. 66 letter A, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Petition of Peter Willemse Romer to Governor Robert Hunter, September 5, 1711, New York, vol. 56, p. 76, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA.

[62] Governor Hunter intends to go to Albany to meet the five nations. Palatine orphans to be provided for and an advertisement to that effect to be published, June 20, 1710, [New York?], vol. 10, p. 521-522, New York Colonial Council Minutes (Collection A1895), NYSA; Update on Palatine Children, July 27, 1710, [New York?], vol. 10, p. 530, New York Colonial Council Minutes (Collection A1895), NYSA; "Names of the Palatine Children Apprenticed by Gov. Hunter 1710-1714," in *The Documentary History of New York*, vol. 3, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1850), 341-342; "The Condition Grievances and Oppressions of the Germans in His Maj[ts] Province of New York in America, 1720" in *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, 3:424. One of the apprenticed German children was John Peter Zenger who was bound to printer William Bradford. Zenger would later be at the center of one of the eighteenth century's most famous libel cases in 1734-1735. Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times*, 80; Ellsworth, "The Palatines in the Mohawk Valley," 297.

[63] "The Condition Grievances and Oppressions of the Germans in His Maj[ts] Province of New York in America," 1720, in *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, 3:424.

[64] Additional Instructions to Robert Hunter, January 26, 1710, [London?], CO 5/1231, f. 1v-2r, TNA.

Moreover, the forests lacked the abundance of pine trees thought necessary to produce large quantities of naval stores.[65]

Instead, Hunter decided to acquire two tracts of land in the Hudson River valley totaling over twelve thousand acres from Robert Livingston, a Scottish immigrant who had become a major landowner and influential colonial figure as Secretary for the Commissioners of Indian Affairs.[66] The tracts lay on either side of the Hudson in Mahican country, about 120 miles north of Manhattan and approximately forty-five miles downstream of Albany. The Germans were aware of Hunter's investigation of Schoharie as the settlement site before deciding on Livingston's land. In their subsequent narratives of their early years in New York, the Germans highlighted that Hunter had denied them access to a fertile valley. Instead he had placed them "on such ordinary and almost barren land" where they would go through several lean years. For the immigrants, Hunter had placed his own and the empire's goals above their wellbeing by unexpectedly ordering them to the Hudson Valley, instead of further north.[67]

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[65] Account of Augustin Graham, Surveyor-General, for Surveying Schoharie for the Palatines, September 1, 1710, vol. 54, p. 58, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; "A Memorial Representing the materials there are for raising Naval Stores in the British Possessions in North America; with a State of the Palatins Imploy'd in that Service in the Province of New York," c. 1711, Western MSS, Harley 7021, f. 280-282, BL; Ellsworth, "The Palatines in the Mohawk Valley,", 297; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 88.

[66] Order of the Queen in Council Ordering the Removal of Robert Livingston's Suspension as Being Secretary of Indian Affairs, January 11, 1704, vol. 50, f. 43, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; "A Memorial Representing the materials there are for raising Naval Stores in the British Possessions in North America; with a State of the Palatins Imploy'd in that Service in the Province of New York," c. 1711, Western MSS, Harley 7021, f. 280-282, BL; Richter, *Trade, Land, Power*, 117.

[67] "The Condition Grievances and Oppressions of the Germans in His Maj[ts] Province of New York in America," 1720, in *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, 3:424; Midtrød, *The Memory of All Ancient Customs*, 161; Philip Otterness, "The Palatine Immigrants of 1710 and the Native Americans," in Stievermann and Scheidling, *A Peculiar Mixture*, 62. Other eighteenth-century observers agreed with the Germans' evaluation of the Hudson River valley lands assigned to them as sandy, rocky, and desert-like. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America; Containing Its Natural History, And A Circumstantial Account of its Plantations and Agriculture in General, With the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Commercial State of the County, The Manners of the Inhabitants, and Several Curious and Important Remarks on Various Subjects*, trans. John Reinhold Forster (London, 1771), 237; Richard Smith, *A Tour of Four Great Rivers: The Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna, and Delaware in 1769 Being the Journal of Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey*, ed. Francis W. Halsey (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 15.

Because of the German settlers' poor condition upon arrival in New York and the difficulty in securing a settlement site where naval stores could be produced, Hunter placed his hopes on a productive 1711. In the last months of 1710, officials attached to the settlement scheme, like Commissary of Stores, James DuPré, set about securing a variety of materials and tools for agriculture, forestry, metallurgy, and milling, as well as additional supplies of firearms and their accoutrements in both New York and Great Britain. By October Hunter had spent almost the entire eight thousand pounds sterling the metropolitan government had advanced for the project. The governor would increasingly use his own money and credit to finance the project, confident his superiors would release additional funds to him in the near future.[68] The first parties of settlers reached the tract in early October, and by November 1 there were over 1,400 Germans living on the settlement site. There they built shelters and cleared land around the seven villages Hunter wanted on both sides of the river.[69]

Despite Hunter's hopes, 1711 turned into a year of clashes between the German settlers and local and colonial officials over their work, their status within the empire, and access to land. The settlers' distrust of Hunter and other British officials grew as they faced a tenuous existence engaging in work that they had no experience in or desire to perform, and the prospect of securing personal landholdings faded. Only in late spring could the Germans begin to prepare trees for making naval stores. The children gathered pine knots from the forest floor, while men

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[68] "Memorandum of the Sorts & quantities of Seeds to be Provided for the Palatins against next Spring," c. 1710, vol. 54, page 101 letter A, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; "An Inventory of ye Palatine Goods under the Charge of James DuPré Commissary of ye Stores," November 7, 1710, New York, vol. 54, letter 96 p. 1-2, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; An Estimate of the Things Necessary for [Palatines'] Settlement, November 1710, vol. 54, page 98 letter A, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 92.

[69] "Account of the Subsistence of the palatines from the time of their Several Arivals at this Place to the 25th March 1711," c. March 1711, Livingston Manor, vol. 54, p. 177 letter A, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; "A Memorial Representing the materials there are for raising Naval Stores in the British Possessions in North America; with a State of the Palatins Imploy'd in that Service in the Province of New York," c. 1711, Western MSS, Harley 7021, f. 280-282, BL.

barked trees and cleared paths in the forests for horses and wagons to travel along. Generally, parties of Germans encamped in tents in the forests for a week or two before returning to their new villages. Those who took up work in the woods appear to have been paid twenty shillings a month, with part of their payment in cash and the other part going to clear their debts for the subsistence they continued to receive.[70]

Many of the Germans refused to work in the forests and resisted other responsibilities. Hunter heard reports in March 1711 that settlers were refusing to plant garden lots next to their villages.[71] They justified their actions by claiming that Hunter had violated promises made to the settlers back in London. Specifically, they claimed that they had been assured land in the Schoharie Valley, naturalization as British subjects, and five pounds sterling in cash per head. Some narratives included additional details, like forty acres per person, or that the settlers were to produce naval stores for the British on their land grants rather than through bonded labor.[72]

Beyond rejecting work, Germans in the planned settlements began to organize wider acts of resistance and even threatened violence. Following the March reports of some immigrants refusing to even plant gardens, Hunter went to the camps to explain to them their proscribed job of producing naval stores and the Schoharie region's unsuitability for that project. When his oration did not stop the grumbling and rumors of a conspiracy, Hunter ordered that the contract the immigrants had agreed to back in Britain be read aloud in German at a second meeting. This presentation also failed to quell the migrants' discontent. Some began to discuss abandoning the

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[70] Certificate of Richard Sahr, June 9, 1711, vol. 55, p. 21 letter D, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Certificate of Richard Sackett, July 5, 1712, vol. 58, p. 61 letter C, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Certificate of Richard Sackett, July 5, 1712, vol. 58, p. 61 letter D, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 174.
[71] Otterness, *Becoming German*, 94.
[72] Letter of Johan Friedrich Haeger, April 2, 1718, Kingsberry, vol. 6, f. 178, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace Library; "The Condition Grievances and Oppressions of the Germans in His Maj[ts] Province of New York in America," 1720, in *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, 3:423-425; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 150-151, 164; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 93.

project and moving to Schoharie to claim what they believed was their land.[73] In early May, when work in the forest was to begin in earnest, the Germans again refused to work and some openly declared they would go to Schoharie if compelled to produce naval stores. Hunter again returned to the villages and after an unsuccessful meeting with some of the immigrant leaders, found himself facing three to four hundred armed Germans. However, Hunter had brought down a contingent of sixty British soldiers from Albany with him and the regulars backed down the armed immigrants. Hunter called for reinforcements and by the next day he had 130 men to face disgruntled Germans who again gathered as a large armed party. Again, the Germans backed down and this time the soldiers went through the villages and disarmed them.[74]

Following the May showdown, Hunter instituted a new regime designed to compel the Germans to work even if it further poisoned his relationship with them. Going forward the Germans labored in the forests under armed guard and under direct supervision of the salaried commissaries and other staff, few of whom were fellow German immigrants. The governor established a court with jurisdiction over the settlements and empowered it to punish anyone who failed to show up for work.[75] For the 1712 naval stores producing season, Hunter reiterated to officials supervising the settlements that they were to punish German colonists who refused to labor when called upon.[76]

Even under the new, harsher regime Hunter installed, the German immigrants engaged in subterfuge. Some migrant families fled the settlements and moved onto neighboring estates to

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[73] Otterness, *Becoming German*, 91, 94-95.
[74] Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 163-164; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 99-101.
[75] "Court Over the Palatines," in *The Documentary History of New York*, 3:400-402; Commissioners of the Palatines to [Richard] Ingoldsby, May 2, 1712, vol. 57, p. 143, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 164, 174; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 105.
[76] Robert Hunter, Memorandum on a Scheme for Employing the Palatines the Ensuing Summer, March 31, 1712, vol. 57, p. 126, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Robert Hunter to Richard Ingoldsby, April 8, 1712, vol. 57, p. 135, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA.

become tenant farmers. Migrants stole supplies when they could, and some may have sabotaged a bridge over the Hudson River to either prevent travel to the forests, or to damage Livingston's saw mill and corn mill that were downstream.[77] The migrants might have targeted Livingston, who was on the court that enforced Hunter's regulations in the villages. He also furnished much of the bread, meat, and beer the migrants received, provisions whose quality and quantity the migrants sometimes complained about.[78]

The immigrants' resistance, coupled with the lack of additional government funds, forced Hunter to shut down the project in the fall of 1712. Hunter believed he needed thirty thousand pounds sterling to maintain the Germans until they could largely support themselves through their garden plots and could generate a profit through their naval stores production. He had sailed to New York with only a third of that sum, and neither the New York government nor the new Tory ministry in London had any interest in providing additional funds.[79] Hunter used his personal credit, but by the spring of 1712, merchants began to protest Hunter's bills of exchange, and suppliers, including Robert Livingston, began complaining about non-payment.[80] The governor reduced rations to the immigrants and sought to shift widows and orphans to other employment, much as he had done in the summer of 1710. Even these measures were not enough. Hunter sent orders on September 6, 1712 that the German settlers were to be released

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[77] Colonel Matthews to Robert Hunter, January 8, 1712, Albany, in *The Documentary History of New York*, 3:406; Robert Livingston to L. Smith, April 2, 1712, Livingston Manor, vol. 57, p. 129, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 108-109.
[78] Contract of Robert Livingston for Supplying the Palatines with Provisions, November 13, 1710, vol. 54, page 99, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Robert Livingston's Release of Robert Hunter, September 26, 1718, Folder 16, Robert Hunter Papers (MS 316), NYHS; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 107.
[79] "A Memorial Representing the materials there are for raising Naval Stores in the British Possessions in North America; with a State of the Palatins Imploy'd in that Service in the Province of New York," c. 1711, Western MSS, Harley 7021, f. 280-282, BL; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 181.
[80] Robert Livingston to George Clark, June 13, 1711, vol. 55, p. 27, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Robert Hunter's Account with Robert Livingston, c. March 1712, vol. 57, p. 124 letter B, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 181; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 110-111.

from government employment and that the government would no longer supply them. Hunter stipulated that the migrants could leave the settlement site and seek employment in New York or New Jersey, but they had to register their intended destinations with officials in the camps and be prepared to return to the villages on the Hudson to continue the work if later called upon.[81] After two years in Hudson Valley pine forests the Germans claimed to have produced no more than two hundred barrels of pitch and tar, while other estimates placed the number at two thousand barrels. Regardless, the sums were not enough to meet the needs of the Royal Navy nor keep the settlement scheme financially afloat.[82]

While many of the immigrants and their progeny would hold an abiding distrust of the British government, several hundred of them agreed to participate in another planned borderland settlement scheme a decade later. Hunter's successor, William Burnet, encouraged the Germans who had relocated to the Schoharie to move again further into Iroquoia, this time to the upper Mohawk River valley in the early 1720s. Burnet hoped by shifting the Germans out of the Schoharie River valley, he could end the migrants' decade-long clash with Hunter, and with Anglo and Dutch land claimants over who controlled the valley.[83] On a geopolitical scale, Burnet desired to secure the strategic Mohawk Valley for the British. The Mohawk Valley, as the clearest path through the northern Appalachian Mountains, served as a vital commercial route. The importance of this connection between the Great Lakes and Hudson River increased as the

[81] Robert Hunter to Robert Livingston, July 30, 1712, New York, vol. 57, p. 191 Letter A, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; George Clarke to Richard Sackett, July 30, 1712, New York, vol. 58, p. 1, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Robert Hunter to Jean Cast, September 6, 1712, New York, vol. 58, p. 41, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 185; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 113-114.
[82] "The Condition Grievances and Oppressions of the Germans in His Maj[ts] Province of New York in America," 1720, in *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, 3:424; Glenn Weaver, "John Frederick Haeger, S.P.G. Missionary to the Palatines," *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church* 27, no. 2 (June 1958): 114.
[83] McGregor, "Cultural Adaptation in Colonial New York," 11; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 113-136; Preston, *Texture of Contact*, 72-85.

Great Lakes became the center of the continental fur trade, and the French strengthened their position in the region by establishing a trading post and fortification at Niagara.[84]

Governor Burnet encouraged the colonists to relocate to the valley by authorizing them to conduct private land purchases, and by offering others individual land grants within a land patent he secured in the valley. In September 1721 Burnet and the colonial Council gave their permission to a party of German colonists to negotiate a land sale with Mohawks so long as the negotiated tract was at least eighty miles from Albany and forty miles from the nearest British instillation, Fort Hunter. Mohawk peoples, who had spent the better part of a decade working with the Germans to resist Anglo and Dutch New Yorkers' claims to the Schoharie Valley, agreed to sell a tract of land north of their palisaded settlement of Canajoharie. This tract became known to colonists as Stone Arabia. In selling Stone Arabia, Mohawks likely hoped to strengthen their bonds with the Germans and make neighbors of Europeans with whom they had well-established relations. The envisioned Mohawk-German alliance might continue to hold back absentee land speculators and unvetted white settlers from pushing farther into eastern Iroquoia.[85] The governor also invited ninety-two Germans to a tract he possessed twenty-five miles west of Stone Arabia.[86] Each invited settler received one hundred acres. German Flats became the largest settlement within the governor's tract with sixty houses built by the start of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).[87]

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[84] Commissioners of India Affairs to Robert Hunter, March 27, 1717, Albany, vol. 60, p. 156, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Falk, "Of Dwelling Houses, Painted Chests, and Stove Plates," 102; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 248-251.

[85] Note on Palatines, September 9, 1721, vol. 13, p. 162, New York Colonial Council Minutes (Collection A1895), NYSA; William Burnet to Board of Trade, November 21, 1722, New York, in *The Documentary History of New York*, 3:428-429; Ellsworth, "The Palatines in the Mohawk Valley," 302; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 204-205; Otterness, "The Palatine Immigrants of 1710 and the Native Americans," 69; Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 81-82.

[86] Referred to as Burnetsfield by contemporaries in honor of Governor William Burnet.

[87] Falk, "Of Dwelling Houses, Painted Chests, and Stove Plates," 93-94; Lyttle, "Nicholas Herkimer," 22.

The growing presence of German-speaking British subjects in the valley also supported Burnet's efforts to increase British influence in the Great Lakes and to check the French there. Burnet pushed for fortifying and garrisoning Oswego on Lake Ontario knowing German-settled communities dotted the route that connected his proposed trading hub to Schenectady and Albany. Burnet announced his intentions to establish a permanent British presence at Oswego to Haudenosaunee leaders in 1724 and built the fort in 1727 with a permanent military garrison.[88] Around the empire, Oswego quickly came to be seen as a crucial trade hub, defensive outpost against the French, and effective permanent mission to the Iroquois League of Nations. The Germans establishing farms and mills in the valley enjoyed new commercial opportunities with the fortification of Oswego, including supplying the garrison and provisioning the bateaux crews and traders who moved up and down the river.[89]

Town(ship) and Country: German Settlement in Colonial South Carolina

Several years after Governor William Burnet brought German immigrants to the upper Mohawk Valley, South Carolina's newly appointed royal governor, Robert Johnson, spearheaded another large-scale settlement scheme at the Board of Trade's behest. Thousands of German immigrants would move into the South Carolina interior as part of the project.[90] Perhaps learning

[88] New York (Colony). *Legislative Council of the Colony of New-York*, vol. 1, *Began the 9th Day of April, 1691; And Ended the 27 of September, 1743* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Company, 1861), 519; S.L. Frey, "The Raids on Tryon County," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* vol. 7 (1907): 28; Lyttle, "Nicholas Herkimer," 23; Richter, *Trade, Land, Power*, 92.

[89] "His Honour the Governor's SPEECH to the General Assembly of the Province of New-York, the 15th Day of April, 1741," *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle, For all the British Plantations in America*, vol. 1, no. 4 (April 1741): 252-253; Cynthia G. Falk, "Forts, Rum, Slaves, and the Herkimers' Rise to Power in the Mohawk Valley," *New York History* 89, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 224, 227-228; Lyttle, "Nicholas Herkimer," 23.

[90] Robert Johnson was in many ways an ideal candidate to oversee the township schemes, as an experienced former governor of the colony as well as a long-time proponent of foreign Protestant migration to British North American colonies. Owen Stanwood, "Between Eden and Empire: Huguenot Refugees and the Promise of New Worlds," *American Historical Review* 118, no. 5 (December 2013): 1333-1334.

from Hunter's mistakes, the South Carolina government offered the German-speaking arrivals immediate access and rights to land. The South Carolina government also provided tools, livestock, and occasionally cash for immigrants, and established a long-term funding plan to sustain the project.

When the Board of Trade appointed Robert Johnson governor of South Carolina in 1730, he was charged with creating eleven townships of twenty thousand acres each, with a planned settlement in the middle of each surveyed location. The townships were also to have a six-mile buffer around them for possible future expansion. The Board of Trade encouraged the colonial government to pass legislation offering fifty acres per head and a small town lot to Protestant settlers who agreed to reside within these new interior communities.[91] Funds were also to be provided for "the purchasing of Tools, Provisions [and] other Necessaries for any Poor Protestants that shall be desirous to settle in Our Said Province."[92] Tariffs on imported enslaved Africans as well as several goods would fund the surveying of the townships, their town lots, and individual lots for new residents. The revenue would also go to providing transportation, provisions, agricultural equipment, and livestock for immigrant settlers.[93]

Germans immediately saw an opportunity with the new legislation. Scores of German-Swiss and Germans from the Holy Roman Empire moved into the first new township, Purrysburg, located on the lower Savannah River and named for the Neuchatel-born soldier and administrator, Jean Pierre Purry. Purry promoted the settlement and the colony in a French-language pamphlet that was then translated into English and German. These Germans were joined by French-Swiss, Piedmontese, Florentines, and Huguenots. As Purry started his formal

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[91] Draft of Instructions for Robert Johnson, September 17, 1730, [London?], CO 5/192, f. 43, TNA.
[92] Draft of Instructions for Robert Johnson, September 17, 1730, [London?], CO 5/192, f. 49r-50r, TNA.
[93] Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina*, 52; Migliazzo, *To Make This Land Our Own*, 32-33; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 208.

recruiting efforts in the fall of 1731, the South Carolina Assembly approved more funding for transportation to the settlement site, and three additional months of provisions, hardware, farm tools, and livestock. In addition to looking after the arrivals' food supplies and future farming endeavors, the colony transferred six cannons from Port Royal to the new township as well as supplies of gunpowder and shot.[94]

Later parties of German immigrants enjoyed similar support from, and rapport with, the South Carolina government throughout the 1730s. The colonial government provisioned the party of German-speaking Swiss who would go to Orangeburg in the summer of 1735 with such quantities of maize that its purchase caused the commodity's price in Charleston to jump from fifteen shillings a bushel to twenty shillings.[95] Governor Johnson just before his 1735 death estimated that the colony was spending almost two thousand pounds sterling to conduct the surveys and to provision the incoming Protestant settlers.[96] Sebastian Zouberbuhler of Appenzell arrived in November 1734 to scout settlement locations for a party of his countrymen. He spent six months looking at sites and meeting with Lieutenant Governor Thomas Broughton and the South Carolina Council to discuss a recruitment agreement. When former Governor of Appenzell-Ausserrhoden, Johannes Tobler, arrived in early 1737 with a contingent of his Appenzell political allies as part of a larger group of German-speaking Swiss, the colony allowed Tobler and several others to travel to several of the townships including Amelia, Saxe Gotha, and finally New Windsor, where they would eventually settle.[97]

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[94] Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times*, 122; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 34-35; Migliazzo, *To Make This Land Our Own*, 4, 14-17, 34-40.
[95] *South Carolina Gazette*, August 2, 1735; A.S. Salley, *The History of Orangeburg County, South Carolina* (Orangeburg, SC: R.L. Berry, 1898), 35.
[96] Anonymous Letter, May 15, 1735, Charleston, vol. 10, f. 7v-8, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace Library.
[97] Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 67; John Tobler and Charles G. Cordle, "The John Tobler Manuscripts: An Account of German-Swiss Emigration in South Carolina, 1737," *Journal of Southern History* 5, no. 1 (February 1939): 85, 85n5, 86.

The colonial government seemed to make a concerted effort to funnel German immigrants south of the Santee River, where fighting with indigenous peoples in the 1710s and 1720s had been most intense. Migrants from the British Isles and British North America tended to move into those planned settlements farther north. Perhaps this concentration of the German settlers was to encourage social cohesion among the nascent communities and facilitate ease of communications with neighboring townships. The townships to the north were also closer to routes that British colonists already in North America used in coming south to lay claim to the incentives offered by the colony. British officials may also have been channeling strangers to the southernmost townships to keep natural-born British subjects off the frontlines in future conflicts with the Spanish or Southeastern Native Americans.[98]

These deliberations with governors and colonial officials continued even beyond the immediate moment of settlement. Lieutenant Governor Broughton visited Orangeburg township in 1737, when it was almost entirely settled by Germans, to see if the settlers had complaints he could address. Governor James Glen made a similar visit to four townships in 1746 on his way to hold councils with regional indigenous leaders. Glen stopped in New Windsor with his party of several hundred men on their way to negotiate with the Creeks at Fort Moore. He stopped by Saxe Gotha on his way to meet with Catawbas at the Congaree River valley and Cherokees at Ninety Six. During the visit to Saxe Gotha, he spoke with the German inhabitants and inspected their wheat fields.[99] In 1751, when tensions with Cherokees rose and after several northern Native Americans attacked a German family within Saxe Gotha township, the inhabitants sent

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[98] Chapman J. Milling, ed. *Colonial South Carolina Two Contemporary Descriptions By Governor James Glen and Doctor George Milligen-Johnston* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), ix; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 33; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 211.

[99] *South Carolina Gazette*, November 13, 1736; Board of Trade to James Glen, May 9, 1746, [London], CO 5/402, p. 106-107, TNA; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 46, 62, 194; Walter L. Robbins and John Tobler, "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina (1753)," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 71, no. 3 (July 1970): 152-153, 153n38.

one of their own, St. Gallen canton native Hermann Geiger, to meet with Governor Glen in Charleston and request supplies of firearms, bayonets, and ammunition so they could better defend themselves.[100]

Unlike in the Hudson River valley, where Governor Hunter concentrated ever greater power in the hands of Britons he appointed backed by force of arms, the South Carolina government quickly appointed German immigrants to leadership positions. Through these roles Germans would participate in colonial governance and steer the formation of a settler society upon indigenous peoples' lands. The Board of Trade envisioned that the townships would become the cores of new parishes, the local political unit in the colony, and have two seats in the colonial assembly once they reached one hundred householders.[101] South Carolina governors appointed leaders of immigrant parties as Justices of the Peace (JPs) and militia officers using their executive powers. Johannes Tobler, despite his lack of English fluency, received an appointment as a JP for New Windsor township and its surroundings. His son Ulrich would also serve as a JP. Stephen Crell served as a JP and militia captain for Saxe Gotha, and Christian Minnick held the same positions in Orangeburg.[102] By rapidly integrating the new arrivals into the colony's political system, British officials hoped to make the immigrants feel invested in the colony's fortunes. These appointments also served the practical purpose of helping establish

[100] Tortora, "Fort Congaree II," 11.
[101] Draft of Instructions for Robert Johnson, September 17, 1730, [London?], CO 5/192, f. 50r, TNA; Board of Trade to James Glen, July 19, 1739, [London], CO 5/401, p. 410, TNA; Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 393.
[102] *South Carolina Gazette*, July 23, 1744; Glen, "A Description of South Carolina," in Milling, *Colonial South Carolina Two Contemporary Descriptions By Governor James Glen and Doctor George Milligen-Johnston*, 42; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 48, 56; Penner, "Old World Traditions, New World Landscapes," 297; Robbins and Tobler, "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina (1753)," 155n44; Tortora, "Fort Congaree II," 3; Richard Waterhouse, *A New World Gentry: The Making of a Merchant and Planter Class in South Carolina, 1670-1770* (New York: Garland, 1989), 126.

local law enforcement and judicial structures to adjudicate minor cases in communities days away from Charleston and its courts.[103]

The South Carolina government's pressing desire for white Protestants to settle and stabilize the colony, as well as the nature of the German migration to that colony, facilitated stronger connections with the new arrivals than those the New York government established a generation earlier. The South Carolina migrants' status as free persons, who could move to another colony or back to Europe, gave the immigrants leverage with colonial officials. In New York, imperial officials maintained the new arrivals were bonded servants of the crown and thus they had to follow their superiors' commands, which seemingly undercut the perceived need to negotiate with German immigrants. Practically, the South Carolina government found it easier to absorb smaller parties of no more than several hundred migrants than in New York, nearly 2,500 people arrived over a few months in the summer of 1710.

The South Carolina township schemes had a long-term funding plan and vision to help the settlers establish themselves on newly vacated indigenous lands. However, the colony's largesse to new arrivals was quickly tempered by the project's expenses. The costs of surveying the townships and provisioning the immigrants quickly outstripped the tariff revenues. The South Carolina Council decided in March 1737 to let the financial provisions for township settlers expire in August 1738 while maintaining the land grants and ten-year quitrent exemption.[104] Some German settlers, like recruiter Sebastian Zouberbuhler, complained about the suspension

[103] Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries*, 206; Rachel N. Klein, *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808* (Chapel Hill: Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture by The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 40; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 180; Migliazzo, *To Make This Land Our Own*, 33; Waterhouse, *A New World Gentry*, 126.
[104] *South Carolina Gazette*, March 12, 1737.

of support, particularly after receiving assurances from metropolitan and South Carolinian officials that assistance would continue.[105]

Despite the scheme's tenuous finances by the late 1730s, South Carolina officials still sought out Germans from continental Europe. Governor James Glen asked the metropolitan government in 1740 to give immigrant colonists Hans Jacob Riemensperger[106] and Hans Caspar Galliser passes to allow them to travel safely into Central European polities where they hoped to recruit their countrymen to resettle in North America.[107] The two men found few interested people over their four years of travel. The suspension of free provisions for incoming immigrants, the largest uprising by enslaved peoples in the colony's history, the collapse of the rice market and South Carolina's economic struggles in the 1740s, the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), and several Swiss cantonal governments launching anti-emigration propaganda campaigns and crackdowns on recruiters together suppressed German migration to the townships until the late 1740s. German immigrants began coming again in larger numbers to South Carolina after the War of the Austrian Succession and as South Carolina's economy rebounded.[108]

By midcentury, German colonists were the majority population of Orangeburg and Saxe Gotha townships and sizable minorities within Amelia, New Windsor, and Purrysburg

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[105] Gilbert P. Voigt, "Swiss Notes on South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 21, no. 3 (July 1920): 99.
[106] Contemporary sources sometimes indicate his first name is Johann and his surname was alternatively spelled Remeitzberger and Rementsberger.
[107] James Glen to John Wace, May 10, 1740, London, State Papers 36/50/3, f. 61, TNA.
[108] Glen, "A Description of South Carolina," 98; Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina*, 10, 86-87; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 55, 150-151; H. Roy Merrens, "The Physical Environment of Early America: Images and Image Makers in Colonial South Carolina," *Geographical Review* 59, no. 4 (October 1969): 535; Voigt, "Swiss Notes on South Carolina," 97-98, 102-103; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 145-146; Wood, *Black Majority*, 308-326.

townships.[109] These townships with growing populations protected vital transportation routes, defensive positions, and trade hubs. With hundreds of inhabitants each, they could raise companies of militiamen to protect routes into the colony's wealthy lowcountry from both indigenous and European enemies.[110]

While British metropolitan and colonial officials planned borderland settlement schemes in New York and South Carolina on similar motivations, their outcomes proved very different. The community along the Hudson River quickly collapsed, while the townships in the Carolina pine barrens and sandhills became sustained, semi-concentrated areas of settlement on key transportation routes. A number of factors contributed to this divergence. In New York, where the migrants' desires for landownership went unmet and officials compelled them to produce naval stores, a process they had no experience in and little desire to learn, the migrants engaged in varied forms of resistance. Attempts to manage the Germans by force and intimidation largely failed. This resistance undermined British imperial aims and thereby weakened the very justification for the settlement scheme. In South Carolina, the migrants and imperial officials' interests merged more, as the German settlers secured land and at least temporarily received provisions and equipment to establish their farmsteads. South Carolina officials sought to channel the migrants to lands they and metropolitan leaders deemed strategically valuable for the defense of the colony's lowcountry heart.

For the German immigrants living on the frontiers of New York and South Carolina, there were other relationships to negotiate beyond those with the British imperial government.

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[109] Edgar, *South Carolina,* 55; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina,* 45; Robbins and Tobler, "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina (1753)," 154; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina,* 209.
[110] Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina,* 46, 53, 111; Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 124; Robert Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 88; Penner, "Old World Traditions, New World Landscapes, 269; Salley, *The History of Orangeburg County*, 21; Tortora, "Fort Congaree II," 3.

These borderland settlers found themselves living near and amongst Native Americans and Africans, populations they had little previous knowledge of or contact with. The immigrants' connections with these populations deeply shaped their lives and underscored the newness of their colonial existence. As with British officials, the migrants sought to forge these relationships in ways that improved their own economic and social positions.

German Settlers and the Navigation of Indigenous Spaces and Chattel Slavery

As early as their landing in British North America, Germans found themselves face-to-face with indigenous peoples, as well as those forcibly taken from Africa and their descendants. Germans had likely never seen anyone from beyond Europe prior to their arrival in a British colony. While the German borderland settlers had limited prior conceptions of non-Europeans and their cultures upon arrival, their emerging understandings of and relationships with Native Americans and Africans deeply impacted their lives on the British Empire's edges.

Settlers in both New York and South Carolina developed multifaceted relations with Native Americans. Indigenous peoples' considerable power, as well as many of the settlers' evangelical outlook, encouraged the development of mutually beneficial connections. In the borderlands, they developed commercial, neighborly, religious, and, occasionally, kinship ties with one another.[111] As the century progressed the settlers' demands for control over more land ossified racial hierarchies and frayed established relationships.

German settlers' relations with Africans were almost entirely mediated through the institution of slavery and its intendant hierarchies. Some of the new arrivals expressed concerns,

[111] For examples of studies of Native Americans and Euro-Americans accommodations and conflict in jointly inhabited spaces, see Merritt, *At the Crossroads*; Preston, *The Texture of Contact*; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, 20th anniv. ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

if not abhorrence, regarding the treatment of enslaved blacks. Yet, in the German-populated borderland communities, enslaved blacks became a ubiquitous sight. Over several generations German colonists participated in the wider settler colonial project in British North America through their desires for personal and familial economic advancement. The settlers' presence made it more difficult for enslaved peoples to liberate themselves and contributed to the further dispossession of indigenous peoples from lands they had long claimed and utilized.

Promotional literature on North America likely influenced the settlers' conceptions of North American environments, society, and non-European populations living within these spaces. Besides William Penn's translated writings on what Pennsylvania was like and how it was to be administered, early German settlers to Pennsylvania also provided descriptions of the colony, including its indigenous neighbors. Presses in Frankfort and Leipzig published Franz Daniel Pastorius' account of Pennsylvania in 1700. Pastorius arrived in the colony back in 1683 to oversee the establishment of Germantown and used the word *Wilde* to describe the indigenous peoples he met. Daniel Falckner's *Curieuse Nachricht von Pensylvania* (1699) also used the term. *Wilde* was a reference to the medieval German idea of the *wilder Mann*, a child of nature who lived in isolation in a semi-bestial state, and who could represent ignorance or brutishness. As the eighteenth century progressed, Central Europeans linked the term to the concept of the noble savage and the idea that humans were innately good without necessarily having heard the

Gospel or embraced European social mores and cultural practices.[112] German borderland settlers used the term themselves in some of their descriptions of Native Americans.[113]

Pastorius framed his comments on Native Americans' physiognomy, religion, manners, economy, and mores largely around criticisms of "old Christians from Europe" and the potential of Native Americans to convert to Christianity.[114] While indigenous peoples in Pennsylvania had not learned of the power and salvation through belief in Jesus Christ as their savior, Pastorius believed they practiced many Christian values better than actual Christians. Native Americans were earnest and laconic, while Christians engaged in superfluous and careless gossip. When visiting an indigenous household, Pastorius observed that it contained no furniture, just a large pot to boil simple meals like pumpkin in water without spices or butter. He interpreted his hosts' lifestyle as in line with Jesus' teachings of frugality and modesty. The German held that his indigenous neighbors believed that he and his fellow Europeans had no faith in God maintaining them given the amount of work and worry they put into acquiring food, drink, clothing, and housing.[115] Pastorius described an indigenous belief system that he believed already had many similarities to Christianity. In his eyes, the Native Americans were monotheistic and believed in an everlasting soul that would face judgment at the hands of a gracious and all-powerful God. Unfortunately, in Pastorius' view, most of Pennsylvania's European Christian settlers had no

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[112] Franz Daniel Pastorius, *Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pensylvania, In denen End-Grätzen America In der West-Welt gelegen* (Frankfurt: Andreas Otto, 1700), 28; Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian, from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 13; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 117-118; Otterness, "The Palatine Immigrants of 1710 and the Native Americans," 63; Johann J.K. Reusch, "Germans as Noble Savages and Castaways: Alter Egos and Alterity in German Collective Consciousness during the Long Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 1 (Fall 2008): 91-93.

[113] Voigt, "Swiss Notes on South Carolina," 99-101.

[114] "…die aus Europa angekommene alte Christen." Pastorius, *Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pensylvania*, 31.

[115] Pastorius, *Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pensylvania*, 28-30.

intention of teaching their indigenous neighbors about Christianity. Instead they focused on trading with them and pursuing their worldly interests.[116]

German-language descriptions of Africans in British North America were more limited in the early eighteenth century. A German translation of an account of South Carolina by Purry and several colleagues claimed that forty thousand black people lived in the colony. The account noted obliquely that these people were enslaved, stating that the average price for each black person was one hundred reichsthalers.[117] Despite the limited descriptions of Africans and chattel slavery, there was a much more extensive African presence within early modern Central Europe compared to that of Native Americans, as well as greater representations of Africans in cultural productions. Since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, enslaved Africans entered Central Europe through Mediterranean ports. In the early modern period, German rulers, nobles, and wealthy merchants adopted the practice of maintaining Africans as domestics, musicians, or soldiers within courts, elite military units, and private dwellings, picking up on a fashion that developed in prior centuries in southern Europe and the Low Countries. Their legal status within the Holy Roman Empire and individual German polities remained ambiguous well into the eighteenth

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[116] Pastorius, *Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pensylvania*, 29, 31. Some of the ideas and metaphors Pastorius presented in his 1700 publication he had maintained since he arrived in Pennsylvania. In a 1684 letter to his family he described the Native Americans he had met as kind-hearted and honest. Pastorius compared them to the people of Tyre and Sidon. In both this letter and his pamphlet, Pastorius wrote that at the Day of Judgment, the Native Americans, like the residents of Tyre and Sidon, would shame the multitude of false Christians. Francis Daniel Pastorius to Melchior Adam Pastorius and Magdalena Pastorius, March 7, 1684, Philadelphia, in *Letters Relating to the Settlement of Germantown in Pennsylvania 1683-4 From the Könneken Manuscript in the Ministerial-Archiv of Lübeck*, ed. Julius Friedrich Sachse (Philadelphia, 1903), 6; Pastorius, *Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pensylvania*, 30; Mark 11:20-24 and Luke 10:13-14 in *The Holy Bible: Old and New Testaments, King James Version* (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2008), 3340 (Mark), 3578 (Luke).

[117] Jean Pierre Purry, *Kurtze jedoch zuverläßige Nachricht on dem gegenwärtigen Zustand und Beschaffenheit des Mittägigen Carolina in America oder West-Indien, Welche Landschaft Georgien gennet wird, aufgetzt In Charlestown oder Carlstadt von vier glaubwürdigen Schweitzern, und aus der Frantzösichen Sprache anietzo verdeutscht. Welchem eine Nachricht von denen so genannten Wilden, welche in derselben Gegend wohnen, bengefüget ist* (Leipzig: Samuel Benjamin Walthen in Ritter-Strasse, 1734), 6.

century. Regardless, almost all Africans entered these polities after having been enslaved and taken to Europe against their will.[118]

Despite the presence of at least several hundred Africans within the Holy Roman Empire in any given year in the eighteenth century, it is doubtful that any of the borderland-bound migrants ever encountered an African directly prior to migration. Central Europe's African population clustered in princely and ducal courts and north German port cities most closely connected to global trade routes.[119] The borderland settlers, however, largely came from rural towns and villages along the Rhine and Neckar Rivers in the Holy Roman Empire's southwest as well as northern and eastern Swiss cantons.[120] Their rural backgrounds also likely kept them from engaging with increasing contemporary Central European representations of Africans and blackness in media like paintings, operas, and ballets.[121]

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[118] Misha Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann, "Introduction," in *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250-1914*, ed. Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 3; Anne Kuhlmann, "Ambiguous Duty: Black Servants at German Ancien Régime Courts," in Honeck, Klimke, and Kuhlmann, *Germany and the Black Diaspora*, 58, 60, 63-64; Vera Lind, "Africans in Early Modern German Society: Identity—Difference—Aesthetics—Anthropology," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 28 (Spring 2001): 74-82; Kate Lowe, "The Black Diaspora in Europe in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, with Special Reference to German-Speaking Areas," in Honeck, Klimke, and Kuhlmann, *Germany and the Black Diaspora*, 41-42, 48-49; Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "There Are No Slaves in Prussia?," trans. Elizabeth Bredeck, in *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1650-1850*, ed. Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2016), 111-113, 118-121; Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "Verhandelte (Un-)Freiheit: Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft und innereuropäischer Wissentransfer am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43, no. 2 (July-September 2017): 349; Catherine Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony: Encountering Atlantic Slavery in Imperial Britain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 25; David Northrup, *Africa's Discovery of Europe, 1450-1850*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 120, 124-125; Rashid-S. Pegah, "Real and Imagined Africans in Baroque Court Divertissements," in Honeck, Klimke, and Kuhlmann, *Germany and the Black Diaspora*, 76, 78. An exception to all Africans coming to eighteenth-century German-speaking Europe being enslaved were several African Moravian converts from the Moravian missions in the Danish Caribbean, who came to live in the Moravian communities scattered throughout the Holy Roman Empire. Kuhlmann, "Ambiguous Duty," 63-64; Lind, "Africans in Early Modern German Society," 74-82; Pegah, "Real and Imagined Africans in Baroque Court Divertissements," 76, 78; Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 39, 41; Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 162-201.

[119] Kuhlmann, "Ambiguous Duty," 58; Lowe, "The Black Diaspora in Europe in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," 48.

[120] Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 35; Otterness, *Becoming German*, 9.

[121] Honeck, Klimke, Kuhlmann, "Introduction," 3; Pegah, "Real and Imagined Africans in Baroque Court Divertissements," 77, 88.

In the case of both Native Americans and Africans, their otherness in early eighteenth-century German-speaking Europe was largely refracted through a Christian/non-Christian binary which the immigrants carried over. The Lutheran pastor Johann Martin Boltzius, while aboard the ship taking him to South Carolina before proceeding to Georgia, recalled a friend in Rotterdam speaking of "the heartless behavior of most Christians towards the poor Indians." The Christian settlers refused to show Christian love to Native Americans and denied them a place to rest and a meal when they came to colonists' dwellings at dusk while traveling and unable to reach home.[122] Pastor Johann Ulrich Giessendanner, who served as spiritual leader for the first Germans at Orangeburg township, wrote to a friend back in Europe just months after arriving in South Carolina that "the poor Moors are very severely treated as slaves by the Christians."[123]

At the outset of settlement, immigrant pastors overwhelmingly expressed hope that racial and cultural divisions could be surmounted as Native Americans and Africans converted to a Protestant form of Christianity. Reformed minister and 1710 immigrant to New York, Johann Friedrich Haeger worked to convert Algonquin-speaking Mahicans and other indigenous peoples living near the planned settlements on the Hudson River. His congregation worshiped with local Algonquin-speaking indigenous peoples who were already Christians and an individual who was baptized in a Dutch-language service led by Haeger. Haeger also baptized at least one person of African descent, a woman who lived in the planned villages on the west bank of the Hudson River.[124] In the Mohawk Valley in subsequent decades, Christian Mohawks and other

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[122] *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants who Settled in America…Edited by Samuel Urlsperger*, vol. 1, *1733-1734*, ed. George Fenwick Jones (Athens: University of Georgia, 1968), 46.
[123] Johann Ulrich Giessendanner to Mr. Paravicini, April 23, 1737, quoted in H. George Anderson, "The European Phase of John Ulrich Giessendanner's Life," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 67, no. 3 (July 1966): 136.
[124] Midtrød, *The Memory of All Ancient Customs*, xiii-xv, 161; Otterness, "The Palatine Immigrants of 1710 and the Native Americans," 66; Weaver, "John Frederick Haeger, S.P.G. Missionary to the Palatines," 120. The precedent of pastor Justus Falckner welcoming both enslaved and free blacks as full members of New York City's Lutheran congregation, and the continuation of this policy throughout the eighteenth century, may have influenced the

Haudenosaunee women and men also joined German-language congregations for services, and used the churches to perform lifecycle events with German immigrants sometimes serving as godparents and sponsors for baptisms and marriages.[125] Within these congregations along the Mohawk River, there also appears to have been several marriages between Germans and indigenous peoples. German Cornelius Doxstadter[126] married a Haudenosaunee (likely Oneida) woman, and Catharine Jurgen and a Mohawk man named Jan joined in matrimony in 1759.[127]

In South Carolina there were similar hopes for Christian conversion and an echoing of Pastorius and other earlier German observers' belief in Native Americans' strong moral behavior. Shortly after arriving in South Carolina, Pastor Johann Ulrich Giessendanner described the moral behavior of indigenous peoples and how they were offended by Euro-American Christians' greed and usury.[128] In Charleston, Lutheran pastor Johan Georg Friderichs[129] believed that the colony's growing German population could be the medium through which God converted Cherokees and other indigenous peoples to Christianity. In Friderichs' view, indigenous peoples preferred Germans over English, Scottish, and Irish settlers because the Germans lived more orderly lives.[130]

Lutheran borderland settlers' own openness to multiracial congregations**.** Otterness, *Becoming German*, 148; Stange, "'A Compassionate Mother to Her Poor Negro Slaves'," 272-273.

[125] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 149; James W. Paxton, "Kinship, Communities, and Covenant Chains: Mohawks and Palatines in New York and Upper Canada, 1712-1830" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 2006), 90. A similar dynamic appeared in Central Europe, wherein once black people were baptized as Christians, they enjoyed greater mobility, more opportunities for social integration, and wider marriage prospects compared to other European societies. Lind, "Africans in Early Modern German Society," 74-82.

[126] This family name was also spelled Dockstader in some sources.

[127] William V.H. Barker, *Early Families of Herkimer County New York: Descendants of the Burnetsfield Palatines* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1986), 56; Otterness, "The Palatine Immigrants of 1710 and the Native Americans," 72; Paxton, "Kinship, Communities, and Covenant Chains," 88, 336-337; David L. Preston, "'We intend to live our lifetime together as brothers', Palatine and Iroquois Communities in the Mohawk Valley," *New York History* 89, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 185.

[128] Anderson, "The European Phase of John Ulrich Giessendanner's Life," 136.

[129] The name is also spelled Friederichs in some sources.

[130] Johan Georg Friderichs, "Auszug eines Schreibens des Hrn. Joh. Georg. Friderichs, Evangelisch Lutherischen Predigers in Süd-Carolina, de data Charles-Town, den 11ten Jul. 1757," *Nützliche Samlungen*, July 17, 1758.

Giessendanner's nephew and successor as pastor in Orangeburg baptized enslaved Africans in his home settlement and during his circuits through other townships.[131] Germans in Purrysburg township expressed interest in Moravian missionaries' attempts to convert enslaved peoples in South Carolina in the late 1730s. Thirty German Purrysburgers agreed to help fund the Moravians' school in the township so that their own children could attend a segregated class there. They embraced the opportunity to educate their children, and possibly bring about the salvation of the enslaved blacks who lived in and around their community. In contrast, most other Purrysburgers and surrounding planters opposed the mission, fearing that educating enslaved peoples would facilitate future insurrections.[132]

The Germans' hope for conversion and frequent openness to forming congregations with non-European Christians stood in contrast to many of their fellow British subjects, especially in the southern colonies. Over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, some British colonists linked Christianity with whiteness and freedom, and some questioned the ability of Native Americans and Africans to truly convert to the faith. Even when South Carolina's proprietary government in 1701 recognized that blacks could become Christians, it simultaneously reinforced its 1690-1691 legislation barring conversion as a means of automatic manumission for enslaved peoples.[133]

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[131] Salley, *The History of Orangeburg County*, 148.
[132] Aaron Spencer Fogleman, "A Moravian Mission and the Origins of Evangelical Protestantism among Slaves in the Carolina Lowcountry," *Journal of Early Modern History* 21, no. 1-2 Missionary Encounters in the Atlantic World (March 2017): 49-51.
[133] Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia*; L.H. Roper, "The 1701 "Act for the better ordering of Slaves": Reconsidering the History of Slavery in Proprietary South Carolina," *William and Mary Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (April 2007): 404; Christopher Tomlins, *Freedom Bound: Law, Labor, and Civic Identity Colonizing English America, 1580-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 273, 462. South Carolina was comparatively late in enacting legislation preventing Christian baptism from freeing an enslaved person. Massachusetts Bay Colony opened the possibility of enslaved Christians in the late 1650s, and Virginia and Maryland passed legislation to this effect in 1667 and 1671 respectively. Tomlins, *Freedom Bound*, 460-462.

Beyond shared Protestant faith, land agreements and commercial exchanges also brought together Native Americans with German settlers. In the weeks after Governor Robert Hunter suspended the operations of naval stores production and subsistence for the immigrants in September 1712, several immigrant leaders met with Mohawks to discuss the relocation of some of the Germans to the Schoharie Valley. These immigrants may have tapped their previous shared wartime experiences to secure the audience and access to land. In late summer of 1711, three hundred German immigrant men joined an army tasked with invading New France under General Francis Nicholson with promises of cash wages, rations, and free clothing.[134] Nicholson's force included about eight hundred indigenous troops, including substantial numbers of Haudenosaunee fighters. During the short-lived, failed campaign, indigenous troops and Germans frequently stayed in the same camps and went on patrols together to track and confront French and indigenous forces operating near their position at Wood Creek.[135]

Mohawks granted the immigrants the use of land in Schoharie for several reasons. Mohawks had established beliefs that some lands were common and that these lands' resources should be shared with those in need. As Mohawks provided their new neighbors with an education in foraging, hunting, and planting in their new environment, they expected the

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[134] "Resolution of the council of war authorizing certain expenses for the expedition, and the formation of the four independent companies and the Palatines into one regiment," vol. 55, p. 61, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Governor Hunter's Speech to the Assembly at the Opening of the Session of the Legislature, July 2, 1711, New York, vol. 55, p. 88, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Proclamation Calling for Volunteers for the Expedition Against Canada, July 4, 1711, [New York?], vol. 55, p. 93, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA.

[135] Robert Hunter to [Gurdon] Saltonstall, August 1, 1711, New York, vol. 56, p. 13, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; [John] Hill to Robert Hunter, August 24, 1711, *HMS Windsor* on the St. Lawrence River, vol. 56, p. 57, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Robert Hunter to [John] Hill, September 14, 1711, New York, vol. 56, p. 92, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; New York Assembly, *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New-York*, 1:290; Lyons, *The 1711 Expedition to Quebec*, 1, 138, 141-142; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 228. This Wood Creek is located near the southern point of Lake Champlain. There is another Wood Creek in New York that flows into Oneida Lake and is part of the riverine route connecting the Great Lakes with the Hudson River via the Mohawk River.

Germans to reciprocate by sharing foodstuffs and other materials when Mohawks requested.[136] Second, much like British officials, Mohawks and other indigenous peoples in both the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys saw the German settlers as a possible buffer against invasion and further contestation of their lands by other white settlers and officials. In the early eighteenth century, Mohawks felt themselves in a precarious position. Over the previous forty years, their nation suffered an acute decline in population, especially among adult men. This was largely due to several wars with hostile Algonquin-, Innu-, and other Iroquois-speaking peoples and the French in the late seventeenth century and Catholic Mohawks' subsequent emigration to New France. The Nine Years' War (1688-1697) was particularly devastating for the Five Nations. Mohawks suffered the destruction of four villages and their fields and scores of residents captured.[137] Taking advantage of growing vulnerabilities, colonial New York officials applied increasing pressure for Mohawks to sell off land to the colony or to individual British colonists. Since 1695 the colonial government had deeded the Schoharie Valley to various colonists in several grants. To counter this move, Mohawks decided to place the valley in trust to King William III in the hopes he and his heirs would protect the valley in perpetuity. Yet British officials viewed the deed in trust as a gift of land, which is why Robert Hunter ordered surveyors into the valley to see if the spot might be suitable for his settlement scheme in 1710. Hunter's construction of a fort at the mouth of the Schoharie River in 1711-1712 reinforced Mohawks'

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[136] Paxton, "Kinship, Communities, and Covenant Chains," 68-69, 76; Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 79. Some Mohawks, like their contemporary Mahicans and Munsee-speaking peoples living in the Hudson Valley, expressed concern with the massive influx of European settlers into the region. Some indigenous peoples worried the Germans were there to trigger and participate in a violent war, like the ongoing Tuscarora War in North Carolina. Another rumor was that the new arrivals would participate in a joint Anglo-French conspiracy to seize indigenous peoples' lands. Midtrød, *The Memory of All Ancient Customs*, 161.

[137] Ellsworth, "The Palatines in the Mohawk Valley," 296; Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 36, 56, 60, 62; MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 26-27; Paxton, "Kinship, Communities, and Covenant Chains," 58-59; Richter, *Trade, Land, Power,* Richter, 84-85.

beliefs that British officials might press for more land cessions near their primary settlements of Tiononderoge and Canajoharie on the Mohawk River.[138]

Bringing Germans to the Schoharie Valley offered Mohawks a chance to better control their lands and their relations with the New York colonial government. By allowing the Germans to settle on their land, Mohawks hoped the newcomers would feel a sense of debt to them. Mohawks repeatedly framed the Germans who settled in the Schoharie and later Mohawk Valleys as their children, thereby incorporating them into an indigenous nexus of kinship and political alliance. Mohawks insisted that the Germans were ungrateful or disobedient child in later disputes. Beyond earning their gratitude, allowing the Germans to settle would create a population who could help resist attempts by British landowners to lay claim to the valley.[139] Here the German colonists likely were a superior option to other European colonists. The Germans were both alienated from the colonial government and desperate for subsistence, giving the Mohawks further leverage.

With both Mohawks and Germans invested in the status quo for the Schoharie Valley, they joined together in resisting other colonial claimants to the lands for much of the 1710s. When Schenectady resident Adam Vrooman attempted to settle his land claim in the valley, both Germans and Mohawks moved their livestock onto his fields to eat his crops. The Germans were confident that their indigenous neighbors would protect them as they escalated their campaign of harassment against Vrooman, his family, and laborers—pulling down a stone house on his claim and beating Vrooman's son when he traveled through the valley.[140]

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[138] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 29-30; Paxton, "Kinship, Communities, and Covenant Chains," 56-59.
[139] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 31; Gail D. MacLeitch, "'Red' Labor: Iroquois Participation in the Atlantic Economy," in *Rethinking the Fur Trade: Cultures of Exchange in an Atlantic World*, ed. Susan Sleeper-Smith (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2009), 189-190; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 5, 50-53; Paxton, "Kinship, Communities, and Covenant Chains," 7, 13-14, 57-58, 61; Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 71, 77, 79.
[140] Memorial of Adam Vrooman, June 9, 1715, Schenectady, vol. 60, p. 3, New York Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Adam Vrooman to Robert Hunter, July 9, 1715, Schenectady, vol. 60, p. 20, New York

The relationship between the German immigrants and Mohawks in the Schoharie Valley remained a headache for Governor Hunter until the end of his tenure in 1719. William Burnet, appointed Governor of New York after Hunter, hoped the immigrants would use their connections with Mohawks to help him execute his own planned settlement scheme. The plan would also weaken the power of the Mohawks and Germans in Schoharie and facilitate the claims of Anglo colonial landowners there. Burnet authorized several parties of German immigrants living in the Schoharie to negotiate personal land sales with Mohawks in the Mohawk Valley. Some Germans elected to recapitulate their previous informal tenancy agreements or made more formal ones in the Mohawk Valley. These agreements provided Mohawks with a flow of foodstuffs as well as cash, which was becoming an increasingly important medium of exchange for Haudenosaunee people, especially as their control over fur trading continued to wane. Furthermore, the tenancies made Germans invested in Mohawks maintaining tenure over the valley.[141]

Unlike those in the Mohawk Valley, Germans immigrating to the South Carolina townships made no such connections with Native Americans through land agreements. Rather, these Germans moved into indigenous lands that various nations had largely vacated during recent years of combat. Purry noted in some of his promotional material that his namesake township along the Savannah was in the region called Greater Yamasee or Yamasee Port.[142] But

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Colony Council Papers (Collection A1894), NYSA; Otterness, "The Palatine Immigrants of 1710 and the Native Americans," 69; Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 81-82.

[141] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 94, 148; MacLeitch, "'Red' Labor," 189-191; Paxton, "Kinship, Communities, and Covenant Chains," 84; Preston, "George Klock, the Canajoharie Mohawks, and the Good Ship Sir William Johnson," 486; Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 70, 99, 103-104, 108, 204-206; Preston, "'We intend to live our lifetime together as brothers'," 186, 189.

[142] Jean Pierre Purry, "A Brief Description of the Current State of South Carolina, New Edition, with Clarifications, and Acts of concession on this subject to the author and for all who desire to join him. And finally, Instructions on necessary conditions to be met by those accompanying him to South Carolina," in *Lands of True and Certain Bounty: The Geographical Theories and Colonization Strategies of Jean Pierre Purry*, ed. Arlin C. Migliazzo, trans.

the Yamasees had abandoned their home settlements over a decade earlier after South Carolinian forces desolated several Yamasee communities along the upper Savannah River. The Yamasees moved farther away from the colony to settle amongst the Apalachees and Yuchis up the Savannah River, and to the west and south into Spanish Florida.[143]

Commerce bound German township settlers in South Carolina and the Mohawk Valley with regional indigenous populations. Trade offered both Germans and indigenous peoples a means to learn about one another and to generate trust. Both sides could see if someone knew local rules of exchanges or was willing to learn, and if they could remain calm in the face of misunderstandings and minor disputes. Breakdowns in exchange or escalation of hostility by one side might signal to the other party that an individual or group was to be avoided or monitored going forward.[144]

Some colonists in the Mohawk Valley began using the profits from their new farms to obtain blankets, ribbons, wampum, rum, and other trade goods. Johan Jost Herkimer and his eldest son Nicholas living near German Flats traded extensively with Native Americans and became major retailers of rum, securing their supplies from merchants in Albany and Schenectady. The Herkimers not only traded rum directly with Native Americans, but also supplied other colonial traders heading farther west to trade at Oswego.[145] German Flats farmer George Weaver developed an extensive trade network around the region in the decades before

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Pierrette C. Christianne-Lovrien and 'BioDun J. Ogundayo (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2002), 137.

[143] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 328, 339-340; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 116-118, 125.

[144] Groover, "Evidence for Folkways and Cultural Exchange in the 18th-Century South Carolina Backcountry," 57; Joshua Piker, "Colonists and Creeks: Rethinking the Pre-Revolutionary Southern Backcountry," *Journal of Southern History* 70, no. 3 (August 2004): 506-507, 512; Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 6.

[145] Falk, "Forts, Rum, Slaves, and the Herkimers' Rise to Power in the Mohawk Valley," 228-229; MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 88, 148; Paxton, "Kinship, Communities, and Covenant Chains," 85, 103-104, 141; Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 188.

the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Like the Herkimers, he secured his trading goods from Schenectady and Albany and traded with Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Oswegatchies, and Mohawks coming from places as far as the St. Lawrence River valley.[146]

Germans in South Carolina also became involved in the animal skin trade, which centered on deerskins. The deerskin trade, unlike the beaver pelt trade in New York, avoided a decades-long decline in volume and value. Every year around three hundred South Carolinians moved into indigenous settlements around the Southeast. Others set up trading posts and stores on the borderlands and acquired tens of thousands of deerskins and other hides to send to Charleston for export.[147] The South Carolina government's placement of the townships along key riverine and terrestrial paths meant the settlers came to reside on indigenous trade routes and established sites of exchange. Three generations of Johannes Tobler's family operated a store in New Windsor. Saxe Gotha settler Hermann Geiger's outlet serviced Indian traders going west to Cherokee towns as well as Cherokees and other Native Americans heading down the Cherokee Trading Path to Charleston.[148]

While only a small portion of the German colonists operated stores or built wide-reaching trade networks with Native Americans, there was also more informal trade conducted by a wider

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[146] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 148; Preston, "'We intend to live our lifetime together as brothers'," 181.
[147] Klaus G. Loewald, Beverly Starika, Paul S. Taylor, and Johann Martin Bolzius, "Johann Martin Bolzius Answers a Questionnaire on Carolina and Georgia: Part II," *William and Mary Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (April 1958): 232; Peter C. Mancall, Joshua L. Rosenbloom, and Thomas Weiss, "Indians and the Economy of Eighteenth-Century Carolina," in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, ed. Peter A. Coclanis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 312; McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 173; Russell Menard, "Economic and Social Development of the South," in *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, ed. Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 286-287; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 15; Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places*, 70; Jessica Yirush Stern, *The Lives in Objects: Native Americans, British Colonists, and Cultures of Labor and Exchange in the Southeast* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 51.
[148] Gregory Evans Dowd, "The Panic of 1751: The Significance of Rumors on the South Carolina-Cherokee Frontier," *William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (July 1996): 529; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 63, 68, 71, 170; Robbins and Tobler, "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina (1753)," 159n49; Stern, *The Lives in Objects*, 149-151.

segment of settlers. German mill and forge owners in the Mohawk Valley exchanged or gifted their services to indigenous peoples.[149] In the townships prior to about 1760, residents largely relied on colonoware pottery to meet their domestic needs. African and indigenous craftspeople produced the earthenware with local clays and fired the pottery at low temperatures before traveling door-to-door to sell pieces. Europeans adapted to the unfamiliar colonoware and local craftspeople began producing items with European patterns to satisfy the growing Euro-American market. There was also a robust illicit trade in horses in South Carolina. Foodstuffs were also commonly exchanged in the first half of the eighteenth century, with indigenous peoples trading deer or fowl for beans, bread, sugar, and other comestibles.[150]

While trading with Native Americans proved lucrative to many German settlers and cemented relationships between indigenous and colonizing populations, these exchanges could also strain relations. The commerce in liquor became a contentious issue in the Mohawk Valley. The Six Nations adopted alcohol into their cultural practices, viewing alcohol and the intoxication it brought drinkers as a point of connection with the spirit world. Alcohol also became part of lifecycle events like baptisms, marriages, and funerals.[151] Haudenosaunee communities also recognized that alcohol consumption, when unconstrained, generated a constellation of problems: increased violence and property destruction, material impoverishment, and clandestine, liquor-fueled land sales. New York and imperial officials also understood these

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[149] Ellsworth, "The Palatines of the Mohawk Valley," 303, 309-310; Preston, "George Klock, the Canajoharie Mohawks, and the Good Ship Sir William Johnson," 480; Preston, "'We intend to live our lifetime together as brothers'," 185.

[150] Groover, "Evidence for Folkways and Cultural Exchange in the 18th-Century South Carolina Backcountry," 50-51, 55; Kenneth E. Lewis, "The Metropolis and the Backcountry: The Making of a Colonial Landscape on the South Carolina Frontier," *Historical Archaeology* 33, no. 3 Charleston in the Context of Trans-Atlantic Culture (1999): 9; Piker, "Colonists and Creeks," 515-516, 529.

[151] Thomas Butler to William Johnson, January 6, 1757, Oneida, in *Papers of William Johnson*, vol. 2, ed. James Sullivan (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1922), 664; Peter C. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 67-69, 74-78; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 86.

concerns and, at the urging of Haudenosaunee leaders, attempted to ban the sale or adulteration of alcohol around the colony at various times and places, mostly unsuccessfully.[152]

German traders in the Mohawk Valley ignored these various regulations and complaints by their indigenous neighbors, and continued to import hundreds if not thousands of gallons of rum and other alcohol annually.[153] Several Oneida sachems complained to British Indian Department agent Thomas Butler in 1757 that German Flats traders were flooding their settlement with rum. These Oneida leaders requested that the trade in rum be limited to only three residents: Nicholas Weaver, George Weaver, and an unspecified person from the Christman family.[154]

German settlers also sought to profit from alcohol by using it to induce indigenous people to sell or sign away additional lands in the region. The tactic of encouraging Native Americans to become intoxicated and then, through charms, threats, and promises, secure their signature on a document was already a well-established colonial practice by the eighteenth century and a source of regular complaint by indigenous leaders to the New York colonial government.[155] Colonists were willing to have nearly any indigenous person sign on behalf of their village, clan, or nation

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[152] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 135; Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 85-100, 106-107, 116-117; Norton, *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York*, 180, 207; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 263-266. New York and imperial officials were not always willing to prioritize banning liquor over the profits and diplomatic advantages that came with its sale. Several New York governors insisted that Oswego continue to be a site of alcohol sales and an exception was made for Oswego in a 1755 law banning the trade in alcohol. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 107, 120-122, 124-125.

[153] Preston, "'We intend to live our lifetime together as brothers'," 181.

[154] Thomas Butler to William Johnson, January 6, 1757, Oneida, in Sullivan, *Papers of William Johnson*, 2:664; Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda to William Johnson, January 1757, Mohawks Country, in Sullivan, *Papers of William Johnson*, 2:673; Barker, *Early Families of Herkimer County New York*, 36-37.

[155] For a contemporary case of Mohawk Valley colonists using liquor to secure deeds to land in the valley, see William B. Hart, "Black 'Go-Betweens' and the Mutability of 'Race,' Status, and Identity on New York's Pre-Revolutionary Frontier," in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*, ed. Andrew R.L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 107-108. Swedish naturalist Peter Kalm observed that commerce in Albany centered on sending down timber products, foodstuffs, and items secured from trade with Native Americans and importing little else besides rum. Liquor, he believed, was a necessity for Albanians so that they could take advantage of Native Americans in the fur trade by getting them intoxicated. Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 240.

to create an instrument justifying the seizure of land. British courts would then have to consider such documents, even if the indigenous nations did not empower those individuals to permanently alienate lands. Hendrick Tejonihokarawa and other Mohawk leaders in a 1710 meeting with Governor Robert Hunter hoped "that for the future no Lands shall be Purchased from any Drunken, Idle Indians that will perhaps pretend they are great men, but let it be done in publick as this is, by all the three Races or tribes of the maquase [Mohawks] the Bear wolf and turtle."[156]

George Klock, who was a German farmer, miller, and trader near Canajoharie, acquired the rights to a long-disputed land patent that included Canajoharie itself. To strengthen his claim, Klock proceeded to use his connections with Mohawks and ample supplies of liquor to secure their affirmation of the earlier land patent. He twice tried (succeeding once) to intoxicate some of his Mohawk neighbors and lured one of them to accompany him to London to further his claims to the land before the metropolitan government. Klock's efforts, which also included threats against the Iroquois-speaking Canajoharie residents' German tenants, provoked countermeasures by both local British officials and indigenous leaders. Superintendent for Indian Affairs Sir William Johnson helped organize two suits against Klock in New York courts in the 1760s. Mohawks and other local Native Americans launched an intimidation campaign against Klock to have him relinquish his claims to their lands. They threatened Klock, beat him, and killed some of his livestock. Ultimately, Klock secured most of the acreage he had started claiming midcentury after the War of American Independence (1775-1783).[157]

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[156] "Propositions made by the Maquas Indians, owners of the Land Called Skohere and divers other Sachims of Said Nation to his Excellency Robert Hunter Capt. Gen. and Gov. in Chief," August 22, 1710, [Albany], Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1, American Indian Collection (MS 322), NYHS; Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 2-3, 103, 112-113.

[157] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 182, 233; Preston, "George Klock, the Canajoharie Mohawks, and the Good Ship Sir William Johnson," 485-487, 494, 496, 499; Paxton, "Kinship, Communities, and Covenant Chains," 217-218; Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 188.

Klock was not the only German borderland settler whose desire for additional land soured relations with neighboring indigenous peoples. For these immigrants, the overwhelming majority of whom were rural agriculturalists and viticulturalists, possessing land was a source of present and future economic security as well as social status. They made these transatlantic voyages to planned settlement sites to secure more land than they could expect to own in their home communities. These disputes over land and its resources intensified midcentury as a larger second generation of settlers came of age, and they and their parents sought for them adequate landholding to establish their own farms. The borderland settlers from the upper Rhineland and Swiss cantons sought to avoid the diminishing of holdings through partible inheritance that had previously eroded their economic and social positions.[158]

In the 1750s, Oneidas began to complain about Germans squatting on their lands near the Oneida Carry, a three-mile portage linking the Mohawk River with Wood Creek[159] and thus the Great Lakes. Perhaps the settlers hoped to follow an earlier pattern where some colonists established themselves on indigenous lands free of charge and later bought or rented the land once they had established their farm. Oneida warriors began stealing cattle and horses either to drive off the settlers or seek compensation for the settlers' livestock ruining their hunting grounds.[160] Oneidas might have been particularly sensitive about Germans living so close to the

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[158] James Van Horn Melton, "Colonial Germans and Slavery on the Eve of the American Revolution: The Case of Ebenezer," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 61 (Fall 2017): 20; Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, 1, 15-16, 38-39. Bruce R. Penner's examination of the Swiss settlers from Appenzell's land plats and testaments in New Windsor township reveals that the Swiss took out second land plats from the South Carolina government on average twenty-four years after their initial land plat and notes a spike in second patents between 1756 and 1765. Demographically, this coincides with when the original settlers' children would be adults and they might seek to retire. The immigrants continued the tradition of partible inheritances and likely the practice of providing inheritances early to heirs in exchange for the heirs providing the grantors with care during their old age. Penner, "Old World Traditions, New World Landscapes," 301-303, 312-313.

[159] This Wood Creek flows into Oneida Lake and is separated by over a hundred miles from the Wood Creek south of Lake Champlain where German migrants and Haudenosaunee warriors had served during the 1711 failed invasion of New France.

[160] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 107; Paxton, "Kinship, Communities, and Covenant Chains," 168, 170, 172, 183; Preston, "'We intend to live our lifetime together as brothers'," 186.

Oneida Carry because they relied on maintaining a monopoly on the portage to secure trade goods and wage-paying employment in a progressively monetized economy. Germans since the 1730s also sought to work there hauling boats and supplies and were willing to accept lower rates than the Oneida. Their presence threatened the Oneida's control over the portage and led them to use intimidation to drive away Germans from working around the Oneida Carry. If the Germans attempted to live around the portage year-round, it would only become more difficult for the Oneida to maintain authority over an economically critical space.[161]

Colonists' free-ranging cattle became another source of tension between the Germans and Native Americans. Native Americans resented frontier settlers allowing their cattle to wander into their fields and hunting grounds, as well as their extension of pastoralism to ever greater acreage.[162] Clashes over land and livestock were particularly acute in South Carolina where cattle rearing became a significant part of the townships' economies. Indigenous peoples killed South Carolinians' cattle for several reasons. Sometimes it was to punish the owners for allowing their livestock to damage crops or scare away wildlife. Other times Native Americans seized cattle as compensation when the colonists withheld food and hospitality that was expected as reciprocity for allowing settlers onto their lands. During wartime or raids, killing cattle became a

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[161] Meeting of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs at the House of Robert Lutteridge, June 18, 1754, Albany, in *Documentary History of the State of New York*, vol. 2, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co., 1850), 326-327; MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 97-98; MacLeitch, "'Red' Labor," 185, 192; Preston, "'We intend to live our lifetime together as brothers'," 185; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 249, 262.

[162] For discussions of commercial pastoralism's intimate connections to settler colonialism throughout the globe, see Mohammed Adhikari, "'We are Determined to Exterminate Them': The Genocidal Impetus Behind Commercial Stock Farmer Invasions of Hunter-Gatherer Territories," in *Genocide on Settler Frontiers: When Hunter-Gatherers and Commercial Stock Farmers Clash*, ed. Mohammed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2014), 1-31; Allan Greer, *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires and Land in Early Modern North America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 260-264; Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 395. For discussions of how Europeans' domesticated animals transformed eastern North American landscapes, often to the detriment of Native Americans, see Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, 2nd ed., 10th printing (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 171-187, 279-280, 290-292.

tactic to enable warriors to live off the land and deny resources to their enemies. Creeks conducted such a raid against New Windsor in 1742; and in 1751 Native American from the north, likely Haudenosaunee, targeted Saxe Gotha and Amelia residents' livestock during a campaign against the neighboring Catawbas.[163] German settlers saw these actions against livestock as thefts or property destruction, and not as recompense for the harms they or their livestock committed, nor as payment for indigenous communities to accept the borderland settlers' presence on their lands.[164]

Building an Empire by Other Means: German Immigrants as Economic and Environmental Transformers

On the eve of the Seven Years' War, German settlers' in both the Mohawk Valley and the South Carolina pine barrens had formed communities that were demographically and economically stable. Yet British civil officials and military officers expressed doubts about the military effectiveness of these planned settlements. The settlements had extended British claims into contested spaces. But officials worried whether the communities could ultimately survive in the event of a major conflict with rival European empires or with larger indigenous nations on the continent. Despite such fears, officials and fellow colonists did recognize that the German borderland settlers were effectively transforming local landscapes, as well as diversifying New York and South Carolina's economies in favor of colonial rule. Thus, German settlers did

[163] Gregory Evans Dowd, "'Insidious Friends' Gift Giving and the Cherokee-British Alliance in the Seven Years' War," in Cayton and Teute, *Contact Points*, 131, 143; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 200; Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 174-175, 184; Piker, "Colonists and Creeks," 515-516; Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 105; Ramsey, *The Yamasee War*, 114; Tortora, "Fort Congaree II," 10. The numerous savannas and cane swamps in and near the townships of Orangeburg, Amelia, Saxe Gotha, and New Windsor facilitated colonists' commercial cattle raising by providing year-round grazing for livestock. Gary S. Dunbar, "Colonial Carolina Cowpens," *Agricultural History* 35, no. 3 (July 1961): 128-129.
[164] Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier*, 160.

support the British Empire's expansion, albeit in ways usually aligned with their own economic interests.

Although Germans made up a majority of the population in the central and western portions of the Mohawk Valley by the mid-eighteenth century, New York colonial officials still believed that frontier defense rested on strong relations with the Iroquoian Six Nations. According to these officials, communities like German Flats and Stone Arabia could not bear the brunt of an attack from French and indigenous forces coming from the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River valley. Acting Governor George Clarke noted in a 1741 speech before the colonial assembly that keeping the Six Nations on good terms would help protect the colony's frontier settlements, while also securing valuable intelligence about French movements. New York officials echoed these sentiments as tensions with the French rose midcentury. Sir William Johnson, during his decades-long career as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, regularly framed the Six Nations as a defensive barrier for New York and the New England colonies, and advocated for robust assistance to the League of Nations' members to keep them satisfied.[165]

Both the Board of Trade and Governor Glen recognized the importance of maintaining close relations with indigenous nations throughout the Southeast to ensure South Carolina's security and to expand its economy through additional trade.[166] The South Carolina townships seemed able to withstand an attack by the French or Spanish alone, as Governor James Glen

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[165] "His Honour the Governor's SPEECH to the General Assembly of the Province of New-York, the 15th Day of April, 1741," *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle, For all the British Plantations in America*, vol. 1, no. 4 (April 1741): 252-253; Lord Loudoun to William Johnson, December 25, 1757, New York, in Sullivan, *The Papers of William Johnson*, 2:765-66; William Johnson to Thomas Gage, May 17, 1764, Johnson Hall, vol. 18, Thomas Gage Papers, American Series, William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan (hereafter UM), Ann Arbor, Michigan; MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 61-62.

[166] [James Glen] to Board of Trade, March 1751, South Carolina, Box 1, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, William L. Clements Library, UM; Dowd, "The Panic of 1751," 531; Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 143-144; James Glen, "Answers from James, Esq. Govr. Of South Carolina, to the Queries from the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. To His Grace the Duke of Argyll," in *Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina*, ed. Plowden Charles Jennett Weston (London, 1856), 97-98.

estimated in 1749 that the French had only six hundred soldiers scattered throughout the Mississippi Valley and the Spanish had a similar number stationed in St. Augustine. However, the township inhabitants paled in comparison to the populations of neighboring indigenous nations. In Glen's estimation, the Cherokees had 3,000 armed men and the Creeks 2,500.[167] The entirety of South Carolina a few years later had about six thousand men of militia service age between sixteen and sixty years old.[168] Moreover, Glen believed that Native Americans were better trained in firearms, better seasoned to the climate, and more familiar with regional geography than the Germans and other Europeans who had taken up residence in the townships and surrounding areas. In 1748, when the French were attempting to bring the Choctaws to their side, the Board of Trade wrote Glen that "nothing can tend more to the Welfare & Security of your Province than the Cultivating a good Understanding between His Majesty's Subjects & the neighbouring Indians."[169]

Moreover, in the case of South Carolina, there was also the matter of controlling the enslaved majority. The townships provided no solution to the quandary. Although they attracted thousands of Germans, Britons, and British colonists from other North American colonies in their first few decades, the colony's white-to-black ratio continued to decline slowly. The importation of enslaved Africans had continued largely unabated into the early 1740s, despite the tariff on enslaved people placed in the original township act and subsequent addenda. Governor Glen estimated that the colony had no more than twenty-five thousand whites compared to forty thousand blacks in 1751. Moreover, the concentration of enslaved peoples per household in

[167] Glen, "Answers from James, Esq. Govr. Of South Carolina, to the Queries from the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. To His Grace the Duke of Argyll," 94-95, 97-98.
[168] Henry Bouquet to Earl of Loudoun, August 25, 1757, Charleston, Western MSS, Additional Manuscripts 21631, BL.
[169] Board of Trade to James Glen, July 22, 1748, [London], CO 5/402, p. 164, TNA.

lowcountry parishes increased rapidly in the first half of the eighteenth century, tripling in some cases. With South Carolina's black majority, the colony remained deeply vulnerable to internal insurrections and potential collaboration between the enslaved population and invading colonial rivals.[170]

British officials recognized that while German immigrants were struggling to fulfill their defensive role for the empire, they were successfully expropriating indigenous lands and transforming them into Europeanized spaces—legally (under British law), economically, and culturally.[171] Furthermore, they were producing a variety of agricultural surpluses that enriched their home colonies, especially in South Carolina. The *South Carolina Gazette* reported in July 1735 the arrival of 250 Swiss who had come to settle in the townships, including ninety who could bear arms. Beyond serving as frontline militiamen, "their Industry and Laboriousness tend to [the colony's] great Advantage; there being in some parts of this Province very good Land for Wheat and Corn, they may probably upon proper encouragement furnish us in time with a good Quantity of that necessary and so much wanting Commodity."[172] The vast majority of the German settlers became farmers.[173] As they secured their surveyed land grants, they began to clear parts of the lands, generally covered in temperate deciduous forests. They girdled trees, removing the bark and some interior tissue to kill the tree, and burned undergrowth. They pulled

[170] [James Glen] to Board of Trade, March 1751, South Carolina, Box 1, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, William L. Clements Library, UM; McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 182; Wood, *Black Majority*, 143, 151 table 3.
[171] For agrarian and other physical transformations of the land as part of the real or envisioned dispossession and/or elimination of indigenous peoples and their claims to lands, see Greer, *Property and Dispossession*, 196-198; Veracini, "The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism," 182-183, 185, 187, 190; Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 388.
[172] *South Carolina Gazette*, July 19, 1735.
[173] The Germans' commitment to agriculture was not always shared by other borderland settlers. In New Windsor while the Swiss immigrants quickly established farms, most of their Anglophone neighbors concentrated on trading with Native Americans for animal skins. This may have been another factor in the perception of Germans as particularly competent in agriculture. Penner, "Old World Traditions, New World Landscapes," 283.

up stumps and plowed decaying roots. They built houses and outbuildings like mills, barns, and animal pens. Germans in both colonial borderlands planted a mixture of indigenous crops like maize and beans, while also cultivating wheat, rye, and barley. Similarly, they established orchards with a combination of local and non-native trees.[174]

Contemporaries believed that the German settlers were particularly adept at farming, especially in cultivating wheat. The *South Carolina Gazette* attributed the thousands of Germans and Swiss moving into Pennsylvania as bringing the province into a "flourishing condition" in the mid-1730s with nearly two hundred thousand bushels of wheat alone exported annually.[175] Swedish naturalist Peter Kalm, while visiting Albany and the eastern part of the Mohawk River valley in the late 1740s, observed that "the *Germans* live in several great villages, and sow great quantities of wheat," regularly securing yields that were twelve to twenty times greater than what they sowed in the soil. The Germans milled their grains in their home communities as well as carried some on sleighs and wagons to Albany, where it was milled and then sent down to New York City. Contemporaries considered Mohawk Valley wheat the second-best wheat on the continent, surpassed only by that grown around modern-day Esopus and Kingston on the Hudson River. Other accounts placed the German's wheat yield at twenty to thirty bushels an acre, compared to an average of around twelve bushels for much of the rest of the Atlantic coast. Kalm and New Jersey lawyer William Smith observed independently that the valley's Germans grew

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[174] Letter of Charles Woodmason, c. 1766, vol. 10, f. 256v, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace Library; John Bartram, *Diary of a Journey Through the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida: From July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766*, ed. Francis Harper (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1942), 23; Johann Martin Boltzius, "Reliable Answer to Some Submitted Questions Concerning the Land Carolina, in Which Answer, However, Regard is also Paid at the Same Time to the Condition of the Colony of Georgia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (April 1957): 238; Lewis, "The Metropolis and the Backcountry," 3; Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier*, 108; Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 174. Some German settlers in South Carolina likely also cultivated South Carolina's main staple crop, rice, especially those living in the Purrysburg township. The township developed a reputation of producing high quality rice. Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier*, 167n76.

[175] *South Carolina Gazette*, July 26, 1735.

prodigious amounts of peas in addition to their high-quality wheat.[176] Germans in the South Carolina townships, owing to the sandiness and acidity of the local soil, could not match the productivity of their counterparts along the Mohawk River. Yet, they were still seen as the colony's leading wheat producers and the key force in helping the colony feed itself.[177]

This belief in German colonists' aptitude for farming was likely tied to a mixture of stereotypes, local environmental conditions, and alternative farming practices. Eighteenth-century observers of German farmers in North America described the agriculturalists as exceptionally industrious as well as frugal.[178] These attributes emerged out of many of the immigrants' previous experiences as smallholders who were no longer able to sustain their families by their lands alone. These limitations led them to learn trades, like shoemaking, carpentry, and weaving, to supplement their agrarian output, as well as to engage in diversified farming and intensive land cultivation to maximize self-sufficiency. These strategies proved particularly effective in establishing and maintaining farms in borderlands where labor, particularly skilled labor, and established infrastructure were in short supply.[179]

German farmers throughout North America appeared to practice agrarian techniques different from other Euro-American farmers. Germans relied on horses rather than oxen for

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[176] Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 245-246; Smith, *A Tour of Four Great Rivers*, 27; McGregor, "Cultural Adaptation in Colonial New York," 17-18; Preston, *Texture of Contact*, 66. Eighteenth-century farmers in the British Isles and what would become Germany harvested wheat yields of six to ten times what they sowed. Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, trans. and rev. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), 121-124.

[177] George Milligen Johnston, *A Short Description of the Province of South-Carolina, with an Account of the Air, Weather, and Diseases, at Charles-Town. Written in the Year 1763* (London, 1770), 28; Glen, "A Description of South Carolina," 45.

[178] William Johnson to the Society for the Promotion of the Arts [Mr. Smith and Mr. Rutherfoord], February 27, 1765, Johnson Hall, in *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, vol. 4, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen, 1851), 221-222; Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania by Benjamin Rush, M.D. with an Introduction and Annotations*, eds. I.D. Rupp and Theodore E. Schmauk (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1910), 54, 62-64.

[179] Kollmorgen, "The Pennsylvania German Farmer," 33-34; Melton, "Colonial Germans and Slavery on the Eve of the American Revolution, 19-21; Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, 15, 20-21, 38-39, 49, 52-53, 55-56, 62, 64.

plowing and other labor-intensive farming activities, despite the greater expense of acquiring and maintaining horses. Pastor Boltzius argued that his Salzburger and other German-speaking neighbors in Georgia believed that the southern summers were too hot for oxen to work well in. Germans regularly planted peas and often intensively manured their fallow meadowlands to as means to restore their fertility in preparation for future cereal cultivation.[180] Pennsylvania physician Benjamin Rush noted that German women and girls engaged in a variety of field work that British and American women did not do.[181] Congregationalist minister and President of Yale University, Timothy Dwight, declared at the turn of the nineteenth century: "I do not know, that I was ever more struck with the strangeness of any sight," than when he saw ten women of German extraction in the western Mohawk Valley dressing flax.[182] But perhaps the most important factor in the actual and perceived success of the Germans farming in the planned borderland settlements, especially in the Mohawk River valley, was the natural fertility of the soil along the rivers where they resided.[183]

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[180] Boltzius, "Reliable Answer to Some Submitted Questions Concerning the Land Carolina," 238, 240; Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 246; Anderson, "The European Phase of John Ulrich Giessendanner's Life," 136; Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 28, 31; Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, 29. Oxen did become increasingly popular for farm work in the southwest portion of the Holy Roman Empire over the course of the eighteenth century as new fodder crops and the adoption of stall feeding enabled farmers to sustain the larger, but also more powerful animals. Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, 21-22, 54.

[181] Boltzius, "Reliable Answer to Some Submitted Questions Concerning the Land Carolina," 240, 251; Kollmorgen, "The Pennsylvania German Farmer," 36, 38; McGregor, "Cultural Adaptation in Colonial New York," 18, 31; Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*, 66; Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, 158-160; Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, 148-150. British and other European observers experienced similar shock and concern regarding Eastern Woodland Indian women's agrarian labor, viewing it as anomalous. MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 6.

[182] Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York*, vol. 3 (London: William Baynes and Son, and Ogle, Duncan, & Co., 1823), 192. Dwight was not alone in his astonishment at German women engaged in fieldwork in the nineteenth century. Other bourgeois American observers, especially from the North, like Frederick Law Olmstead also marveled at the strenuous labor free and enslaved women performed in agrarian households, including fieldwork in the South. Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era*, 37; Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, & the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 72-74, 78-84.

[183] Smith, *A Tour of Four Great Rivers*, 24, 33; Lyttle, "Nicholas Herkimer," 24; McGregor, "Cultural Adaptation in Colonial New York," 16.

Alongside their intensive cereal cultivation, Germans in both the Mohawk River valley and the South Carolina pine belt also engaged in pastoral and forestry pursuits. While Germans never pursued the production of naval stores after the initial attempt along the Hudson River, several who held enough forested land shipped timber and lumber to New York City and Charleston.[184] In South Carolina, German colonists often focused their energies on raising large herds of livestock. It was common for township households to own at least five to ten heads of cattle, largely for personal use or for reserve capital. About a tenth of the region's families engaged in animal husbandry as a significant commercial venture with stocks of over one hundred head and multiple cowpens. The large-scale pastoralists in the townships south of the Edisto River were German-speaking Swiss, like Christian Minnick of Orangeburg and Hermann Geiger of Saxe Gotha. These Swiss came from in or near alpine or subalpine areas where dairy and beef cattle had come to dominate the local rural economies in the eighteenth century.[185]

German settlers' multifaceted economic endeavors in New York and South Carolina diversified the two colonies' economies. The growth of farming in the Mohawk Valley helped offset New York's stagnating and eventually declining exports of pelts starting in the 1730s. By the 1740s grain and timber exports superseded furs in total value. The increasing flow of grains and other foodstuffs down to New York City enabled the colony to become a growing player in the provisioning trade to the West Indies.[186] When the German migrants began arriving in South

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[184] Falk, "Forts, Rum, Slaves, and the Herkimers' Rise to Power in the Mohawk Valley," 228-229; Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 240.

[185] John Casparis. "The Swiss Mercenary System: Labor Emigration from the Semiperiphery," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 5, no. 4 (Spring 1982): 602, 612; Dowd, "The Panic of 1751," 529, 529n5; Klein, *Unifications of a Slave State*, 17 table 1; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 48, 63, 149, 158; Penner, "Old World Traditions, New World Landscapes," 274; Robbins and Tobler, "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina (1753)," 155, 155n44; Salley, *The History of Orangeburg County*, 70-71.

[186] David Galenson, "The Settlement and Growth of the Colonies: Population, Labor, and Economic Development," in Engerman and Gallman, *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, 176, 200; MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements* book, 91, 195; Cathy Matson, *Merchants & Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998) 222, 227, 237-238; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 3, 270.

Carolina in the 1730s, the colony's economy was deeply dependent on the exportation of rice. Rice planting had pushed naval stores, foodstuffs, and wood production out of the lowcountry in the 1720s and 1730s.[187] Local officials and colonists hoped the new arrivals would diversify South Carolina's economy. To encourage such diversification, the colonial legislature approved bounties for inland colonists who sold hemp, silk, wine, flax, indigo, and wheat flour in Charleston.

The collapse in rice prices in the 1740s underscored the colony's economic vulnerability. Rice production surged in the 1720s, and exports of rice doubled by weight during the 1730s. A bust followed this boom in the 1740s. In 1739 and 1740 yellow fever, the Stono Rebellion, and a massive fire in Charleston that destroyed three hundred houses and warehouses full of rice, deerskins, brazilwood, and other exports created immediate shocks in the colony's economy.[188] Also, cheaper, poorer quality rice from Anatolia entered European cities and took over the lower end of the markets. The War of the Austrian Succession disrupted rice exports from South Carolina to the Dutch and German markets and raised insurance prices and shipping costs. The French government also limited wartime imports of rice from British sources. The price of rice tumbled by half within the first years of the 1740s and its nadir would be a fifth of its pre-slump price. In response to the collapsing market, South Carolina's rice production declined to almost 1720s levels.[189]

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[187] Menard, "Economic and Social Development of the South," 276.
[188] "Reprint of a letter describing a fire in Charles Town," November 18, 1740, Folder 1, James Glen Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; Menard, "Economic and Social Development of the South," 280.
[189] *South Carolina Gazette*, July 9, 1741; *South Carolina Gazette*, March 29, 1746; Glen, "A Description of South Carolina," 16, 96, 98-99; Peter A. Coclanis, "Distant Thunder: The Creation of a World Market in Rice and the Transformation It Wrought," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 4 (October 1993): 1053; Menard, "Economic and Social Development of the South," 280-281; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 6, 28-29, 46; R.C. Nash, "South Carolina and the Atlantic Economy in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Economic History Review* 45, no. 4 (November 1992): 680 table 1; McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 184.

As the rice market rebounded in the late 1740s and into the 1750s, the growing supply of foodstuffs and other crops produced in the townships enhanced the South Carolina economy in several ways. With thousands more acres under plows and hoes growing wheat in the townships, South Carolina grew closer to self-sufficiency in feeding itself and plantation owners further intensified their cultivation of rice and indigo for export. Charleston and Port Royal merchants channeled the growing surplus of flour, beans, and meat to the West Indies. By the early 1760s wheat was the second most valuable export produced in the colony's interior.[190] Beyond foodstuffs, Germans and enslaved workers in the townships also grew indigo and hemp for export, and collected the colony's bounty on the crops.[191]

The German settlers helped make European colonists' diets closer to what they had been back in Europe. By producing European-style agricultural and pastoralist products, they increasingly eliminated the lands' connections to earlier Native American occupants and Europeans' reliance on indigenous populations for foodstuffs.[192] The first Swiss immigrants to Purrysburg in the early 1730s set themselves to making cheese and butter, which one Purrysburger claimed had not been previously produced within South Carolina. The growing availability of locally-produced wheat flour enabled a growing number of white South

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190 [James Glen] to Board of Trade, March 1751, South Carolina, Box 1, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, William L. Clements Library, UM; Boltzius, "Reliable Answer to Some Submitted Questions Concerning the Land Carolina," 249; Johann Wilhelm Gerard de Brahm, "Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography Of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida," in Weston, *Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina*, 166-167; Glen, "A Description of South Carolina," 44-45; Conway, "Continental European Involvement in the Eighteenth-Century British Empire," 139; Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina*, 258-259; Lewis, "The Metropolis and the Backcountry," 9; Loewald, Starika, Taylor, and Bolzius, "Johann Martin Bolzius Answers a Questionnaire on Carolina and Georgia: Part II," 232; Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 18; Mancall, Rosenbloom, and Weiss, "Indians and the Economy of Eighteenth-Century Carolina," 317n4; McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 183-185.

191 de Brahm, "Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography Of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida," 166-167; Conway, "Continental European Involvement in the Eighteenth-Century British Empire," 139; Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 28; Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina*, 46, 167.

192 For settler colonialism's elimination of spaces and practices of cultural hybridity and the ambiguity of indigenous-European/Euro-American contact, see Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*, 2-4; Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 388-389.

Carolinians to include wheat bread in their diet, a staple that had been denied to many of them since the colony's founding. The ability to eat wheat bread signaled to many colonists a return to a more healthful diet away from maize, which was considered a humoral heating food that ruined digestion and encouraged fevers. The spread of wheat bread to tables around the colony also symbolized the Europeanization of life within the colony alongside the townships' more traditional farmsteads.[193]

Rising tensions between the British and French in North America and the subsequent Seven Years' War triggered new rounds of negotiations between German borderland settlers and the British imperial state. British officials sought to channel the immigrants and their progenies' produce, equipment, and labor towards the war effort. The settlers saw opportunities and threats in these new demands. As in their initial process of migration and settlement, the Germans embraced changes to enrich themselves directly as suppliers, teamsters, contractors, and boatmen. Yet, they were largely apathetic or defiant to military service and the commandeering of their property.

Despite the settlers' often mixed feelings towards further intertwining their lives with the British imperial project and the varied forms of service demanded of them, many of these settlers provided critical labor and support to the British cause in the struggle for control over the eastern lands of North America.[194] They built forts in the interior and around their settlements that

[193] Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina*, 69-70, 168-169; R.W. Kelsey, "Swiss Settlers in South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 23, no. 3 (July 1922): 87.

[194] Gail D. MacLeitch sees a parallel dynamic during the Seven Years' War between Six Nations and the British Empire wherein the British placed new expectations on the Haudenosaunee and new opportunities emerged for Haudenosaunee through the conflict with France. MacLeitch sees Haudenosaunee participating in the expansion of the territorial British Empire through their labor and resources. But whereas the German settlers would come to enjoy access to the expanded empire after the Seven Years' War, much of the land European and Euro-American

strengthened British relations with indigenous nations (albeit temporarily) and prevented the further penetration of enemy forces into their home colonies. The Germans' foodstuffs kept British and provincial soldiers and sailors comparatively well-fed as they campaigned in the Appalachian Mountains and New France.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, what German borderland settlers did for the empire's benefit was often not what the initial imperial plans envisioned. The settlers lacked the numbers, the training, the fortifications, the supplies of arms, and the desire to serve effectively as a viable, independent first line of defense for British North America. Rather, the migrants proved more effective and interested in agrarian and other economic pursuits that enriched themselves, their home colonies, and the wider empire.

Contact and connections with indigenous peoples and Africans and their progeny also intimately shaped the German immigrants' settlement experiences. The new arrivals from Central Europe sometimes expressed a greater willingness than their Anglophone neighbors to view indigenous peoples and people of African descent as spiritual and social equals. Especially with Native Americans in the Mohawk Valley, the German settlers developed deep social, economic, and religious connections. Yet, the migrants' desires for economic security and social stability also frequently led them to accept and participate in the preservation and expansion of chattel slavery, as well as the dispossession of indigenous peoples from their lands. The migrants sought the backing of British laws and force of arms to these claims of land and labor. Thus, the Germans' economic advancements in these borderland regions came at a tremendous cost to Native Americans and peoples of African descent.

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claimed after the war belonged to Haudenosaunee communities, whose influence slipped as the British became the dominant polity in eastern North America. MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements*, 2, 9-11, 71.

All the settlement schemes discussed in this chapter were on lands that indigenous peoples had claimed and used as their own. Campaigns of violence and intimidation drove indigenous peoples from the lands where surveyors and South Carolina officials laid out the townships. In New York, the German colonists moved onto lands that Mohawks and other local indigenous peoples sold or gifted to British officials and individual colonists in the hopes of cultivating better relations and checking further intrusions onto their remaining lands.

The migrants also benefitted greatly from the presence and continuation of chattel slavery, and their growing townships in South Carolina played a part in spurring the institution's expansion and intensification. Tariffs on imported enslaved Africans to South Carolina funded the new arrivals' land surveys and a raft of material support that enabled them to establish farmsteads. German settlers' surplus foodstuffs found ready markets in the South Carolina lowcountry and the Caribbean, and enabled plantation owners to further expand their enslaved labor forces and set them to the frequently hazardous tasks required to produce staple crops. The migrants' presence on key travel routes also made it more difficult for enslaved peoples to escape beyond the bounds of the British Empire.

Whatever interconnections and spirit of shared humanity that the Germans felt for their new non-European neighbors frequently fell by the wayside, sometimes shockingly rapidly, when immigrants sought to secure their economic futures. Whether in attempting to seize additional land from indigenous peoples, or acquiring enslaved blacks to work their lands, German immigrants could become as ruthless as any other colonists.

The Germans in state-planned borderland settlements aided the empire's expansion in North America, frequently on their own terms as they leveraged British officials' desperation for labor and the skills they associated with Central Europeans. In participating in the establishment

and consolidation of British borderland settlements and in pursuing their own economic interests, the migrants further entrenched Atlantic slavery and further dispossessed Native Americans.

Chapter Five: Making Merchants Out of Migrants in Colonial Philadelphia

For eighteenth-century Britons, commerce was at the very heart of their imperial endeavors. Overseas commerce produced the wealth to create an enriched and "polite" society on an archipelago with limited population and resources, as well as the means to fund, protect, and justify a global empire. Over the eighteenth century, customs revenues became a growing source of the British state's income that financed conflicts with various European powers, increasingly in colonial theaters of war around the world.[1] Oversea commerce trained sailors and spurred shipwrights, creating an infrastructure through which the British state could send out large fleets to protect its interests. The British Navy's growing strength promoted British trade by protecting it.

By framing their empire as a maritime and commercial entity, Britons attempted to reconcile their growing global power with the preservation of their cherished liberty. Machiavelli and other early modern political theorists framed expansionary empires as threats to liberty as they relied on standing armies and more centralized administrations that a dictator or oligarchy could control. This increasingly shared ideology of a commercial and maritime British Empire supposedly helped generate a common culture and identity that could reach and unite Britons

[1] Malachy Postlethwayt, *The Merchant's Public Counting-House: Or, New Mercantile Institution: Wherein is Shewn, the Necessity of Young Merchants Being Bred to Trade with Greater Advantages than They Usually Are. With a Practicable Plan for That Purpose. Also Some Remarks on the Benefit of this Institution to the Young Nobility and Gentry, and Such Who are Intended for the Study of the Law. By Malachy Postlethwayt, Esq; The Plan to be Carried into Execution by Him and Company. The Second Edition, with a Supplement. Addressed to All Gentlemen, Who Intend to Bring Their Sons up Merchants* (London, 1751), 66-67; T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and The Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 301-306; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 91-95, 98-100, 211-217; Lawrence E. Klein, "Liberty, Manners and Politeness in Early Eighteenth-Century England," *Historical Journal* 32, no. 3 (September 1989): 583-605; Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 88-90, 107, 256; Jane T. Merritt, "Tea Trade, Consumption, and the Republican Paradox in Prerevolutionary Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 128, no. 2 (April 2004): 120; Chris Nierstrasz, *In the Shadow of the Company: The Dutch East India Company and its Servants in the Period of its Decline (1740-1796)* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 16.

living across the oceans. A growing awareness of the commercial sector as a source of employment and material well-being also spurred Britons to actively support imperial and commercial expansion.[2]

North America was a critical site for empire and trade. The continent offered access to a variety of goods, from furs to flour, from timber to tobacco, desired by European producers and consumers. As the British North American population dramatically grew in size and wealth during the eighteenth century, the colonies became an emerging market for British manufactured goods and re-exported products from continental Europe. Thanks to the Navigation Acts, North America was also a largely closed market to be enjoyed exclusively by British merchants and manufacturers. These factors led to a shift in British trade away from continental Europe and towards the North American colonies, with British trade to continental Europe dropping from ninety percent of English-made exports in 1700 to just thirty percent a century later.[3]

The merchant became a distinct figure within the eighteenth-century British Empire. To create this empire of commerce, there had to be people who risked their own capital to acquire and move goods in sizable quantities into markets where they were in demand in the hopes of securing higher prices and profits. Scottish economic writer, Malachy Postlethwayt, claiming to quote Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon, declared merchants and traders to be "IN A STATE, WHAT THE BLOOD IS TO A BODY" in his 1751 work *The Merchant's Public Counting*

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[2] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 125-145, 160-212; H.V. Bowen, *Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 295; Patrick K. O'Brien, "Inseparable Connections: Trade, Economy, Fiscal State, and the Expansion of Empire, 1688-1815," in *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall, The Oxford History of the British Empire 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 76; Jacob M. Price," The Imperial Economy, 1700," in Marshall, *The Eighteenth Century*, 79; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 38-39, 154, 157-160, 251.

[3] Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 279-325; Sheryllynne Haggerty, *British-Atlantic Trading Community, 1760-1810: Men, Women, and the Distribution of Goods* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 20-21; O'Brien, "Inseparable Connections," 54.

House; or, New Mercantile Institutions.[4] The term merchant became increasingly reserved for those who could trade goods internationally and sell in wholesale quantities to distinguish them from the tens of thousands of others who engaged themselves in the trade and distribution of goods in more limited markets. This social group, almost exclusively men, helped organize the empire through their movement of goods, labor, information, and credit.[5]

Despite the restrictions on foreigners trading within the British Empire enacted by the seventeenth-century Navigation Acts, some of the eighteenth-century merchants operating within the empire came from outside its bounds. While the naturalization process could be long and expensive, for the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, Parliament was willing to approve those who could fund such an effort. After 1740 a general naturalization process opened up for non-British colonists who had lived continuously within British North American colonies for seven years and met certain religious requirements. German-speaking merchants found themselves attracted to Britain, particularly London, and the trade opportunities available there. German-speaking naturalized British merchants and their relatives exported British-made and British colonial goods into German-speaking Central European markets. These metropolitan immigrant merchants were also adept at managing Great Britain's mid-eighteenth-century trade with Russia, as many of them originated in the Russian Empire's German communities in Russian and Baltic cities.[6]

A German-speaking merchant community emerged in eighteenth-century British North America's largest city and busiest port, Philadelphia, as part of the larger migration of Germans

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[4] Postlethwayt, *The Merchant's Public Counting-House*, 67.
[5] Haggerty, *British-Atlantic Trading Community*, 24, 35-42, 74-75; David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. 9-10.
[6] Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority: German Merchants in London, Naturalization, and Global Trade, 1660-1815*, trans. Cynthia Klohr (New York: Berghahn, 2015), 2, 24, 35-36, 129-169, 249, 251.

to Pennsylvania and other Mid-Atlantic colonies.[7] Unlike other German merchant communities trading within imperial trade networks in cities like Cadiz, Bordeaux, and London, these Germans resided within a colonial market and did not come from established counting houses or kinship networks of manufacturers and merchants. Rather, the community arose largely from a segment of the immigrant population in Philadelphia whose prosperity as artisans and publicans enabled them to invest some of their resources in long-distance trade and eventually become established merchants.[8]

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[7] This chapter defines the German-speaking merchant community as those people who engaged in multiple ventures of intracolonial and international trade either directly or as brokers and who sold significant portions of their goods in wholesale quantities to other merchants. To be considered German, there had to be evidence of their self-identification as German, using the German language in their homes or businesses, and/or participating in German-language religious or civic institutions. Thus, this examination includes only a few Quaker merchants and no Jewish merchants, even when the merchants themselves or their ancestors came from German-speaking Central European states. For example, Caspar Wistar is included in the study while Benjamin Shoemaker is not. While both were Quakers, much of Wistar's business was conducted in German with both German-speaking customers and business relations in the Rhine and Neckar River valleys as well as the Mid-Atlantic colonies. In contrast, Shoemaker, like most German Quakers who emigrated to Pennsylvania or who joined the Society of Friends by the early eighteenth century, quickly anglicized. They often changed their names (the Shoemakers were originally Schumachers and Schoonmackers upon their arrival in Pennsylvania), attended the English-language meetings, and married with Quaker families from the British Isles. Benjamin Shoemaker and his son Samuel Shoemaker were also not active in the German civic organization, the German Society of Pennsylvania (founded in 1764). Similarly, Jewish merchants, like Barnard and Michael Gratz who emigrated from Silesia and became merchants in Philadelphia interacted with the German-speaking merchant community, generally to buy and sell goods from each other. Yet, the heart of their social and commercial efforts was within the Jewish community of Philadelphia and beyond. The brothers became active members in Philadelphia's new Mikveh Israel congregation. Much of their trade was with other Jewish merchants residing in North American and Caribbean colonies and London. Rosalind J. Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650-1750* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 5; John W. Jordan, ed. *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, vol. 1 (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 435, 445-447; Stephanie Grauman Wolf, "Hyphenated America: The Creation of an Eighteenth-Century German-American Culture," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, vol. 1, *Immigration, Language, Ethnicity*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 69-70; Toni Pitock, "Commerce and Community: Philadelphia's Early Jewish Settlers, 1736-76," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 140, no. 3 (October 2016): 289-290; Toni Pitock, "Michael Gratz," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 1, *From the Colonial Economy to Early Industrialization, 1720-1840*, ed. Marianne S. Wokeck (German Historical Institute, last modified February 10, 2015) http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=212; Benjamin Schwantes, "Trade, Family, and Religion: Forging Networks in the German Atlantic World," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 1, *From the Colonial Economy to Early Industrialization, 1720-1840*, ed. Marianne S. Wokeck (German Historical Institute, last modified December 21, 2015) http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=262.

[8] Klaus Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel, 1680-1830: Unternehmen und Familien in Hamburg, Cádiz und Bordeaux* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2004).

These merchants, like Anglophone and German-speaking merchants operating in the metropole, played a critical role in integrating the colonial markets and colonists with the larger imperial economy through the flow of goods and credit. As German-speaking peoples, their business and civic engagement broke through the linguistic and cultural barriers faced by the large populations of German immigrants in the region and drew them into the British commercial empire, its governing institutions, and its culture. For many Britons on both sides of the Atlantic, the potential cultural, economic, and political isolation of German migrants was no idle concern, but a threat to the colonies' safety and stability. If left unintegrated, officials, clergy, and others feared that German immigrants might become or remain loyal to a foreign European power, or promote authoritarian governance to the detriment of the fundamental rights of Britons. Where British state and top-down programs of acculturation largely failed, German merchants helped integrate German-speaking colonists into the colonial economy and society.

German-speaking merchants first integrated themselves within the colonial and transatlantic British society through naturalization. As they established themselves in trade they used the British courts, formed trade connections with British merchant firms around the Atlantic Ocean, and participated in electoral politics. Through their overseas trade networks, largely indistinguishable from their Anglophone competitors, they altered their fellow immigrants' consumer patterns to align more with British tastes. By linking German colonial consumers with lines of credit from the metropole and introducing a variety of goods and the cultural customs around new products, German merchants generated subtle linkages between the German settlers and the surrounding imperial culture. Beyond the sale of goods, as the merchants became active in colonial society and politics they also encouraged their fellow immigrants to join them in civil society. Philadelphia merchants played critical roles in establishing and operating the German

Society of Pennsylvania during the colonial era. This organization sought to protect recently arrived German immigrants and help integrate them into the new society and economy. The institution introduced new arrivals to their privileges and protections as residents and potential subjects of the British Empire.

German-speaking immigrants' growing economic interests and political influence placed them at the heart of the growing debates straining the British Empire. In the wake of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and the application of imperial reforms from Parliament, the German-speaking merchant community in Philadelphia emerged as some of the city's most vocal opponents to these reforms. Increased taxes on consumer goods and official papers through the Stamp Act and Townshend Acts not only threatened the profitability of their ventures, but seemingly challenged their hard-earned rights as naturalized British subjects. Furthermore, they lacked the familial, religious, and political connections that gave pause to their British Quaker and Anglican counterparts contemplating public criticism or resistance to Parliament. Thus, in tandem with their commercial operations and civic engagement within and beyond Pennsylvania that brought German immigrants into the British Empire's economic, political, and cultural orbit, German merchants pushed back against greater metropolitan control over the empire.

As the debates continued into the 1770s, many of Philadelphia's German merchants joined patriot organizations. When war finally broke out between the colonies and the British state, the merchants devoted their time and treasure toward the cause of American independence. Thus, what had once been a community of non-British immigrants successfully integrating themselves into the new British imperial world, eventually became an influential node of resisters, and later independence seekers, who helped tear apart the British Empire that previously they helped weave together.

The Potential and the Problems of German Migration to Pennsylvania Colony

Pennsylvania became the epicenter of the largest eighteenth-century migration of German-speaking peoples outside of Europe, thanks, in part, to colonial proprietor William Penn's established connections to Central Europe, his active recruiting of its denizens, and the colony's developing reputation in continental Europe as a site of religious toleration, comparatively high wages, and cheap land. Penn made three trips to the Low Countries and Rhineland in the 1670s along with Rotterdam-based English Quaker merchant, Benjamin Furly, and George Keith. The three missionized as well as met with Labadist and Mennonite leaders in these regions.[9] Following Pennsylvania's chartering in 1681, Penn, with Furly's aid, tapped these earlier connections and circulated German translations of his promotional tracts and statement on liberty of conscience in Pennsylvania to recruit German-speaking investors and immigrants for his colony. Penn made additional trips to the Rhineland in 1684 and 1686 in order to further promote migration to the newly founded colony.[10] The arrival of German immigrants would not only fulfill Pennsylvania's promise as a tolerant sanctuary, but also create a populous and

[9] Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 60-61; Johannes Herbergs, *Brave New World: Rhinelanders Conquer America*, ed. Dieter Pesch (Nümbrecht: Martina Galunder-Verlag, 2001), 12-13; Marianne S. Wokeck, "German Immigration to Colonial America: Prototype of a Transatlantic Mass Migration," in Trommler and McVeigh, *America and the Germans*, 1:3, 6; Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 58.
[10] Rosalind J. Beiler, "Bridging the Gap: Cultural Mediators and the Structure of Transatlantic Communication," in *Atlantic Communications: The Media in American and German History from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Norbert Finzsch and Ursula Lehmkuhl (New York: Berg, 2004), 45, 48, 54; Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 72-73; Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times* (1901; repr., New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), 22-23; Herbergs, *Brave New World*, 12-13; Joseph J. Kelley, *Life and Times in Colonial Philadelphia* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole, 1973), 30; Ingrid Schöberl, "Daniel Pastorius and the Foundation of Germantown," trans. Robert W. Culverhouse in *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration, 1683 to 1983*, ed. Günter Moltmann (Stuttgart: Eugen Heinz Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 1982), 17; Wokeck, "German Immigration to Colonial America," 4; Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The Fatherland: (1450-1700) Showing the Part it Bore in the Discovery, Exploration and Development of the Western Continent, with Special Reference to The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania German Society, 1897), 127-130.

economically viable colony on lands acquired from indigenous peoples that could enrich Penn and his family through land sales and quitrent payments.[11]

Penn and Furly's work prompted Central Europeans to become early investors in Pennsylvania lands. Two companies formed in Frankfurt and Krefeld to organize the collective purchase of land and the sending of colonists to make the tracts profitable for the investors. The Frankfurt Land Company sent over a thirty-year-old Franconian lawyer and tutor named Franz Daniel Pastorius to serve as their agent in Pennsylvania. Pastorius arranged for the settlement of the first party of German-speaking migrants in the colony. The party arrived in Philadelphia on October 6, 1683 and founded Germantown later that month.[12]

Correspondence and returning migrants to Central Europe reinforced Penn's promotional framing of Pennsylvania as a fertile and peaceable land and spurred further interest in the colony. Philadelphia became and remained the dominant port of entry in North America for Germans into the early nineteenth century.[13] Most German-speaking migrants would not remain in Philadelphia, but rather fanned out across Pennsylvania. Later, with the development of the Great Wagon Road, these immigrants spread across a wide band of lands stretching from present-day southwest New Jersey through eastern Pennsylvania, western Maryland, the Shenandoah Valley, and piedmont North Carolina. In Pennsylvania, German migration early in the eighteenth century was concentrated in the colony's southeast corner near Philadelphia in present-day Montgomery

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[11] Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British America: An Introduction* (New York: Knopf, 1986), 66-69; Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 135-137.
[12] Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times*, 24; Charles H. Glatfelter, *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Brief Account of their Influence on Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania History Studies 20 (University Park: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1990), 3; Herbergs, *Brave New World*, 12-13; Schöberl, "Daniel Pastorius and the Foundation of Germantown," 18.
[13] Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 60-61; Wokeck, "German Immigration to Colonial America," 6; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 58.

(in the colonial era a northwestern section of Philadelphia County) and Lancaster counties. A much smaller number settled in Chester, Delaware, and Bucks counties.[14]

After the 1720s, with much of the land surrounding Philadelphia already settled by European colonists, German-speaking arrivals looking for farmland traveled north into the Blue Mountains or west of the Susquehanna River. They bought land the colony recently acquired or claimed from indigenous peoples or squatted beyond the colony's claimed boundaries.[15] Wherever they went, German immigrants tended to settle in the same town or county as their Central European neighbors, family, and friends, or where there was already a sizable German population. In Philadelphia, Germans clustered more than the city's other ethnic populations, concentrating in the city's northwest and, to a lesser extent, in the Northern Liberties. This clustering eased life for new arrivals from the continent who did not speak English and stimulated the creation and persistence of German-language businesses. The city's German merchants, however, tended to operate predominantly along or immediately adjacent to Market Street, the city's main commercial thoroughfare.[16]

Early German settlers in Pennsylvania were often members of small religious groups—Quakers, Mennonites, Baptist Brethren—who faced state-sponsored and popular religious persecution in Europe. By the late 1720s, the bulk of German transatlantic migration shifted from the lower Rhineland to migrants from the upper Rhineland, German-speaking Swiss cantons,

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[14] Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times*, 114-115; Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 8.
[15] Glatfelter, *The Pennsylvania Germans*, 8-9; Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), 10.
[16] Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 74-76, 86; Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793*, vol. 2, *The History* (Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society, 1981), 185; Glatfelter, *The Pennsylvania Germans*, 21-22; Grauman Wolf, "Hyphenated America," 69, 71; James L. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 15; Billy G. Smith and Paul Sivitz, "Identifying and Mapping Ethnicity in Philadelphia in the Early Republic," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 140, no. 3 (October 2016): 402-403.

Alsace, and the Neckar and Main River valleys. Furthermore, these migrants were largely driven by economic motivations, viewing emigration to Pennsylvania as a means of leaving behind shrinking landholdings, rising fiscal and labor obligations to states, and wartime devastation.[17]

The Rhine River offered these people a comparatively fast and inexpensive route to the Atlantic, and Rotterdam at its mouth became the embarkation point and center of a specialized transportation industry that emerged in the 1730s.[18] Merchants in Rotterdam, London, and Philadelphia coordinated the movements of capital, ships, and human freight back and forth across the Atlantic. Businesses in this passenger trade offered passage on credit. In exchange the merchant(s) or ship's master was empowered to collect a sum, equal to the money advanced, from the passenger's friends, family, or new employer in North America. If the passenger's debt was not "redeemed" within an agreed-to period of time, the merchant or their agent could then auction the passenger or their family members into indentured servitude to pay off the debt. This "redemptioner system" expanded the flow of Central Europeans to the Mid-Atlantic colonies, which reached an eighteenth-century apex between 1737 and 1754 when approximately fifty-five thousand German-speaking immigrants arrived, with over twenty-five thousand coming over just between 1749 and 1754.[19] Almost all of colonial Philadelphia's German merchants arrived as

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[17] Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 24-25, 27, 35, 46-47; Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America*, 8; Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis," *Historical Journal* 35, No. 2 (June 1992): 432; Sheilagh Ogilvie, *State Corporatism and Proto-Industry: The Württemberg Black Forest, 1580-1797* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 38-41; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 36-38; David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 15-16, 27-28, 39-40, 42-44; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 48.

[18] Throughout the colonial era, Rotterdam remained the dominant port for the transportation of continental Europeans to North America. Between 1727 and 1775 the port saw 255 voyages of for-profit, migrant-filled vessels compared with thirty-one from London, twelve from Amsterdam, ten from Lisbon, and nine from Hamburg. Besides its geographic advantage of being located near the mouth of the Rhine River, the city had a head start in the transportation of migrants. Benjamin Furly, Penn's agent in continental Europe, resided in the city and from it he oversaw many of the initial waves of German migration to Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America*, 23; Wokeck, "German Immigration to Colonial America," 4.

[19] Andreas Brinck, *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 25-30; Georg Fertig, "Transatlantic Migration from the

part of the mid-eighteenth-century wave of economic migrants. Several of them later became involved in the transportation of their co-linguists and lobbied the Pennsylvania colonial government to better regulate the system.

The Penn family, the British metropolitan government, and land speculators supported Pennsylvania's surging Central European population for economic and geopolitical reasons. These parties believed the migrants would help solidify the colony's tenuous claims to interior lands, including Lenni Lenapi's homelands in present-day eastern Pennsylvania acquired in the 1737 Walking Purchase. Pennsylvania officials conducted negotiations not with the Lenni Lenape, but with the Iroquois League of Nations, who claimed to be the Lenni Lenape's overlords. An increased European and Euro-American presence in the contested lands provided the colony with additional leverage in later rounds of negotiations with the Lenni Lenape and other indigenous nations. The Board of Trade also hoped the migrants would help continue Pennsylvania's development as a breadbasket for the British Atlantic. Furthermore, the Penns and other landholders viewed the new arrivals as prospective land purchasers and workers who would transform their land speculations into profits.[20]

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 P. Canny (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 216; Aaron S. Fogleman, "From Slaves, Convicts, and Servants to Free Passengers: The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution," *Journal of American History* 85, no. 1 (June 1998): 46, 51-52; Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America*, 7; Günter Moltmann, "German Migration to America in the Colonial Period and the Redemptioner System," trans. Robert W. Culverhouse in Moltmann, *Germans to America*, 32; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 59-60, 63-68, 84, 93-95, 107, 109, 111-112.

[20] Bailyn, *The Peopling of British America*, 66-69; Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians & Empire on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 21, 46-49, 220; Alyssa Zuercher Reichardt, "War for the Interior: Imperial Conflict and the Formation of North American and Transatlantic Infrastructure, 1727-1774," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2017), 80-81. The German and other European settlers' proclivity to squat on the Penn family's and other large landholders' tracts or to live beyond the colony's bounds complicated the proprietors and colonial elites' hopes for generating revenues through land sales and leases. These settlers' actions also threatened to plunge the colony into conflict with neighboring indigenous peoples. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 135-137; Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 7-8, 10.

Yet, many Britons on both sides of the Atlantic saw the rising population of continental European immigrants in Pennsylvania as a threat to the colony's sovereignty and security. Contemporaries expressed skepticism that a multiethnic or multilinguistic colony could flourish and not descend into chaos.[21] Some believed those who migrated from Central Europe were of the lowest intellectual and moral capacities.[22] This anxiety grew alongside the colony's German-speaking population. A colonial administrator in 1728 estimated that sixty percent of the colony's population was German, and it is possible that German migrants and their progeny remained a majority of the population as late as 1760.[23] British ignorance of German language, culture, and politics exacerbated fears of German-speaking colonists, and prevented greater understanding and exchange between the two populations.[24]

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[21] Hermann Wellenreuther, "Image and Counterimage, Tradition and Expectation: The German Immigrants in English Colonial Society in Pennsylvania, 1700-1765," in Trommler and McVeigh, *America and the Germans*, 1:89.

[22] Benjamin Franklin concluded that "Those who come hither are generally of the most ignorant Stupid Sort of their own Nation" and he claimed that shipowners went to German jails to recruit passengers for their vessels. Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, Philadelphia, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 4, *July 1, 1750, through June 30, 1753*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 477-486.

[23] Farley Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America, 1709-1920* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 2, 4; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 99; Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 14; Henry Eyster. Jacobs, *The German Emigration to America 1790-1740*. (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1898), 118. There were about 140,000 Germans in Pennsylvania according to the 1790 Federal Census. Baer, *The Trial of Frederick Eberle*, 10.; Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 14; A.G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 99. In 1766 Benjamin Franklin estimated the province's European population before the British House of Commons to be about 160,000one hundred sixty thousand with one third of them German. This estimate stands much lower than that of Reverend Dr. William Smith, the Anglican clergyman and first Provost of what became the University of Pennsylvania, who estimated a European colonial population of two hundred twenty thousand with an estimated third being German migrants. Franklin by 1774 had revised his estimate to three hundred fifty thousand European colonists in Pennsylvania in 1744. There were about one hundred forty thousand Germans in Pennsylvania according to the 1790 Federal Census. Friederike Baer. *The Trial of Frederick Eberle: Language, Patriotism, and Citizenship in Philadelphia's German Community* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 10; Wilbur C. Plummer, "Consumer Credit Article,in Colonial Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 66, no. 4 (October 1942): 387, 387 n.6. 387n6.

[24] English-speaking Pennsylvanians debated what to call the new arrivals. Most early texts described them as Palatines (likely influenced by the "Poor Palatine" migration to Great Britain and its colonies between 1708 and 1710, and also showing a lack of understanding of the plethora of states in the upper Rhineland), Dutch (possibly a corruption of "deutsch" or confusion with the population of the Dutch Republic and lower Rhineland), or aliens. Only in 1747 were the migrants described as Germans in a publication printed in Pennsylvania. Philip Otterness, *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 1-4, 8, 19, 56, 66, 74; Wellenreuther, "Image and Counterimage, Tradition and Expectation," 86-87. In Great Britain itself, there was very little interest in German-speaking Central Europe or the language, even after the joining of Great Britain and the Electorate of Hanover under the House of Hanover in 1714. Only with the Silesian Wars of the

Pennsylvanian critics of incoming Central Europeans were especially concerned that William Penn's 1701 Charter of Privileges for the Colony of Pennsylvania, and its low requirements for enfranchisement, had left the door open to German domination of the Pennsylvania Assembly. Critics of Central European migration worried that German migrants, wholly ignorant of common law, the English language, and the British constitution, might come to form an electoral bloc that would dominate the colony's politics and "Germanize" its constitution.[25]

In addition to visions of waves of naturalized German colonists swamping the ballot box, another perceived threat was the German-speaking arrivals' indifference to English-speaking society or defending the colony. With many early German-speaking arrivals associated with pacifistic and inwardly-focused religious groups, like the Society of Friends and Mennonites, some Anglo colonists believed many Germans were unwilling to take up arms for the colony. Even among those who had no religious objections to bearing arms, there were concerns that in the event of a conflict with another European power the migrants would keep their heads down and acquiesce to whichever power secured the upper hand.[26] Benjamin Franklin lamented when looking back on the events in Pennsylvania during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) (also known as King George's War in North America) that

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1740s did British interest in German lands increase. Tacitus' *Germania* remained a deeply influential text for eighteenth-century British readers wishing to learn about German peoples. The popular image of Germans at this time assumed they had a love of drink as well as being phlegmatic, honest, and hospitable. Frauke Geyken, "'The German language is spoken in Saxony with the greatest purity' or English Images and Perceptions of Germany in the Eighteenth Century," in *Britain and Germany Compared: Nationality, Society and Nobility in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Joseph Canning and Hermann Wellenreuther (Gottingen: Wallstein, 2001), 43-48.

[25] Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, in Labaree, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 4:477-486; John Watts to William Johnson, October 8, 1764, New York, in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, vol. 4, ed. Alexander C. Flick (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1925), 564; Glatfelter, *The Pennsylvania Germans*, 6; Dietmar Rothermund, "The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 84, no. 1 (January 1960): 4.

[26] Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 61.

> our Germans shewed a general disposition that seems to bode us no good[…]the Germans except a very few in proportion to their numbers refused to engage in it, giving out one among another, and even in print, that if they were quiet the French should they take the Country would not molest them; at the same time abusing the Philadelphians for fitting out Privateers against the Enemy; and representing the trouble hazard and Expence of defending the Province, as a greater inconvenience than any that might be expected from a change of Government.[27]

Colonial leaders were even more concerned that German-speaking migrants, as subjects of small absolutist polities, might warm to rule under a foreign European absolutist empire.[28] Perhaps the deepest fear was that most of the migrants were secretly Roman Catholics and ready at the first opportunity to align themselves with the French. German Lutheran pastor Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg made repeated efforts to show that Lutheranism was not a form of crypto-Catholicism. In 1754 a group of Lutheran and Reformed clergy and laymen wrote to the colony's new governor, Robert Hunter Morris, pledging their allegiance to the king and the governor's administration. They wanted to counter a public accusation that German-speaking settlers were engaged in "a Secret Conspirace against our King and Government," and affirm that what they wrote about their allegiance reflected the sentiments of all German Protestants within the colony "who all unanimously agree to all what is above said; excepting a few ignorant, unmannerly People lately come amongst us." As Protestants, these representatives wondered how any reasonable person would see them as being "inclined to Submit themselves again under a Romish Slavery upheld by a French King."[29]

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[27] Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, in Labaree, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 4:477-486.
[28] Benjamin Franklin, *Plain Truth: Or, Serious Considerations On the Present State of the City of Philadelphia, and Province of Pennsylvania. By a Tradesman of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1747), 20-21; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 2:300.
[29] "The humble Address of the German Protestants, inhabited of the County of Philad[a] and the adjacent Counties of the said Province, in Behalf of themselves and their Country Men," in *Pennsylvania Archives: Selected and Arranged From Original Documents in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Conformably to Act of the General Assembly, February 15, 1851 & March 1, 1851*, 1st series vol. 2, *Commencing 1748*, ed. Samuel Hazard (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns & Co., 1853), 201; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 2:301.

Over the first half of the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania officials recommended a variety of methods to curtail German migration and German influence within the colony. Lieutenant Governor William Keith proposed a raft of measures to address the matter of the:

> great numbers of foreigners from Germany, Strangers to our Language & Constitution having lately been Imported into this Province daily dispersed themselves Immediately after their Landing, without producing any Certificates, from whence they came or what they were; and as they seemed to have first Landed in Britain, and afterwards to have left it without any Lycense from the Governmt. or so much as their knowledge, so in the same manner they behaved here, without making the least application to himself or any magistrates; That as this Practice might be of very dangerous Consequence, since by the same method any number of foreigners from any nation whatever, as well Enemys as friends might throw themselves upon us.

Keith wanted all ships' masters to produce a list of passengers and an account of their character before the Provincial Council in order to receive legal entry into the port of Philadelphia. Furthermore, all migrants, including those already landed before the passage of the proposed legislation, would be required to go before a magistrate, and make oaths "as are necessary to give assurances of their being well affected to his majesty and his Government." A decade later, under his successor Patrick Gordon, the oaths and lists of passengers would finally be required.[30] The provincial government's simultaneous effort to push the metropolitan government into limiting or stopping migration from continental Europe to Pennsylvania failed.[31]

Alongside advocating for immigration restrictions, Britons fearful of the growing German presence in Pennsylvania undertook coordinated efforts to integrate those who arrived on North American shores into colonial society. For Benjamin Franklin, Anglican clergyman William Smith, and others, the bedrock barrier to integration was language. German-speaking

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[30] State of Pennsylvania, *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government*, vol. 3, *Containing the Proceedings of Council From May 31, 1717, to January 23, 1735-6* (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns & Co., 1852), 18, 282-283; Zuercher Reichardt, "War for the Interior," 83-84.

[31] State of Pennsylvania, *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government*, 3:282-283.

immigrants' reluctance to learn English and Pennsylvania's toleration of multilingualism concerned them. A robust German-language press emerged in the colony. German signs for streets and business could be found around Philadelphia and elsewhere in the colony. Pennsylvania courts accepted German-language legal instruments, such as wills and bonds. German migrants often remained ensconced in German-speaking communities and some refused to connect with the larger social and political body that was the colony and empire. Without learning English, officials worried, how would these immigrants understand English political and cultural values?[32]

Britons on both sides of the Atlantic devised means to break down the apparent closed nature of German-speaking communities within Pennsylvania. There were proposals for banning publishing in the German language within the colony, outlawing the importation of German texts, and disallowing all German-language legal instruments in colonial courts, except for deathbed wills where an English-language writer was unavailable. Another scheme was to provide financial incentives to encourage intermarriage among English and German speakers, but this idea was deemed impractical due to its expense and the presumption that English-speaking and German-speaking single men valued different characteristics in a mate.[33] Smith sought to form a unified Church of England with a doctrine that would facilitate German Lutherans joining the church and its English-speaking congregations.[34]

While these proposals all remained solely on paper, Smith became a driving force for the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge and the English Language among the German Emigrants in Pennsylvania's charity schools. The Anglican priest envisioned that the schools

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[32] Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753, in Labaree, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 4:477-486; Wellenreuther, "Image and Counterimage, Tradition and Expectation," 92.
[33] Rothermund, "The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania," 11-12.
[34] Glatfelter, *Pastors and People,* 2:266.

would provide German colonists primary instruction in English and German, as well as civic and Protestant religious instruction. These schools, Smith believed, would also inoculate German immigrants from French and Catholic influences.[35] While the organization established six charity schools in Pennsylvania in 1754 and 1755, the project fizzled over the next few years. German settlers, including local clergymen, resented how they were portrayed in the organization's fundraising campaigns. Some envisioned that the schools were the thin end of a wedge leading to a state church within the colony, and a means of trying to get German settlers to join a militia. Parents feared their children would learn religious doctrines and cultural norms that conflicted with how they wanted their children raised, and worried schooling would take away valuable labor and upset the household economy. Co-founder of the organization and German Reformed minister, Michael Schlatter, became a lightning rod for financial and personal scandals that discredited the body and its schools. Finally, the intensification of the Seven Years' War diverted European and North American patrons' attention and resources from the program, and there was no attempt to reinvigorate the scheme with the return of peace.[36]

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[35] Samuel Theodor Albinus to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, July 26, 1754, London, *Missionsarchiv mit der Indien- und der Amerikaabteilung* (hereafter AFSt/M) 1 D 3:54, *Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke*, Halle, Germany; William Smith, *A Brief History of the Rise and Progress of the Charitable Scheme, Carrying on by a Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen in London, For the Relief and Instruction of Poor Germans, and their Descendents, Settled in Pennsylvania, and the Adjacent British Colonies in North-America* (Philadelphia, 1755), 4-6, 10, 14; William Smith, *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania, in Which the Conduct of Their Assemblies for Several Years Past is Impartially Examined, and the True Cause of the Continual Encroachments of the French Displayed, More Especially the Secret Design of Their Late Unwarrantable Invasion and Settlement Upon the River Ohio. To Which is Annexed, an Easy Plan for Restoring Quiet in the Public Measures of that Province, and Defeating the Ambitious Views of the French in Time to Come. In a Letter from a Gentleman who has Resided Many Years in Pennsylvania to his Friend in London* (London, 1755), 30-32; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 2:308-310; Philip Gleason, "Trouble in the Colonial Melting Pot," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 20, no. 1 (Fall 2000): 9; Rothermund, "The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania," 13; Wellenreuther, "Image and Counterimage, Tradition and Expectation," 93.

[36] *Pensylvanische Berichte*, September 1, 1754; Daniel M. Crown, "A Charitable Scheme: William Smith, Michael Schlatter, and the German Free Schools," (master's thesis, CUNY Hunter College, 2017), 108-109, 112-118, 120-122, 131; James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 176, 195, 231-232; William T. Parsons, *Another Rung Up the Ladder: German Reformed People in American Struggles 1754-1783* (Collegeville, PA: Institute on Pennsylvania Dutch Studies, 1976), 6; Rothermund, "The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania," 14-17; Jerome H. Wood Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1730-1790* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania

Ultimately, the integration of German-speaking peoples into Pennsylvania colony and the larger British Empire was a more subtle and organic development than colonial or metropolitan legislation or charity schools. The bonds that would tie the tens of thousands of migrants from Central Europe to Philadelphia and London were largely the same networks that connected English-speaking colonists back to the metropole—flows of manufactured goods, streams of colonial products, lines of credit, and links of legal instruments. These connections reached into the remotest communities and appeared as ubiquitous reminders of Europe and empire, from the glass panes in their windows to the sugar in their tea and cakes.[37] Moreover, these connections transcended the linguistic barriers that so bothered men like Benjamin Franklin and William Smith.

The German-speaking merchant community of Philadelphia, much like a spider with its web, worked tirelessly to maintain these connections and create new ones between German-speakers and English-speakers, colonists and metropolitans, farmers and manufacturers. Their occupation prompted them to become the most integrated of the German immigrants within British North America—naturalizing, learning English, forging relations with British firms in the metropole and British merchants in the colonies and around the globe, and understanding the legal and political systems that would protect their property. Yet, the webs these people wove also reached back into continental Europe providing a means for German-speaking colonists to

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Historical and Museum Commission, 1979), 219. German migrants would likely have been particularly anxious about the possibility of required military service, as most of them emigrated from states that had compulsory military service and part of Pennsylvania's appeal was its lack of such regulations. Jessica Choppin Roney, *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition: The Origins of American Political Practice in Colonial Philadelphia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 134.

[37] Troy Bickham, "Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Past & Present* 198, no. 1 (February 2008): 72-73; T.H. Breen, "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present* 119, no. 1 (May 1988): 73-104; T.H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776," *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 4 (October 1986): 467-499; T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

remain connected to their homelands through letters, stories, and goods, ensuring that the process was one of acculturation and accommodation rather than complete amalgamation into the dominant culture.[38]

Faith, Family, and Lingua Franca: The Characteristics and Interconnection of the German Merchant Community of Philadelphia

The German merchant community of colonial Philadelphia emerged from the waves of economic migrants arriving in Philadelphia during the first decades of the eighteenth century. These migrants, as European Protestant men coming from mostly middling families, enjoyed opportunities denied to many of their fellow Central European migrants and other inhabitants of eastern North America. Their modest financial resources enabled them to pay for their passage in full and avoid becoming indentured laborers, like a growing portion of German immigrants. These men had freedom to seek their own employment in the labor-hungry city, often as artisans and publicans, and to immediately begin accruing capital from their work. They would come to apply this capital to trade across colonies, countries and oceans. They were also eligible to seek naturalization as British subjects, a prospect denied to Native Americans and blacks. Naturalization allowed them to own land and buildings, trade across the empire and beyond, and use the labor and produce of non-European peoples across the empire to enrich themselves.

[38] Marianne S. Wokeck, "German Settlements in the British North American Colonies: A Patchwork of Cultural Assimilation and Persistence," in *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 197; Grauman Wolf, "Hyphenated America," 67. Grauman Wolf defines cultural amalgamation as a culture disappearing into a dominant culture, acculturation as incorporating new values and patterns of behavior from a neighboring or dominant culture, and adaptation as modifying a culture to meet certain needs while still maintaining difference from neighboring or dominant cultures. Grauman Wolf, "Hyphenated America," 67.

Caspar Wistar, born Caspar Wüstar, was the eldest of eight children of Hans Caspar Wüstar, a *jäger*[39] in the service of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine, and Anna Catharine. Caspar Wistar left his Rhineland home as a twenty-one year-old and arrived in Philadelphia on September 16, 1717 with just a nine-pence piece in his pocket. Wistar started by laboring for a city soap-maker, John Bearde, before securing an apprenticeship with a button-maker. Later, the success of Wistar's own button-making business and his joining the Society of Friends and marriage to Catharine Jansen, a daughter of a prosperous and influential German Quaker family in Germantown, granted Wistar access to the well-established trade contacts and references of Pennsylvania's Quaker merchants. His transatlantic trade and business ventures started in the early 1730s.[40]

Caspar Wistar, while still a button-maker, sent for his younger brother, Johannes Wüstar, who was nineteen years-old at the time of his arrival in 1727. Johannes Wüstar, who would become known as John Wister in Pennsylvania, also became a merchant like his older brother. He first focused on trade into inland Pennsylvania before shifting his attentions to the wine trade while operating a shop on Market Street, Philadelphia's main commercial thoroughfare, between Third and Fourth Street. John Wister, too, brought over a relative to help him with his business. David Deschler, a cousin from Baden arrived around 1730, and also went on to become a prominent merchant in the city.[41]

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[39] A professional huntsman or forester often employed to manage the grounds and game for a landowner. Rodney Atwood, *The Hessians: Mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel in the American Revolution*, 1st ed. paperback (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 132-133.

[40] Rosalind J. Beiler, "From the Rhine to the Delaware Valley: The Eighteenth-Century Transatlantic Trading Channels of Caspar Wistar," in Lehmann, Wellenreuther, and Wilson, *In Search of Peace and Prosperity*, 174-175; Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 1-2, 70, 88, 107-108; Milton Rubincam, "The Wistar-Wister Family: A Pennsylvania Family's Contributions Toward American Cultural Development," *Pennsylvania History* 20, no. 2 (April 1953): 142-143.

[41] Jordan, ed. *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, 1:257; Rubincam, "The Wistar-Wister Family," 153. David Deschler's last name was written as Däschler in Henrich Miller's German-language newspapers. *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, June 14, 1768.

Johann Heinrich Keppele, better known as Henry Keppele in colonial Pennsylvania, enjoyed a similar rise from artisan to merchant. Keppele was born on August 1, 1716 in Treschklingen in the Duchy of Württemberg. Keppele descended from local office holders on both sides of his family, and his grandfather served as *Schultheiß*[42] in Treschklingen. Keppele left home in the spring of 1738 at age twenty-two and survived a horrific transatlantic voyage that lasted months longer than the usual length of a passage. Keppele avoided a deadly fever outbreak aboard that claimed the lives of over 250 passengers and crew, and arrived in Philadelphia on November 9, 1738.[43] He first worked as a butcher before purchasing property on Market Street where he operated an inn and tavern. In 1748, Keppele engaged in the selling of linseed oil including transactions with prominent Philadelphia merchant, John Yeates. In the following years, Keppele established himself in Philadelphia-area real estate and trade with the West Indies, Great Britain, and continental Europe.[44]

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[42] *Schultheiß* was the title of the head magistrate at the village-level in parts of German-speaking Europe. In the Duchy of Württemberg, the *Schultheiß* convened and chaired the deliberative body overseeing the village's official business as well as the local church consistory. He also sat on judicial bodies that addressed both civil disputes and moral infractions. Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, 67-68.

[43] Henry Keppele Family Record Book, c. 1780-1843, f. 1, German American Collection Ms. Coll. AM 625.2, Joseph P. Horner Memorial Library (hereafter Horner Library), German Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter GSP), Philadelphia; Birte Pfleger, *Ethnicity Matters: A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania* (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2006), 9; Birte Pfleger, "Between Subject and Citizen: German-speakers in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. diss., University of California-Irvine, 2003), 14.

[44] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 26, 1749; Pfleger, *Ethnicity Matters*, 9; Birte Pfleger, "John Henry Keppele," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 1, *From the Colonial Economy to Early Industrialization, 1720-1840,* ed. Marianne S. Wokeck (German Historical Institute, last modified July 13, 2015) https://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=7; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 124. Newcomers with no immediate familial or social ties, men like Wistar and Keppele, had to develop trust and a positive reputation with their fellow colonists in order to have commercial success. Their years as artisans and business owners helped them not only to establish financial capital, but also social capital and trustworthiness that were fundamental to such credit-dependent ventures as intracolonial and transatlantic trading. Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 47; Sheryllynne Haggerty, *'Merely for Money'? Business Culture in the British Atlantic, 1750-1815* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), 67-131; Pitock, "Commerce and Community," 279.

The career trajectories and financial successes of men like Wistar and Keppele embodied the hopeful visions of many German-speaking migrants as well as the rapid growth and prosperity of Philadelphia. Within a decade of its founding in 1682, Philadelphia had over two thousand residents and approximately thirteen thousand by 1742.[45] The growing city invested in its trade infrastructure early on—a wharf that could dock a five-hundred-ton ship, harborages for both large and small vessels, and piers with warehouses constructed on top of them. The port consistently turned around over one hundred vessels annually by the 1720s, and by 1730 was the third busiest port by tonnage in British North America, trailing only Boston and New York. Tobacco, animal skins, and furs were the most lucrative early trade goods sailing out of Philadelphia, but over time wheat, flour, bread, lumber products, salted meat, and iron became the major exports.[46] Acting Governor George Thomas observed in 1744, "This whole City, indeed, in some way or other depends upon the Merchant, and if he cannot Trade to Advantage it will be soon very sensibly felt by the whole." Thomas saw a ripple effect that touched everyone from the shipbuilding-related industries to the inland farmers who relied on exporting their surpluses.[47] The growing German merchant community was becoming part of that lynchpin in Philadelphia and the larger colonial economy.

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[45] J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 181, 262; Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793*, vol. 1, *Pastors and Congregations* (Breinigsville: Pennsylvania German Society, 1981), 411; Roger D. Simon, *Philadelphia: A Brief History*, Pennsylvania Historical Studies 27 (University Park: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2003), 6. In 1749 Benjamin Franklin and several other Pennsylvania colonists made a count of the houses of Philadelphia and estimated the city's population to be twelve thousand people. Plummer, "Consumer Credit in Colonial Philadelphia," 385.

[46] Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*, 15; Arthur L. Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), 2, 5-6, 8-9; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 1:411; Kelley, *Life and Times in Colonial Philadelphia*, 46, 48; Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 29-30, 125, 223; Plummer, "Consumer Credit in Colonial Philadelphia," 387; Daniel Vickers, "The Northern Colonies: Economy and Society, 1600-1775," in *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, vol. 1, *The Colonial Era*, ed. Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 235-236.

[47] State of Pennsylvania, *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government*, vol. 4, *Containing the Proceedings of Council from February 7th, 1735-6, to October 15th, 1745, Both Days Included* (Harrisburg: Theophilus Fenn & Co., 1851), 750.

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century, sons of immigrants joined the merchant community. They also emerged from middling households, often expanding on their families' local commercial ventures. John Steinmetz with his mother, Mary, inherited his immigrant father Daniel's retail business and became a transatlantic merchant operating on the south side of Market Street just a few doors below Fourth Street. Steinmetz often partnered with his father-in-law, Henry Keppele, and brother-in-law, Henry Keppele Jr. in business ventures.[48] Michael Hillegas immigrated to Pennsylvania from Sinsheim with his two brothers prior to 1724. By the time of his death in 1749, he left his widow, son, and two daughters twenty-eight pieces of property within Philadelphia, including over a dozen prime lots on Front and Second Streets. Michael Hillegas Jr. continued in his father's line of work as a merchant and real estate investor.[49]

Like German communities throughout the Atlantic World, these merchants formed a network grounded in language, religion, and kinship that reinforced an identity distinct from their English-speaking neighbors. These shared elements of culture and family were crucial in establishing the trust necessary to create durable business relationships that might profit all parties involved. Of the approximately forty percent of colonial Philadelphia merchants who operated with partners, almost all of them joined with co-religionists, co-linguists, or relatives. It was not just established merchants who tapped these shared relations to advance their careers,

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[48] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 14, 1761; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 13, 1766; *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania* 9, no. 1 (March 1924): 51-52.

[49] *Pennsylvanische Fama*, March 17, 1750; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, February 16, 1767; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, June 8, 1767; Michael Reed Mennich, *A Memoir of the First Treasurer of the United States with Chronological Data* (Philadelphia: Michael Reed Mennich, 1905), 10, 14, 16; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 124.

but also young men seeking to establish their lines of credit, access commercial opportunities, and gain experience in trade.[50]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ethnic identity was rooted primarily in the language one spoke and, to a lesser extent, one's religion. Writers since the fifteenth century had argued that the German language was fundamental to the construction of a German identity, often replacing the Latin word for nation, *natio*, with the German word for tongue, *zunge* or *gezunge* when writing on the subject.[51] Language and religion carried within them cultural regulations and orientations that reinforced one another. German remained the language of prayer and instruction in Lutheran and Reformed congregations (except for a handful of Swedish Lutheran congregations) throughout Pennsylvania into the early nineteenth century, even when clergy spoke English fluently and congregations increasingly contained mixed families of native English- and German-speakers. For many German-speakers, especially Protestants, religious instruction in the true faith could only occur in one's mother tongue—a lesson they ascribed to the experience and writings of Martin Luther. The German Lutheran congregation of Philadelphia introduced English classes into its school in 1770, but the approved proposal indicated that the classes were intended for students who had already mastered reading, writing, praying, singing, and catechizing in German.[52]

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[50] Such reliance on linguistic, religious, and familial connections was not unique to Philadelphia's German-speaking merchants or its merchants in general, but fundamental to early modern commerce. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*, 15, 59, 61; Grauman Wolf, "Hyphenated America," 69, 71; Haggerty, *British-Atlantic Trading Community*, 109-113; David Hancock, *Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Emergence of American Trade and Taste* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 249; Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia*, 18; Pitock, "Commerce and Community," 278, 285; Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority*, 7, 37, 41, 72.
[51] Baer, *The Trial of Frederick Eberle*, 13.
[52] "Proposal of an English School or Class," 1770, Zion-St Michael's Lutheran Church (Philadelphia) School, 1764-1772, Philadelphia Folder, Elizabeth M. Smith Collection, Supplemental (Smith Coll Supp.), New-York Historical Society, New York; Baer. *The Trial of Frederick Eberle*, 13; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 2:260-261.

While members of the merchant community retained their knowledge of German, unlike many other migrants from Central Europe they also made a committed effort to learning and mastering English.[53] Learning English was absolutely necessary to enter into trade with the rest of the British Empire, as well as to reach a much wider customer base within the city and surrounding region. Within five years of his arrival in Pennsylvania, Caspar Wistar was writing in English and had shifted his signature from Caspar Wüster in German letters to Caspar Wistar in English script.[54] Henry Keppele Jr.'s 1761 hand-written arithmetic book, given to him when he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, provided all the basics of mathematics and accounting a transatlantic merchant might need and was written entirely in English.[55] Keppele sent his namesake son to London in 1763 with the intent that the boy stay there for several years to become proficient in trade and presumably in English. While Keppele Jr. resided in London for just a short period of time before returning to Philadelphia, he became well-read in both English and German, and when he died in 1782 he left behind a personal library of works in both languages.[56] The younger generations of German merchants, who were often the sons of Philadelphia merchants, like Keppele Jr. and John Steinmetz, conducted their business correspondence amongst themselves in English.[57]

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[53] While instruction in German was presumably conducted informally or in the home for many of the German-speaking merchants, some merchants organized formal instruction in the language for their progeny. John Wister had his son, Daniel, educated first at the Philadelphia Academy and then sent him to Lancaster County to a school there to learn to speak and write German fluently. Whitfield J. Bell Jr., *Patriot-Improvers: Biographical Sketches of Members of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 1, *1743-1768* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1997), 275.

[54] Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 101-102. Until the Second World War, German was handwritten in a non-Latinate alphabet, unlike most of the other modern languages of Europe, including English.

[55] United States (Ship) Logbook and Journal (Collection Am.867), Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP), Philadelphia.

[56] Friedrich Wilhelm Pasche to Sebastian Andreas Fabricius, June 13, 1763, London, AFSt/M 1 D 8:12, Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke-Archiv und Bibliothek, Mission Archiv, Halle, Germany; *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, September 12, 1782.

[57] For example, see John Steinmetz to Henry Keppele Jr. n.d., Series 1, Box 12, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; John Steinmetz bought of Henry Keppel Jr., January 7, 1767, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 14, Folder 9, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

Religion served as another means to connect German-speaking merchants with one another as well as with their fellow immigrants. While the wider Philadelphia merchant elite was primarily composed of Anglicans and Quakers, most of the German-speaking merchants were members of Lutheran or Reformed congregations.[58] Even in a religiously tolerant environment such as eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, religion still served as a strong force in creating insider-outsider demarcations. German-speaking peoples overwhelmingly composed the Lutheran and Reformed congregations of colonial Pennsylvania. The city's German Lutheran and Reformed congregations were closely intertwined socially in the first half of the eighteenth century through the established practice of *Simultankirche*, also known as shared or "union" churches wherein congregations of different denominations shared a building and alternated Sundays for use of the church. The shortage of clergy and limited financial resources of Philadelphia's Germans led Lutherans and Reformed to share a rented building, a former slaughterhouse or butcher's shop, on Arch Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets into the early 1740s, when both congregations began building their own individual church structures.[59]

German merchants played influential roles in developing the city's nascent Lutheran and Reformed congregations. Henry Keppele was an active force within Philadelphia's Lutheran congregation throughout his life. He became a congregational elder in 1741, just three years after his arrival in Pennsylvania. On March 31, 1743 Keppele was one of four men who purchased a tract of land on Fifth Street north of Arch Street, where construction began on St. Michael's days

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[58] Approximately a third of the late colonial merchant community was Anglican and another third was Quaker. Thomas M. Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760-1775," *William and Mary Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (April 1983): 214.

[59] Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 1:313, 2:153, 162-163; Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 201-204. Caspar Wistar and John Wister were the products of a mixed marriage. Their father was a Lutheran and their mother was Reformed and while Caspar, the eldest son, and the second oldest sibling, Dorothea, were baptized as Reformed, their seven younger siblings, including John, were baptized in the newly opened Lutheran church in Neckargemünd. Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 51, 58, 61, 65.

later. Keppele also served as treasurer for Lutheran Zion Church, whose construction began in 1766 when St. Michael's became too small to meet the needs of the city's German Lutheran population, and advanced the congregation four hundred pounds in 1773.[60] Keppele clashed for much of the 1750s and early 1760s with Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, who had come from Halle to help organize the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania. Keppele wanted the congregation's lay elders to remain the controlling power and preserve the church from European interference. Mühlenburg and his supporters in the congregation thought the elders had grown too powerful with their lifetime appointments, self-selection of elders, deacons, and pastors, and near total control over congregational finances.[61]

Despite these disputes, Keppele continued to use his wealth from trade and real estate to provide financial support to the city's growing German Lutheran congregation. In 1751 he helped pay for and organize the transportation of a German-made organ for St. Michael's, and later helped finance the congregation's brick, two-story schoolhouse on Cherry Street.[62] Keppele's support, particularly in the 1740s and 1750s, was critical for the Lutheran community of Philadelphia. Much of the congregation was poor and transient, since German Lutheran migrants often stayed in Philadelphia a few years until they secured enough financial resources to buy land farther inland. In 1754 Philadelphia's three German Lutheran pastors estimated that

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[60] "List of Monies received on Interest for the use of St Michael & Zion Corporation deliverd by M[ichael] Shubart," January 1, 1781, [Philadelphia?], Series 1, Box 15, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 1:413, 415-416; Pfleger, *Ethnicity Matters*, 9; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 271; Roney, *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition*, 129; Schwantes, "Trade, Family, and Religion." Zion Church had over triple the capacity of St. Michael's and remained one of Philadelphia's largest building into the early nineteenth century. Baer, *The Trial of Frederick Eberle*, 4.

[61] Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 1:415; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 244-245, 249, 252-253, 257-266, 270-272; Rothermund, "The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania," 19; Wolfgang Splitter, "Order, Ordination, Subordination: German Lutheran Missionaries in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, ed. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 224.

[62] Baer, *The Trial of Frederick Eberle*, 4; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 2:161; Pfleger, *Ethnicity Matters*, 9; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 128.

just five percent of congregants had the ability to offer a financial donation for maintaining the present church building and future construction.[63] Johann Friedrich Handschuh, senior Lutheran pastor in the Philadelphia congregation from 1755 to 1764, described Keppele and sugar factor Henry Schleydorn as the most important and prominent trustees for St. Michael's Church. Handschuh and Mühlenberg also described Keppele in 1763 as the Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia's largest benefactor.[64]

Other merchants also provided a variety of support for Protestant congregations in Philadelphia and elsewhere in Pennsylvania. Frederick Kuhl succeeded Keppele as treasurer for St. Michael's in December 1766. Kuhl provided personal loans to the church so that its organ could be repaired in 1771.[65] Henry Keppele Jr. sold lottery tickets in Philadelphia as part of a 1769 scheme designed to raise nearly seventeen hundred pounds to pay for the construction of a Reformed and a Lutheran Church in Yorktown (present-day York) as well as Lutheran churches in Heidelberg and Lebanon.[66] Daniel Steinmetz, retailer and father of merchant John Steinmetz, along with five other members of Philadelphia's Reformed congregation, in June 1749 purchased a sixty-five feet by ninety feet plot of land adjacent to their church upon which to build a larger Reformed church.[67]

Yet not all of the leading German-speaking merchants affiliated themselves with the city's German Lutheran or Reformed congregations. While Caspar Wistar was born to a

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[63] Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 1:414, 2:157.
[64] Oswald Seidensticker, *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien: Von der Grundung im Jahre 1764 bis zur Jubelfeier der Republik 1876* (Philadelphia: Graf & Breuninger, 1917), 279.
[65] Frederick Kuhl Waste Book, 1752-1807 (Collection Am.9095), HSP; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 270; Diane Wenger, "Christopher Demuth," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 1, *From the Colonial Economy to Early Industrialization, 1720-1840*, ed. Marianne S. Wokeck (German Historical Institute, last modified August 9, 2013), https://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=125.
[66] *The Pennsylvania Chronicle, and Universal Advertiser*, March 20 to March 27, 1769.
[67] Glatfelter, Pastors and People, 1:417.

Lutheran father and Reformed mother in the Electoral Palatinate, baptized in the Reformed Church, and educated at either a Reformed or Lutheran school near his home village of Waldhilsbach, he quickly attached himself to the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania. When taking a required oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain in 1721, Wistar elected instead to sign a declaration of allegiance, a practice common among Quakers.[68] That same year, Wistar likely tapped into his emerging Quaker connections to buy a plot of land in a very desirable part of Philadelphia on Market Street between Third and Fourth Street for 153 pounds sterling. A new button-maker just establishing himself was unlikely to secure such a sum of money on his own, especially after having arrived in the colony nearly penniless only a few years prior.[69]

Through his religious and marital links to the Society of Friends, Wistar was able to engage in a number of commercial opportunities. Not only did he likely secure loans to invest in property for his nascent business in the mid-1720s; Wistar drew up bills of exchange on English Quakers. He used these instruments to pay for his land investments outside the city as well as to purchase merchandise from British metropolitan wholesalers and continental European business associates. Wistar's neighbor and fellow Quaker, John Rutter and his brother in Germantown, Thomas, offered Wistar the opportunity in 1725 to buy a share in the Abbington Iron Furnace in what is now New Castle County, Delaware.[70]

Michael Hillegas Jr. joined the Church of England as a young man. His embrace of Anglicanism may have been tied to his mentorship under William Clymer following the elder Hillegas' death in 1749. Clymer served as a vestryman for Christ Church, Philadelphia's Anglican house of worship. Hillegas Jr. married Henrietta Boude in the church on May 10, 1753

[68] Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 58, 61, 65-66, 102.
[69] Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 102-103, 107-108.
[70] Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 5, 8, 102-103, 107.

and was buried in its churchyard in 1804.[71] Adam Hubley, whose grandfather and father emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1732 and settled in Lancaster, moved as an adult to Philadelphia where he became a merchant and auctioneer and rented a pew at St. Peter's, an Anglican church.[72]

Forging bonds of kinship was also an immediate and intimate way to connect German-speaking merchants to one another, as well as to other trade networks inside and outside of the city. Many merchants and their progeny married into other families engaged in commerce. Four of Henry Keppele's five daughters who survived to adulthood married German merchants and Keppele engaged in ventures with several of them. The most extensive partnership was with John Steinmetz, who married Keppele's eldest daughter Maria Catharine in 1765. The fifth daughter, Maria Barbara, married Lutheran pastor Justus Heinrich Christian Helmuth, with whom Keppele collaborated to import medicines and books from the Francke Foundations in Halle, where Helmuth previously had studied and worked.[73]

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[71] Benjamin Dorr, *A Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia from its Foundations, A.D. 1695 to A.D. 1841; and of St. Peter's and St. James's, Until the Separation of the Churches* (Philadelphia: R.S.H. George, 1841), 75; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 2:267; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 124.

[72] William Henry Egle, ed. *Notes and Queries Historical, Biographical and Genealogical Relating Chiefly to Interior Pennsylvania*, 1898 annual vol. (Harrisburg: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1899), 2; C.P.B. Jefferys, "The Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, 1753-1783 (continued)," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 48, no. 4 (October 1924): 364.

[73] Genealogical Table of the Keppele Family, c. 1843, German American Collection Ms. Coll. AM 625.4, Horner Library, GSP; Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine: A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 134, 143, 146n42. The second oldest daughter, Elizabeth married Peter Kuhn, the grandson of an immigrant from Strasbourg on his father's side and the son of a women who was born on the transatlantic voyage to Philadelphia. While Peter's father was a medical doctor, after Peter graduated from the Academy and College of Philadelphia (the modern-day University of Pennsylvania) in 1768, he became a merchant in the city. Mary, married John Odenheimer, an immigrant from Mainz, who operated as a flour dealer in Philadelphia. The youngest daughter, Susannah, also known as Sukey, married merchant Adam Zantzinger in January 1773. Around the time of the marriage, Zantzinger opened a store on the west corner of Market and Fourth Streets and sold primarily iron goods. By 1776 he was selling spirits, wines, a variety of hardware, and camp equipment in a different store on Market Street between Third and Fourth Street, as well as renting property within the city. *The Pennsylvania Packet; and the General Advertiser*, January 18, 1773; *The Pennsylvania Packet; or the General Advertiser*, December 3, 1778; *The Pennsylvania Packet; or the General Advertiser*, March 24, 1781; *The Pennsylvania Packet; and the General Advertiser*, January 1, 1782; Genealogical Table of the Keppele Family, c. 1843, German American Collection Ms. Coll. AM 625.4, Horner Library, GSP; Jordan, *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, 1:528-529; John Hill Martin, *Chester (and its Vicinity,) Delaware*

Some merchants and their sons, daughters, and siblings went outside the German-speaking community for a partner, but often still married into another commercial family or created a new one. John Steinmetz's sister Margaret married the Philadelphia dry goods merchant William Bell on March 4, 1770.[74] The brothers-in-law worked closely together on some ventures, including Bell's store in Lancaster. John Wister's daughter, Catharine, fell in love with a young man of Welsh lineage from Montgomery County, Samuel Miles. While John Wister initially disapproved the match, he eventually relented, and the couple married on February 16, 1761. Wister brought Miles into the wine and spirits trade. Wister's son, William Wister, partnered with Miles and the two operated a dry and wet goods venture with a shop on Market Street in the mid-1760s, eventually taking over John Wister's business in 1772.[75]

Language, religion, and family ties provided the connective tissue of Philadelphia's German-speaking merchant community. As linguistic, cultural, and often religious outsiders, this community within the growing city proved invaluable for these merchants as they sought to build connections to the British state. From navigating the foreign British legal system and cultural traditions to establishing business relationships with merchant firms and manufacturers around the British Empire and Europe, German merchants faced struggles that natural-born British subjects did not have to concern themselves with. These merchants, as they or their ancestors had done back in continental Europe, sought collective strategies to ground themselves culturally and economically within a foreign colonial land.[76] The German merchants' ability to preserve their

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County, in Pennsylvania; with Genealogical Sketches of Some Old Families (Philadelphia: William H. Pile & Sons, 1877), 354.

[74] John B. Linn and William H. Egle, ed. *Record of Pennsylvania Marriages, Prior to 1810,* vol. 1, Pennsylvania Archives 2nd series, vol. 8 (Harrisburg: Clarence M. Busch, 1896), 667.

[75] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 12, 1765; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 24, 1771; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 22, 1773; Register Book H, 1765-1777 (Mss.347.96.M615), p. 130, American Philosophical Society (hereafter APS), Philadelphia; Rubincam, "The Wistar-Wister Family," 155.

[76] Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 11; Wokeck, "German Settlements in the British North American Colonies," 197.

German cultural identity and connections, along with learning English and navigating British legal and commercial practices, gave them a competitive advantage once they secured the legal right to trade within the empire.

Entering the Marketplace and Law Courts: German Merchants, Naturalization, and the British Legal System

Starting in 1727, male German-speaking migrants entering British North America through Philadelphia's port had to engage with the British state. Colonial regulations passed late that year required all arriving men over sixteen years of age, who were not British subjects, to go before a colonial magistrate or secretary and take or affirm oaths of allegiance to both the monarch of Great Britain and the proprietor(s) of Pennsylvania. While taking these oaths enabled the migrants to land at Philadelphia, their legal status remained uncertain, threatening to undermine their ability to hold real property, bequeath it as they saw fit, and to engage in intercolonial and transatlantic trade. For German-speaking immigrants desiring to seize commercial opportunities within and beyond the British Empire, securing naturalization and the rights of a natural-born Englishman was essential. This goal brought these migrants-turned-merchants directly into contact with British legal and political institutions. Their experiences helped make Philadelphia's German-speaking merchant community key mediators between British institutions and the thousands of recent arrivals into the city, colony, and region.

As subjects of foreign rulers, German immigrants entering Great Britain or its colonies were considered aliens under English common law. English jurists, like seventeenth-century barrister and judge Sir Edward Coke, maintained that aliens were unable to naturally give their allegiance to their host ruler. According to Coke, they were unable to participate in the reciprocal relationship between subject and ruler of unbreakable allegiance for the protection of self and

property. Peoples who could not offer their allegiance might reside within the country, but they could not vote, hold office, bring legal actions to courts, or hold real property. Yet by centering English and later British subjecthood around a reciprocal relationship based on allegiance rather than race, religion, or lineage, common law created space for legal processes through which non-subjects could show allegiance and secure rights.[77]

William Penn, as proprietor of Pennsylvania, attempted to establish his own system of naturalization within his colony in order to encourage immigration. Benjamin Furly, Penn's agent in Rotterdam, informed him that the land Penn planned to sell to continental Europeans within his new colony would revert back to the proprietor rather than the migrant's or speculator's heirs. Penn made assurances to early continental European settlers that their bequests would be honored, and he pushed the colonial assembly to enable Dutch and Swedish settlers already living within the colony to naturalize. In 1700 the colonial assembly passed two laws related to non-English migrants' legal status within the colony: one established a naturalization process and the other provided guarantees that all property holders, including

[77] Rosalind J. Beiler, "'Smuggling Goods or Moving Households?' The Legal Status of German-speaking Immigrants in the First British Empire," in *Menschen zwischen zwei Welten: Auswanderung, Ansiedlung, Akkulturation*, ed. Walter G. Rödel and Helmut Schmahl (Trier: Wissenschaftler Verlag, 2002), 11; Elizabeth F. Cohen, "*Jus Tempus* in the Magna Carta: The Sovereignty of Time in Modern Politics and Citizenship," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 43, no. 3 (July 2010): 463-466; Ken MacMillan, "Imperial Constitutions: Sovereignty and Law in the British Atlantic," in *Britain's Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, c. 1550-1850*, ed. H.V. Bowen, Elizabeth Mancke, and John G. Reid (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 78-79, 84; Harvey Wheeler, "Calvin's Case (1608) and the McIlwain-Schuyler Debate," *American Historical Review* 61, no. 3 (April 1956): 588-590; Hannah Weiss Muller, "Bonds of Belonging: Subjecthood and the British Empire," *Journal of British History* 53, no. 1 (January 2014): 32, 42-43. Denization and naturalization served as the legal frameworks through which strangers could secure additional rights. The monarch through letters patents could make listed people into denizens, who could acquire, inherit, or bequeath real property. Only Parliament could pass either individual acts of naturalization for those listed in the bill, or general naturalization acts that enabled any strangers who completed the legislation's requirements to legally gain the same privileges and protections as natural-born subjects. Beiler, "'Smuggling Goods or Moving Households?'," 11-12; A.H. Carpenter, "Naturalization in England and the American Colonies," *American Historical Review* 9, no. 2 (January 1904): 290; Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority*, 15-16; Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, "Naturalization and Economic Integration: The German Merchant Community in Eighteenth-Century London," in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 512.

those born beyond Britain, could bequeath their property to whomever they wished. However, the Crown rejected these laws as attempts to take the powers beyond those granted to Penn in the charter from King Charles II. In 1704 eighty-two continental European settlers in Pennsylvania petitioned the Provincial Council and the Assembly to be allowed to naturalize. The petition served as the impetus for a 1709 law creating a naturalization process, but specifying it applied only within the colony's bounds. With this restriction within the law, Queen Anne gave royal assent to it in 1714.[78]

Pennsylvania's naturalization process met the needs of German-speaking immigrants seeking to own and bequeath real property, like land and buildings. However, its applicability solely within the colony's bounds left those immigrants wishing to trade in an ambiguous position. The Navigation Acts barred non-British subjects from owning a British ship or shares in such a ship, which was a major investment opportunity and revenue stream for merchants trading within the empire. Beyond removing the various restrictions placed on non-British merchants within the British Empire through the Navigation Acts, being a naturalized British subject brought additional benefits, such as the privileges and access granted in Great Britain's often very favorable commercial treaties with countries like Portugal, Spain, and Russia.[79]

Aspiring and nascent German-speaking merchants had to make themselves knowledgeable about British law and colonial and metropolitan institutions in order to secure the status necessary to engage in transoceanic and transcolonial commerce. Caspar Wistar started his navigation of the naturalization process in December 1723 when he petitioned the Pennsylvania

[78] Beiler, "'Smuggling Goods or Moving Households?'," 12-13; Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 104-105.
[79] Mark Häberlein, "Migration and Business Ventures: German-Speaking Migrants and Commercial Networks in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World," in *Transnational Networks: German Migrants in the British Empire, 1670-1914*, ed. John R. Davis, Stefan Manz, and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 38; Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority*, 6, 248; Schulte Beerbühl, "Naturalization and Economic Integration," 512.

Assembly to naturalize him. In the spring of 1724, the Assembly formed the petition into a bill to grant Wistar (alongside fellow German John Cratho and French immigrant Nicholas Gateau) the status and rights of a natural-born subject of Pennsylvania. Governor William Keith and the Provincial Council approved the bill making it a law. Despite having just recently completed his apprenticeship as a button-maker, Wistar made sure that the final bill included a clause specifying his ability to trade and transport all kinds of goods not barred by law, as if he were a natural-born subject of the King of Great Britain who had been born in Pennsylvania. None of the previous naturalization bills passed in Pennsylvania had included a specific clause on trade. Notwithstanding Wistar's diligence in seeing through his personal naturalization bill, his status remained tenuous. First, such a naturalization act could not be enforced until it received royal assent, which often took years. Second, British legal decisions had ruled clearly that colonial legislatures' statues applied only within their respective boundaries. Hence it was unclear if Wistar, for example, could trade with metropolitan firms and import manufactured and other goods from Great Britain. Wistar realized the tenuousness of his legal status and when he went on to establish a glassworks in New Jersey in 1739, he secured his naturalization with that colony's legislature as well.[80]

German-speaking merchants eventually could be more assured of their naturalized status and its application throughout the empire with the passage of the 1740 Naturalization Act. Starting June 1, 1740, European immigrants who had lived for seven years within British America (without departing the colonies for periods longer than two months) were eligible to become naturalized British subjects. Besides providing sealed proof from a colony of seven years

[80] Beiler, "From the Rhine to the Delaware Valley," 175-176; Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 105-107, 137-138; Beiler, "'Smuggling Goods or Moving Households?'," 15, 18; "Penn Archives Pennsylvania Marriages," Series 10, Box 33, Folder 2, Wister and Butler Families Papers (Collection 1962), HSP.

of residency, applicants had to supply a witnessed certificate that they had taken the Lord's Supper within the past three months and take several oaths. Subjects naturalized through the act had all the rights as a natural-born British subject, except they could not hold civil or military offices within the British Isles.[81]

Naturalization through Pennsylvanian or British legal statute was often the beginning of a lifetime's interaction with the colonial government and English laws. Merchants frequently bought, sold, and rented out properties throughout the colonies to diversify their income streams and assets. These transactions required the creation of surveying warrants, deeds, and lease agreements that necessitated meetings with officials from the Land Office, proprietor's agents, official surveyors, and local magistrates. German merchants also served as executors of wills for their relatives, fellow German-speaking merchants, friends, and customers.[82]

Even more frequently, merchants became entangled with the British state through courts in Pennsylvania and surrounding colonies to address cases surrounding loans and debt. The Court of Common Pleas assigned Henry Keppele, Daniel Wistar, and a third merchant to be examiners for Johann Eckerts' accounts. Eckerts was a resident of Friedrich Township in Philadelphia County who had gone bankrupt, and the three merchants were tasked with determining just how indebted Eckerts was. Keppele also was one of four men made assignees of the heavily indebted Philadelphia innkeeper, Mr. Dewees in 1768. Similarly, Henry Keppele Jr. along with two other merchants served as administrators for the bankrupt retailers, Johann Schreiber and Johann Braun of Philadelphia. In this case not only did they seek to find out who

[81] Jews and Quakers were exempt from the requirement of taking the Lord's Supper, and the act also allowed for the affirming rather than swearing of the required oaths. William David Evans, Anthony Hammond, and Thomas Colpitts Granger, ed., *A Collection of Statutes Connected with the Administration of the Law; Arranged According to Order of Subjects, with Notes*, 3rd ed. rev., vol. 1 (London, 1836), 10-12.

[82] For examples of German merchants serving as executors of wills, see *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 20, 1765; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 16, 1767; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 15 to April 22, 1771; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 23, 1771; *Pennsylvania Gazette* January 9, 1772.

had claims against the bankrupt party, but they also called in all outstanding debts to the party, and even threatened to sue those who did not settle up.[83]

German-speaking merchants also brought suits to make sure their customers paid their debts. Daniel Wister published two different advertisements in 1766 stating that he would immediately take to court anyone who had debts to him that were over a year old.[84] After his partnership in an ironworks ended in the fall of 1772, immigrant merchant Jacob Winey gave indebted customers of the ironworks until March 1, 1773 to pay up or go to court.[85] These threats of legal suits were not idle. Andreas Bunner,[86] son of German immigrant and Philadelphia innkeeper Rudolph Bunner and frequent business partner with Jacob Winey in the 1760s, secured a bond of judgment against John Spoke for one hundred pounds and asked Lancaster lawyer Jasper Yeates to recover Spoke's debts.[87]

Henry Keppele also relied on Yeates to represent his interests in various courts. For the first half of the 1770s, Keppele secured a string of bonds of judgment and engaged in suits against Robert Semple of Carlisle, Pennsylvania for failing to pay debts. In some of the same letters where he asked Yeates to press the suits against Semple, Keppele also requested his attorney to start new suits against other indebted customers. When Keppele heard that several of his customers from Baltimore would be present at a court session in Yorktown, he asked Yeates

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[83] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, January 19, 1768; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, February 23, 1768; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, October 29, 1771; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 131-132.
[84] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 26, 1766; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, November 24, 1766.
[85] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, September 8, 1772*; Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, February 9, 1773; *Die Germantowner Zeitung*, February 25, 1773.
[86] Andreas Bunner is listed as Andrew in some sources. Also the family name was sometimes spelled Bonner.
[87] Andrew Bunner to Jasper Yeates, May 4, 1769, Philadelphia, vol. 10, leaf 656, David McNeely Stauffer Collection on Westcott's History of Philadelphia (Collection 1095), HSP; Bennet J. Hill and Margaret Howe Hill, "William Fisher, Early Philadelphia Quaker, and his Eighteenth Century Descendants Surnamed Bradford, Brown, Browne, Bunner, Cavender, Cooper, Corker, Fisher, Hartley, Leaming, Lloyd, Lyon, Trotter, and Wilson," *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* 21, no.4 (1960): 290-291.

to be present to initiate suits against them. Keppele Jr.'s clerk George Smith was also sent to that session to aid in securing judgments against those indebted to both Keppeles.[88] Sometimes the threat of a lawsuit could begin the flow of cash and property to a merchant holding debt. William Yoe of Queen Anne's County in Maryland found John Steinmetz's threat of suit to be "disagreeable news to Me," and Yoe promised to send a hundred pounds in cash by the March quarter session the following month as he was in the process of selling some of his land to pay his outstanding debts. While Yoe only gave eighty pounds by the court session, he promised another hundred pounds to Steinmetz by the next month.[89]

Having cleared the legal barriers to trade within the British Empire, German immigrants and their offspring found themselves operating in the competitive and dynamic Philadelphia market. During the last forty years of the colonial period, when German-speaking merchants began to trade in growing numbers, the city surged from being the third-busiest port in British North America to its busiest. Philadelphia's rise as a commercial center was tied in part to its explosive demographic growth and that of the surrounding larger multi-colony region, as well as the city's comparative distance from the frontlines of various colonial conflicts. The city's merchants also expanded their shipping beyond coastal and West Indian routes to transatlantic ones. The value of British imports to Philadelphia in 1774 was forty times what it was at the start

[88] Henry Keppele to Jasper Yeates, December 13, 1771, Philadelphia, vol. 4, leaf 360, David McNeely Stauffer Collection on Westcott's History of Philadelphia (Collection 1095), HSP; Henry Keppele to Jasper Yeates, December 30, 1772, Philadelphia, vol. 25, leaf 1970, David McNeely Stauffer Collection on Westcott's History of Philadelphia (Collection 1095), HSP; Henry Keppele Sr. to Jasper Yeates, December 7, 1775, Philadelphia, Case 1, Box 2, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection (Collection 250A), HSP.

[89] William Yoe to John Steinmetz, February 17, 1770, Queen Ann's County, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 12, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; William Yoe to John Steinmetz, April 16, 1770, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

of the eighteenth century. More than half the continent's exported flour left through Philadelphia, dwarfing its closest rival, New York.[90]

As the city's population and intra-imperial and international trade expanded, so too did its merchant community, from just over two hundred merchants in the early 1750s to over three hundred on the eve of the American Revolution. The merchant community's social and economic makeup was like a pyramid with a large base comprised of men just entering the business, others who were scraping together enough capital for an occasional order of British imports, or small-scale brokers moving goods into the continental interior. Merchants in the middle tier tended to own at least a share of a vessel or their own one, and tried to find a lucrative market to use the vessel or vessels to trade with. The wealthiest individual merchants and firms at the top of the pyramid owned more ships, often larger ones, so much so that the fifty largest merchants in the late-colonial-period controlled half of the city's shipping tonnage.

The German merchants of colonial Philadelphia operated within all levels of the pyramid and bound their German- and English-speaking customers into connections of goods, credit, debts, and information. These connections, especially the networks of durable goods and comestibles from the metropole and Europe, were an immediate and ubiquitous message to colonial consumers that they were all members of an empire and linked to its culture, laws, and history.[91] German merchants, thanks to their linguistic, familial, religious, and commercial ties, were particularly adept at drawing their co-linguists into these webs. In the process, merchants helped bring German immigrants and their progeny into a closer orbit with their new imperial homeland and its cultural productions.

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[90] Simon Finger, "Maritime Labor, Economic Regulation, and the Spoils of Atlantic Commerce in Early Philadelphia," *Early American Studies* 13, no. 4 (Fall 2015): 919; Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia*, 5, 8; Vickers, "The Northern Colonies," 237.
[91] Bickham, "Eating the Empire," 71-73, 80-81, 107-109.

Trading like a Briton: The German Merchants and their Transoceanic and Transcolonial Commercial Networks

The commercial character of Philadelphia's German-speaking merchants differed very little from those of their Anglophone competitors. They followed the dominant trade patterns of the city: imported textiles, manufactured goods, and Asian products from Great Britain, sugar and sugar-based products from the Caribbean, and wines, oils, and fruits from Spain, Portugal, and the Wine Islands. They exported the Mid-Atlantic region's bounty of foodstuffs, timber, furs, and skins as well as hard currency into these same markets. German merchants also occasionally used their connections on the European continent to seek additional business opportunities.

For most of the German-speaking merchants in Philadelphia, trade with Great Britain was the focus of their transatlantic business. Throughout the colonial era, Philadelphia merchants mediated and profited from the flow of goods from Britain and their sales in the colonies. British firms were largely unsuccessful in cutting out Philadelphia merchants and selling these goods directly to colonial retailers and customers.[92] Textiles were the heart of the trade between Great Britain and its North American colonies, and the value of British textiles exports to its American colonies tripled between the mid-1750s and early 1770s. German-speaking merchants sold taffeta, damask, kersey, shalloon, broadcloth, duffel, linen, flannel, osnabrück, duck, chintz, buckram, muslin, and calico in a variety of colors and patterns. While they occasionally acquired re-exported German-made textiles, like Hessian and Silesian linens, the overwhelming bulk of their trade was in British manufactured ones. Alongside bolts and pieces of cloth, German-speaking merchants imported a variety of buttons, buckles, ribbons, and gloves to outfit their

[92] Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation," 200.

colonial consumers.[93] German merchants also sold imported hardware, construction materials, and other goods required by a various crafts—pigments, turpentine, hammers, planes, nails, plate metal, glass panes—in their Philadelphia stores.[94] Household goods, ranging from frying pans to warming pans, from stationary to snuffboxes, appeared in German merchants' orders and advertisements.[95] German merchants also directed spices re-exported from Britain, like nutmeg, cloves, cinnamon, and pepper, as well as British-produced food, from cheeses to porter beer, into colonial homes.[96]

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[93] *Pensylvanische Berichte*, August 1, 1754; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, September 10, 1764; "Invoice of Merchandize ship'd by [Richard] Neave & Son on board the Myrtilla James Caton Commander for Philadelphia by order & on the Proper Account & Risque of Mr Daniel Wistar [Merchant] there and to him Consigned," July 1, 1765, London, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera (hereafter Downs Collection), Winterthur Library, Winterthur, Delaware; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, October 7, 1765; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, May 5, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, September 22, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, June 15, 1773; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, September 14, 1773; Peter Maw, "Yorkshire and Lancashire Ascendant: England's Textile Exports to New York and Philadelphia, 1750-1805," *Economic History Review* 63, no. 3 (August 2010): 734.

[94] For examples of German merchants' advertisements of imported hardware and construction materials, see *Pensylvanische Berichte*, August 16, 1754; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, March 28, 1763; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, July 1, 1765; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, August 10, 1767; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, June 14, 1768; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, November 10, 1772. For examples of orders of imported hardware and construction materials, see Richard Wistar to [Freeman & Oseland], May [1760], Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection; Frederick Kuhl Waste Book, 1752-1807 (Collection Am.9095), HSP; Bill of Lading of James Carr of Colston, January 16, 1771, Bristol, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of William Montgomery of Chalkley, August 1771, Bristol, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of Joseph Volans of Concord, February 19, 1772, Bristol, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading from Peach & Pierce for John Steinmetz, February 3, 1773, Bristol, Series 1, Box 12, Folder 8, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[95] For examples of orders and advertisements of domestic durable goods by Philadelphia's German merchants, see *Penslvanische Berichte* January 1, 1755; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, September 10, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, October 7, 1765; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, August 10, 1767; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, June 14, 1768; "Account of Goods which pay duty in Unity," c. 1769, [Philadelphia?], vol. 9, leaf 1160, Port of Philadelphia Customs House Records (Collection 0157), HSP; Bill of Lading of Giles Washer of Princes Royall, May 10, 1770, Bristol, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of James Carr of Colston, January 16, 1771, Bristol, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 21, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, May 5, 1772; Bill of Lading of James Haythorne of Severn for John Steinmetz, March 7, 1774, Bristol, Series 1, Box 12, Folder 8, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of George Johnson of Motly for John Steinmetz, September 13, 1774, Bristol, Series 1, Box 12, Folder 8, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[96] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 28, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, September 10, 1764; *Die Germantowner Zeitung*, November 7, 1771; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, June 14, 1768; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, May 5, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische*

To secure this multitude of goods from the British Isles, German merchants had to establish business relations with metropolitan merchant firms. Often these connections began through a recommendation of a mutual contact or by sending over a bill of exchange to prove their financial credibility. When Richard Wistar sought to import glass from the Bristol glass manufacturers Samuel and Daniel Taylor in 1759, he wrote to them that their mutual friend, Captain James Child, had recommended the two parties do business after Wistar bought some of their glass from Child. He also noted that the manufacturers could contact Bristol merchant William Freeman and Jonah Thompson, likely the Quaker minister in Dorchestershire who had family in Philadelphia, as additional references. With his initial order in the same letter, Wistar also sent a bill of exchange, worth over twenty pounds, of Isaac Webster drawing on prominent Quaker merchant, John Hanbury of London, as partial payment. The Philadelphian German merchant, having established a line of communication and some level of trust with his British counterpart, would then place a larger order for goods often valued in the hundreds if not thousands of pounds sterling.[97]

While London remained the primary location from which to import goods, Philadelphia's German merchants joined the trend of other colonial American merchants in sending some orders and ships to other British cities to find the goods they were looking for and at better prices. In the third quarter of the eighteenth century export rates to America grew faster in ports beyond London, and a third of British exports to the American colonies left non-London ports by the eve of the American Revolution.[98] Steinmetz developed relations with Peach and Pierce of

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Staatsbote, November 9, 1773; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 7, 1772; Bill of Lading of James Carr of Colston, January 16, 1771, Bristol, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[97] Richard Wistar to Samuel Taylor & Brothers, January 7, 1759, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Thomas M. Doerflinger, "Commercial Specialization in Philadelphia's Merchant Community, 1750-1791," *Business History Review* 57, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 35.

[98] Maw, "Yorkshire and Lancashire Ascendant," 738.

Bristol, Manchester-based textile manufacturers and merchants, Benjamin and John Bowers, and Emanuel and Samuel Elam of Leeds, alongside London houses like Pigou and Booth, and Richard Neave and Son.[99] Richard Wistar imported hardware, agricultural tools, metal goods, stoneware, delftware, and flatware from William Freeman of Bristol. Wistar also ordered textiles from Robert and Nathan Hyde of Manchester and Samuel Elam.[100]

With British markets largely uninterested in Mid-Atlantic products, German merchants had to generate profits trading to other parts of the Atlantic to pay for their British imports. In the Caribbean and southern North America, as well as in Iberia, it was easier for Philadelphia merchants to generate cash or bills of exchange in their favor through the sale of Mid-Atlantic foodstuffs and timber.[101]

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[99] Bill of Lading of Giles Washer of Princes Royall, May 10, 1770, Bristol, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of Gideon Villeneufer of Amelia, January 1771, Liverpool, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of Nathaniel Falconer of Britannia, January 15, 1771, London, Series 1, Box 13, Folder, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of James Carr of Colston, January 16, 1771, Bristol, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of Nathaniel Falconer of Britannia, January 25, 1771, London, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of John Marshall of York, February 12, 1771, London, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of James Sutton of Catherine, August 10, 1772, London, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 2, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; "Mr. John Steinmetz his Account Current with Peach & Pierce," March 25, 1775, [Bristol?], Series 1, Box 13, Folder 4, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; R.G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds, 1700-1830* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1971), 243.

[100] Richard Wistar to Freeman & Oseland, November 27, 1759, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Richard Wistar to [Freeman & Oseland], May [1760], Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Order to William Freeman, December 4, 1766, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library**;** Order to William Freeman, May 12, 1767, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Invoice of Sundry [Merchandise] shipt on board the Catherine Alexander Henderson [Master] for [Philadelphia] as by Order & on the proper Acct. Risque of Mr. [Richard] Wistar there & to him Consign'd of [William] Freeman," March 10, 1767, Bristol, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Order to Robert & Nathan Hyde of Manchester, November 23, 1766, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Richard Wistar to Samuel Elam, December 4, 1766, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library.

[101] Doerflinger, "Commercial Specialization in Philadelphia's Merchant Community," 24, 36; James G. Lydon, *Fish and Flour for Gold, 1600-1800: Southern Europe in the Colonial Balance of Payments* (Philadelphia: Program in Early American Economy and Society, Library Company of Philadelphia, 2008), 34, 129, 131; Plummer, "Consumer Credit in Colonial Philadelphia," 387-388, 396.

For Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, as with most eighteenth-century Philadelphia merchants, the Caribbean served as their first site of regular intra-imperial trade. Keppele became a part owner of the vessel *Britannia* in 1761, which made regular trips to Barbados and Jamaica.[102] John Steinmetz seized an opportunity afforded him by the British occupation of Havana in August 1762. Steinmetz arrived in the city less than a month after its capitulation, and working with Huguenot Philadelphia merchant Christopher Pechin, supplied the British occupying force with a range of provisions, including soap, candles, shoes, cheese, butter, bread, apples, wine, and tea. Steinmetz used the proceeds to buy sugar and hides as well as secure bills of exchange. The venture ended before early October 1763 with Steinmetz's return north and the transfer of Havana back to the Spanish as part of the Treaty of Paris concluding the Seven Years' War.[103]

Steinmetz and Keppele continued to engage in the coastal trade throughout the colonial era. Steinmetz occasionally worked with Pechin in these ventures, including in late 1763 when Pechin moved down to Savannah, Georgia for several months and shipped rice back to Steinmetz and his mother while selling flour and apples they sent down the coast.[104] In the 1770s Steinmetz sold a steady stream of Lisbon wine and occasionally apples to Charleston firms James & Neilson and Shirley & Price and ordered back rice and indigo.[105] Occasionally both Keppeles

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[102] John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 194; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 124.

[103] Christopher Pechin to John Steinmetz, October 26, 1762, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 2, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Christopher Pechin to John Steinmetz, October 30, 1762, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 2, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Christopher Pechin to John Steinmetz, April 19, 1763, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 2, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; John Fell to John Steinmetz, October 1763, New York, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 2, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[104] Christopher Pechin to John Steinmetz, November 10, 1763, Savannah, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 2, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Christopher Pechin to John Steinmetz, November 22, 1763, Savannah, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 2, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[105] Shipping Record, December 28, 1773, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 12, Folder 8, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of Thomas Mason of Prince of Wales, March 8, 1774, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 12, Folder 8, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of Samuel Wright of

and Steinmetz sent their jointly owned ship, *Catharine*, to Caribbean ports in the early 1770s laden with flour, bread, biscuits, fish, pork, wine, iron, boards, and staves for making barrels. They then transported to London local goods like sugar, logwood, and ginger.[106]

Many German merchants also found ready markets for Mid-Atlantic produce in Iberia and the Wine Islands, and overall trade between Philadelphia and the peninsula grew rapidly in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.[107] Like the coastal trade with North America and the Caribbean, trade with Southern Europe and Atlantic islands was generally conducted by Philadelphia merchants with an eye toward generating surpluses to pay off debts in Great Britain.[108] Jacob Winey, the Keppeles, and Steinmetz worked most closely with the British firm Parr, Bulkeley, & Company of Lisbon. Winey even co-owned the 120-ton Philadelphia-built ship *King of Portugal* with John Bulkeley and Thomas Parr, and another Bulkeley relative was the vessel's master.[109] The Lisbon-based firm advised the German-speaking merchants of local

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Charlestown Packet, May 21, 1774, Charleston, Series 1, Box 12, Folder 8, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of Samuel Wright of Charlestown Packet, August 25, 1774, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 12, Folder 8, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Shipping Contract of John Steinmetz with William Moore of the Sea Nymph, October 22, 1774, [Philadelphia?], Series 1, Box 9, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Shipping Contract of James & Neilson with William Moore of the Sea Nymph, November 16, 1774, [Charleston?], Series 1, Box 9, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Invoice of James & Neilson for Brig Charlestown Packet on Account and Risk of John Steinmetz, April 14, 1774, Charleston, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Sale of Four Pipes and Two Quarter Pipes Lisbon Wine Received by the Charlestown Packet and Sold on Account of John Steinmetz, May 10, 1775, Charleston, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[106] "Freights from Jamaica to Europe," August 25, 1773, Kingston, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 15, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; "Sundry goods on board the Catharine for Jamaica on Freight Shipped by the following persons," November 10, 1773, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 4, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Lading of James Sutton of Catherine, November 24, 1773, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 3, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Pigou & Booth to John Steinmetz, September 22, 1774, London, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 4, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[107] Lydon, *Fish and Flour for Gold*, 129-130, 145-146; McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 195, 197.

[108] Doerflinger, "Commercial Specialization in Philadelphia's Merchant Community," 36.

[109] Parr and Bulkeley to Henry Keppele and Son, May 14, 1771, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 12, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, and Co. to Henry Keppele Sr. and John Steinmetz, August 12, 1773, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 15, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; "Manifest of freight of Ship Charming Peggy Thomas Dowman Master from Philadelphia arrived here the 9th July 1774," July 9, 1774, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 4, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; *Story & Humphreys's Pennsylvania Mercury, and Universal Advertiser*, September 1, 1775; Ships Registered at the

demand and prices, particularly for grains. They also provided the introductions between the Philadelphia merchants and the British Tenerife-based firm Commyns Brothers & Power, who sold hundreds of pipes of Canary Islands wine to the Keppeles and Steinmetz. Besides importing wine, the Keppeles and Steinmetz also carried back citrus, raisins, corks, oils, and silk from the region.[110] To pay for all these purchases the German-speaking Philadelphia merchants sent flour, corn, staves of various sizes, and fish from the North Atlantic.[111]

Port of Philadelphia Before 1776: A Computerized Listing (reproduction) by John J. McCusker (Collection 3235), HSP. The firm Parr and Bulkeley dominated the American trade in Lisbon in the years prior to the War of American Independence, handling over sixty percent of all North America goods reaching the port in 1772-1773. Besides working with several of the city's German merchants, the firm, along with Commyns Brothers & Powers had relationships with some of the city's most prominent Anglophone merchants and firms including Reese Meredith; Baynton, Wharton & Morgan; and James Pemberton & Co. Parr and Bulkeley to Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, February 5, 1772, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, & Co. to Henry Keppele Jr. and John Steinmetz, April 3, 1772, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Commyns Brothers & Power to [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz, May 18, 1772, Tenerife, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Commyns Brothers & Power to Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, February 11, 1773, Tenerife, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 15, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 217; Lydon, *Fish and Flour for Gold*, 44-45, 45 table 3-2, 151-152, 154-155.

[110] Parr and Bulkeley to Henry Keppele & Son, May 14, 1771, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 12, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr and Bulkeley to Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, February 5, 1772, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, & Co. to Henry Keppele Jr. and John Steinmetz, April 3, 1772, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr and Bulkeley to Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, April 24, 1772, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Commyns Brothers & Power to [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz, May 18, 1772 HSP Collection 1619, Tenerife, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Berkeley, & Co. to Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, June 19, 1772, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 14, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, & Co. to [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz, November 27, 1772, [Lisbon?], Series 1, Box 5, Folder 14, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Commyns Brothers & Power to Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, February 11, 1773, Tenerife, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 15, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 16, 1773; Parr, Bulkeley, & Co. to Henry Keppele Sr. and John Steinmetz, August 12, 1773, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 15, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; "Invoice of merchandise shipped by Parr Bulkeley & Co on the Charming Peggy for Falmouth and Philadelphia on account and risk of Henry Keppele Senr. and John Steinmetz," September 1, 1773, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, December 7, 1773; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 8, 1773; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 3, 1775.

[111] Parr, Bulkeley, & Co. to Henry Keppele Jr. and John Steinmetz, April 3, 1772, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, & Co. to [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz, December 26, 1772, [Lisbon?], Series 1, Box 5, Folder 14, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, & Co. to [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz, February 2, 1773, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 15, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, & Co. to Henry Keppele Sr. and John Steinmetz, August 12, 1773, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 15, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Account of Sales of Goods on Account of Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, August 12, 1773, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 5, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

While the great bulk of German-speaking merchants' trade by volume, frequency, and value followed the patterns already established within the larger merchant community of Philadelphia, several German merchants used their contacts back in continental Europe to created unique commercial opportunities. Caspar Wistar worked for fifteen years with his old childhood friend, Georg Friedrich Hölzer from the Electoral Palatinate, to import a variety of German-made goods. By the time Wistar reconnected with his friend in 1730, Hölzer had established himself as a merchant, town councilman, and elder in the local Reformed Church in Neckargemünd. Throughout the 1730s and early 1740s, Wistar ordered a variety of goods including German-language Bibles, hymnals, and spelling books, glasses, tobacco pipes, mirrors, knives, scissors, and needles. Wistar's orders were placed with an eye to supplying his fellow German immigrants with goods they failed to find elsewhere in colonial markets, like hairpins favored by Swiss and Mennonite women and long-barreled rifles.[112]

Since neither Wistar nor Hölzer crossed the Atlantic during their years of commerce, they relied on others to carry the goods and correspondence. When two of Wistar's sisters left for Pennsylvania in 1737 they carried over one of Wistar's orders, and in 1742 Wistar's niece carried over goods for him that he had placed the year before with an agent named Wilhelm Ziegler. Ziegler was one of several men, called *Neuländer*, who crossed the Atlantic frequently to carry letters and bequests, and serve as representatives of those who hired them in legal matters like settling estates. These men also promoted immigration to North American colonies and frequently received per capita payments for people they delivered to ship masters and shipowners carrying Germans to America. Through these men, Wistar placed orders and had his goods shepherded to ports and across the ocean, often in parcels that immigrants would claim as

[112] Beiler, "From the Rhine to the Delaware Valley," 173, 175, 177, 180; Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 135, 139, 144-146; Beiler, "'Smuggling Goods or Moving Households?'," 18-20.

personal goods that were exempt from British duties. In exchange, the migrants received some financial compensation for the risk. Besides using *Neuländer*, Hölzer also worked with Mennonite merchant Jacob Schnebeli in Manheim to find Mennonite immigrants who were willing to carry goods to Wistar in their luggage. Wistar reduced his reliance on illicit tactics to import German-made goods following the seizure of the ship *Princess Augusta* in 1736 in Philadelphia. Yet, he never gave up on the practice completely, so he also asked Hölzer to distribute the illicit goods among more immigrants and to no longer have initials carved onto the stocks of the firearms he imported into Pennsylvania.[113]

Several other German merchants found limited commercial opportunities back in German-speaking Europe. The elder Michael Hillegas attempted to compete with Wistar in the importation of German-made hunting rifles, and unsuccessfully attempted to buy up the stock of one of Wistar and Hölzer's regular gunsmiths.[114] Francis Hasenclever, the younger brother of iron manufacturer and international businessman, Peter Hasenclever, imported manufactured and other goods not just from Britain, but also German-produced goods through Dutch ports. The younger Hasenclever brother sold German steel, German-made scythes, saws, and knives, Rhenish wines, Bavarian whetstones, Silesian and Osnabrück linen, and German-language books.[115] In the late 1760s, the elder Henry Keppele began importing pharmaceuticals from the Francke Foundations' pharmacy in Halle, often in partnership with his son-in-law, the Lutheran pastor Justus Heinrich Christian Helmuth.[116]

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[113] Beiler, "From the Rhine to the Delaware Valley," 184, 187-188; Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 13, 104-105, 137, 141; Beiler, "'Smuggling Goods or Moving Households?'," 12-15, 18-20, 22-23; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 87-88, 142-143.
[114] Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 146.
[115] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 28, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 13, 1773; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, June 15, 1773; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 223.
[116] Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine*, 10, 118, 134, 139, 143, 146, 147.

Besides moving goods, there was money to be made in moving people from German lands. Several of Philadelphia's German merchants entered the business of transporting German-speaking immigrants to Pennsylvania, the same business that carried many of them across the Atlantic years before. Henry Keppele, John Steinmetz, Michael Hillegas Jr., and Jacob Winey became involved in the business of shipping German migrants and turned profits by selling passage or the passenger's labor in and around Philadelphia. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the system of "redemptioning" immigrants, receiving passage payment from migrants' families, friends, or future employers or selling their labor to pay off the migrants' debts, expanded the flow and altered the demographics of German immigration to British North America. While the trade was initially in the hands of British merchants in Rotterdam, and financed and insured by firms in London, Philadelphian merchants played an increasingly active role in the business as the eighteenth century progressed. At first, Philadelphia merchants were largely limited to taking commissions for collecting fares and indenturing arriving immigrants, as well as for outfitting the ships for their return voyages first to the Caribbean and then onto Rotterdam and other European ports. Some Philadelphians took consignments of immigrants from European merchants and sold the new arrivals' labor through indentures. By midcentury, Philadelphians started to own the ships and finance more of the voyages themselves.[117]

Keppele's path in the trade followed this pattern as he first entered the business by securing a consignment of 386 German immigrants in 1752 from Captain George Parish on the ship, *Queen of Denmark*. Keppele over the next three years took six more consignments of German immigrants totaling almost two thousand people including 504 adult men. These men accounted for almost nine percent of all adult male immigrants who arrived during the surge in

[117] Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 93, 107-108, 111.

German migration between 1751 and 1756.[118] Keppele sought to get around the strict regulations on the trade imposed by the Dutch authorities, as well as the ensconced position of several well-established firms in Rotterdam, by having his migrants shipped from Hamburg. Five of his seven consignments in the 1750s came from there. Keppele's use of Hamburg was unique in the larger industry, as only nine of the 255 redemptioner transport voyages began there between 1727 and 1775.[119] Keppele hoped Hamburg would be a place where he would have the advantage as a native German-speaker and as someone with contacts among the merchant community. Hamburg also offered a proximate point for attracting immigrants from northern German states, a region that was still largely detached from transatlantic migration. The Seven Years' War ended Keppele's hope of further opening up Hamburg.

In the 1770s Keppele reentered the passenger trade with his own ships. No longer relying on consignments from Hamburg and Rotterdam, Keppele and his fellow shipowners, Keppele Jr. and Steinmetz, took aboard German immigrants and others in London where they regularly sent their ship, *Catharine*. Through their business relation, Joseph Barfield, who helped the three German-speaking merchants' vessels clear customs and outfit themselves at Falmouth, Keppele and Steinmetz sought to receive more German immigrants aboard their ships from Hamburg or Dutch ports, but to no avail. The parties of immigrants the merchants loaded onto their ships were much smaller than Keppele's consignments from the 1750s. These smaller consignments were due both to the struggle to find passengers in the 1770s, as well as the fact that the

[118] Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America*, 62-63; *Pensylvanische Berichte*, December 16, 1754; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 244-246, appendix: German Immigrant Voyages, 1683-1775.
[119] Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America*, 23; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 66n20.

Keppeles and Steinmetz were taking on passengers to supplement freights of imports rather than filling up an entire ship with people.[120]

Several other German merchants from Philadelphia also sought to profit in the trade alongside Keppele. Michael Hillegas Jr. was one of four co-owners of the ship *Henrietta* that carried over 239 German immigrants from Rotterdam in 1754 in coordination with the Rotterdam-based Dunlop Company. He served as the point person for the Philadelphia operations of the voyage. Jacob Winey's 150-ton ship, *King of Prussia* sailed 143 immigrants to Philadelphia from Rotterdam in the fall of 1775. Yet, only the Keppeles and Steinmetz ran multiple voyages transporting these peoples from their homelands into the British American colonies.[121]

The trade networks that German-speaking merchants established beyond the Mid-Atlantic colonies closely paralleled the commercial operations of other merchants in Philadelphia. They exported foodstuffs and timber to markets in the Caribbean, Iberia, and, occasionally Great Britain. They brought back manufactured, comestibles, and dry goods from the metropole; sugar, rum, and molasses from Hispaniola, Jamaican, and Bahamian ports; and wines, silks, and oils from Lisbon and Tenerife. There was much profit to be made in this trade within and beyond the British Empire, thanks to their right to trade as naturalized imperial

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[120] Joseph Barfield to Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, April 7 1773, Falmouth, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Passenger Articles with James Sutton of Catharine, March 15, 1773, London, Series 1, Box 16, Folder 8, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; "Passengers from London [per] the Catharine arrived at Philadelphia April 28 1773," c. 1773, [Philadelphia?], Series 1, Box 8, Folder 4, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Häberlein, "Migration and Business Ventures," 21; Mark Häberlein, "Wirtschaftliche und politische Eliten unter den deutschsprachigen Einwanderern in Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Deutsche Eliten in Übersee (16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Markus A. Denzel (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 2006), 30; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 81, 248, appendix: German Immigrant Voyages, 1683-1775.

[121] Ships Registered at the Port of Philadelphia Before 1776: A Computerized Listing (reproduction) by John J. McCusker (Collection 3235), HSP; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 245, 248, appendix: German Immigrant Voyages, 1683-1775.

subjects. They had the protection of the Royal Navy and the benefits of trade treaties and privileges around the Atlantic basin. Occasionally, German merchants sought to leverage their connections back to their home communities into profits that their British competitors did not enjoy. Some imported select German-made goods that they believed would be in high demand within the immigrant community, and others sought to find would-be immigrants in their homelands to pay their freight in cash or labor. German merchants found other ways to differentiate themselves from their fellow merchants through the retail side of their operations.

Selling to Siedler: German Merchants and their Immigrant Consumers

Along with their transatlantic and transregional trading ventures, German-speaking merchants sought to sell their diverse wares to their fellow Philadelphians and in the surrounding countryside and towns. The population in the interior of the Mid-Atlantic colonies surged at midcentury. This growth spurred the creation of a string of new towns during and after the Seven Years' War, like Allentown, Pottstown, Lebanon, Jonestown, Fredericksburg, Hanover, Heidelberg, Chambersburg, and Manheim. Already established towns also experienced growth and Lancaster had over three thousand residents by the mid-1770s, making it British North America's largest inland community.[122]

In addition to a growing population, the Mid-Atlantic interior appealed to Philadelphia's German-speaking merchants because of the growing prosperity of individuals living there and the significant German presence in the region. German immigrants and their offspring were the majority of the population in county seats like Reading, Lancaster, and Yorktown, older towns

[122] Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*, 76; Glatfelter, *The Pennsylvania Germans*, 12; Häberlein, "Wirtschaftliche und politische Eliten unter den deutschsprachigen Einwanderern in Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert," 36; Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 17 table 5.

like Germantown, Bethlehem, and Shippensburg, and many of the new towns established in the 1750s and early 1760s. Mid-Atlantic farmers, especially those producing grain, were becoming increasingly connected to markets around the Atlantic basin, and a growing portion of their output became commercial surplus thereby increasing their purchasing power. Many inland communities also began to specialize in artisanal and metallurgic industries in the late colonial period. Manheim emerged around German immigrant Henry William Stiegel's glassworks, Heidelberg in the Lebanon Valley connected with surrounding iron furnaces and forges, Lancaster developed a reputation for quality saddles and firearms, and Reading became a center of hat making.[123]

Despite the growing wealth of the Mid-Atlantic regional market midcentury, many Anglophone Philadelphia merchant firms were uninterested or hesitant about engaging in small-scale retail in the interior, especially with the German-speaking communities. They were loath to extend small amounts of credit to individuals who might live in isolated locations, and whose creditworthiness was unreliable or unknown. Enough non-payments by individual customers borrowing on short credit (generally three to six months) could disrupt the flow of the long-term credit (usually twelve months) and goods from the metropole that kept these merchant ventures operational over an ocean and throughout a cash-poor colonial economic system.[124] German customers in North America gained the reputation of being particularly lax about paying back loans and book debt on time, as such rigid adherence to payment schedules was uncommon back

[123] Glatfelter, *The Pennsylvania Germans*, 12; Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 139; Diane Wenger, "Delivering the Goods: The Country Storekeeper and Inland Commerce in the Mid-Atlantic," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 129, no. 1 (January 2005): 52.
[124] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 317; Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation," 200; Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia*, 16-17; Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 27-28, 119; Plummer, "Consumer Credit in Colonial Philadelphia," 389, 394-395; Simon, *Philadelphia,* 7; Vickers, "The Northern Colonies," 244.

in their home communities.[125] The firm James and Drinker insisted to German immigrant and Lancaster tailor and shopkeeper Christian Wertz that he pay cash for his order and they would not extend credit to him. In a 1754 business letter, the Philadelphia firm Charles Willing and Son bemoaned the practice of selling goods on credit to rural customers, comparing it to "'throwing Your Money on the surface of the Water.'"[126]

German-speaking merchants were less daunted by the challenges of retailing beyond Philadelphia and its immediate surroundings. They attempted to use their cultural, linguistic, and religious connections with their fellow German-speaking colonists to gain an edge in commerce with inland communities. They offered to help navigate and translate foreign markets, goods, and language to recent arrivals. Daniel Wister and John Steinmetz developed strong customer bases in these areas, especially Berks, Lancaster, and York counties. Henry Keppele supplied many German retailers in Lancaster, who would even have their merchandise from other Philadelphia firms sent by way of Keppele's house. Adam Zantzinger specifically named and assured rural customers in his 1773 advertisement in the Philadelphia-published, German newspaper, *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, that their orders would be received graciously and filled completely and in a timely manner.[127]

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[125] Henry Laurens to Foster, Cunliffe & Sons, November 5, 1755 [Charleston], in *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, vol. 2, *Nov. 1, 1755—Dec. 31, 1758*, ed. Philip M. Hamer and George C. Rogers, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 9-10; Henry Laurens to Foster, Cunliffe & Sons, February 24, 1756, [Charleston], in Hamer and Rogers Jr., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 2:106; Henry Laurens to James Rocquette, March 6, 1757, [Charleston], in Hamer and Rogers Jr., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 2:485; Stephen Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, 1740-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 132; Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 27; McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 206; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 195; Hermann Wellenreuther, "Contexts for Migration in Early Modern World: Public Policy, European Migrating Experiences, Transatlantic Migration, and the Genesis of American Culture," in Lehmann, Wellenreuther, and Wilson, *In Search of Peace and Prosperity*, 32; Wood Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads*, 110-111.

[126] Charles Willing and Son to Robert Hibbert, July 30, 1754, Willing and Morris Letterbook, 1754-1761 [Charles Willing and Son Letterbook (Collection Am.9320)], p. 10, HSP, quoted in Doerflinger, "Commercial Specialization in Philadelphia's Merchant Community," 32; Wood Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads*, 101, 110-111.

[127] *Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, October 26, 1773; Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*, 92; McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America*, 201; Wokeck, "Rethinking the Significance of the 1709

Zantzinger and almost all the other German merchants used German-language newspapers to reach customers throughout the Mid-Atlantic. Newspaper advertisements held a particular appeal to colonial American merchants over other contemporaneous advertising medium like trade cards and window displays because of their ability to reach a much more geographically diffuse audience. Furthermore, newspapers took advantage of the comparatively high literacy rate among colonists. German colonists' literacy rates reached about eighty percent by the early 1770s.[128] Germantown-based Christopher Sauer's *Pensylvanische Berichte* enjoyed a peak circulation of over four thousand copies an issue, while Philadelphia-based Heinrich Miller's *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote* had subscribers from Nova Scotia to Georgia.[129]

German merchants used a variety of strategies to promote their businesses in German-language newspapers. Merchants routinely advertised when their stores moved locations, as when Jacob Winey and Andreas Bunner moved their operations from Market Street to the east side of Front Street, just below its intersection with Chestnut Street.[130] Similarly, newly established merchants announced their location, their readiness to serve prospective customers, and detailed their offerings. In August 1764 Henry Keppele Jr. declared that he had recently imported goods from London and was selling them at his shop on Market Street across from the city jail. Keppele Jr. meticulously listed his offerings of various textiles, clothes, and metal domestic goods, like thimbles, cutlery, and needles.[131] Merchants also advertised the arrival and

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Mass Migration," in *A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, ed. Jan Stievermann and Oliver Scheidling (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 34; Wood Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads*, 103-104, 107-108.

[128] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 320; Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America*, 96, 112; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 50.

[129] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, October 3, 1763; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 2:297-298; Pfleger, "Between Subject and Citizen," 9-10; Schöberl, "Daniel Pastorius and the Foundation of Germantown," 21.

[130] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, November 2, 1767.

[131] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, September 10, 1764.

departure of their ships at the port of Philadelphia. The Keppeles and Steinmetz ran advertisements in 1771 to attract both passengers and freight for the next voyage of their London-bound ship *Catharine*, as well as to note that they had secured an assortment of goods like gunpowder, pewterware, textiles, paints, and juniper berries.[132] Keppele and his son-in-law Steinmetz also conducted a comparable advertising campaign for their ship *Charming Peggy* after it arrived in Philadelphia loaded with wines from Lisbon.[133]

German merchants often ran parallel campaigns in English-language publications. Keppele and Steinmetz ran advertisements in December 1773 in both English and German to sell their imported Iberian wines, citrus, olives, and corks.[134] Keppele Jr. placed his announcement of his own shop's opening in both *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.[135]

Communicating through written messages was critical for rural consumers who often went months, if not years, without visiting the large merchant shops of Philadelphia. Letters enabled customers to place specific orders and make payments to Philadelphia merchants. German-language correspondence kept a flow of goods, credit, and cash moving between German immigrant customers and retailers in inland communities and the German-speaking merchant community who served them as retailers and wholesalers.[136]

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[132] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 16, 1771; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, September 17, 1771; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 21, 1772.
[133] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, June 15, 1773.
[134] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, December 7, 1773; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 8, 1773.
[135] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 23, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, September 10, 1764.
[136] For example, Peter Seip of Northampton County in 1773 asked John Steinmetz to send him a piece of red flannel with the bearer of the letter. Johannes Schültz of Yorktown also wrote to Steinmetz in German about sending him goods ranging from a barrel of mackerels to clapboard nails to coffee. Peter Seip to John Steinmetz, December 11, 1773, Series 1, Box 16, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Johannes Schültz to John Steinmetz, December 22, 1766, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Johannes Schültz to John Steinmetz, January 22, 1767, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Johannes Schültz to John Steinmetz, June 22, 1767, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

Some Anglophone merchants recognized the importance of communicating in German in order to compete for customers in the villages and towns of the Mid-Atlantic. They, too, regularly advertised in the colony's German press.[137] The young English Quaker orphan Charles Mifflin was sent by his relations in 1769 to the Ephrata Cloister, a small German monastic community influenced by Protestant mysticism and Anabaptist traditions, to learn German in order to improve his business prospects as an adult.[138]

A critical segment of the customer base for many German-speaking merchants was publicans, innkeepers, and retailers. These people bought goods in large quantities and at semi-regular intervals. With German immigrants opening stores and taverns all over the Mid-Atlantic, German merchants had a competitive advantage in forging these business relationships. As soon as colonists created towns, drinking establishments appeared. There was one in Germantown within a year of its 1683 founding, Lancaster had one by 1717, Carlisle by 1731, and Chambersburg in 1732. In 1750, Yorktown had six taverns, or one for every ten domiciles in the community. Philadelphia had over one hundred licensed public houses by 1744 and over 160 thirty years later, or one for about every 140 residents.[139] Publicans generally relied on just a few suppliers to keep libations and other essentials stocked, and immigrant tavernkeepers often

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[137] Anglophone Philadelphia merchants who regularly ran German-language advertisements included John and William Kidd, Daniel and Philip Benezet, and Daniel and George Rundle. For examples of John and William Kidd's advertisements, see *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, September 26, 1763; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, December 6, 1768. For examples of Daniel and Philip Benezet's advertisements, see *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, March 7, 1763; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 30, 1763; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, November 28, 1763. For examples of Daniel and George Rundle's advertisements, see *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 2, 1763; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, June 18, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, October 1, 1771.
[138] Jeff Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 78.
[139] Robert Earle Graham, "The Taverns of Colonial Philadelphia," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43, no. 1 (1953): 318; Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 240, 242; Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 115-116; Sam Bass Warner Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1971), 19.

turned to their fellow Germans to be their suppliers.[140] John Wister, as a wine merchant and broker, sold much of his stock to German-speaking publicans all over the region. His customers included Peter Werle of the Red Ox Inn in Germantown, tavernkeeper Jacob Henning of Lancaster, and Leonhard Melchior, who ran an inn on Second Street in Philadelphia.[141]

These taverns, inns, and stores served as the commercial nodes for their communities, from county seats to secluded villages. They bought the produce of remote German-speaking communities, and sold them goods secured from Philadelphia or interior commercial towns, like Lancaster.[142] Through these inland businesses, Philadelphia's German merchants could reach even the most isolated clusters of Germans. Through sales to resident Michael Swope between August 1750 and August 1752, John Wister provided the overwhelmingly German settlement of Yorktown with over six hundred gallons of rum, almost ten pipes of wine from Iberia and Madeira, and over seven hundred pounds of sugar in various forms, along with a range of dry goods. At the time, Yorktown, present-day York, was over a day's journey to the nearest town of Lancaster even in optimal conditions, and its several hundred denizens resided in sixty-three dwellings, almost all of them log cabins.[143]

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[140] Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 240, 242; Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 115-116.
[141] John Wister Ledger, 1747-1770, p. 10, 106-107, 117-118, vol. 1, Wister Family Papers (Collection 1625A), HSP; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 2, 1763; William Henry Egle, ed. *Notes and Queries Historical, Biographical and Genealogical Relating Chiefly to Interior Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, (Harrisburg: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1894), 199; Edward W. Hocker *Genealogical Data Relating to the German Settlers of Pennsylvania and Adjacent Territory: From Advertisements in German Newspapers Published in Philadelphia and Germantown, 1743-1800* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1980), 39. The Melchior family name was sometimes spelled Melcher in contemporary sources.
[142] Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 81, 85-86, 94; Wenger, "Delivering the Goods," 46-48.
[143] John Wister Ledger, 1747-1770, p. 135, 137, vol. 1, Wister Family Papers (Collection 1625A), HSP; Paul E. Doutrich III, "The Evolution of an Early American Town: Yorktown, Pennsylvania, 1740-1790" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1985), 19-20, 30-31; Gilbert Ernest Swope, ed. *History of the Swope Family and Their Connections, 1678-1896* (Lancaster, PA: T.B. & H.B Cochran, 1896), 369-370. Doutrich estimates that the town was conservatively sixty to seventy percent of German origin in 1770. Doutrich, "The Evolution of an Early American Town," 62.

Some German merchants reached customers around the Mid-Atlantic by opening their own country store, or by working closely with a relation who owned a store in communities with a large German population. Caspar Wistar established a country store in New Jersey in the community that grew around his glassworks. Richard Wistar continued to operate the store after his father's death in 1752. The store stocked a variety of iron goods and textiles. Richard Wistar routinely made distinct orders from his British suppliers for this store, and made conscious decisions to order different textiles patterns or colors for that market in contrast to what was imported to his Philadelphia establishment.[144] John Steinmetz's brother-in-law, the Philadelphia merchant William Bell, ran a store in Lancaster beginning in the late 1760s. Steinmetz sold Bell goods of all kinds, including British textiles, nails, rice, brown sugar, and rum.[145] In 1773, Merchant Isaac Melchior, son of the innkeeper Leonhard Melchior, partnered with Thomas Pratten, and arranged for Pratten to run a store in Baltimore that Melchior agreed to advance goods to, and pay for half the store's rent in exchange for half the profits.[146]

German-speaking immigrants and their progeny's business was the life blood of Philadelphia's German merchant community. They comprised markets that many Anglophone competitors either could not or did not want to sell to. Through correspondence, newspaper advertising, family connections, and country stores, these merchants forged connections to their

[144] Richard Wistar to Freeman & Oseland, November 27, 1759, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Richard Wistar to Mildred & Roberts, December 4, 1766, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library**;** Richard Wistar to Samuel Elam, December 4, 1766, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Order to Robert and Nathan Hyde, September 29, 1770, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 170.
[145] William Bell to John Steinmetz, April 10, 1770, Lancaster, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; William Bell to John Steinmetz, April 30, 1770, Lancaster, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; William Bell to John Steinmetz, May 19, 1770, Lancaster, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 14, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.
[146] Register Book H, 1765-1777 (Mss.347.96.M615), p. 130, APS; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 6, 1773.

German clientele and plied them with the multitude of products they secured from around the Atlantic basin. These goods became fundamental to German immigrants' acculturation into the wider Anglo and imperial economy and culture.

Consuming Like an Imperial Subject: The Case of Wine and Tea

The trade networks of Philadelphia's German merchants exposed their co-linguists in the colonies to new goods and new styles of well-known products, and made what had been luxuries into ubiquitous consumables. These wares brought German-speaking colonists' consumption patterns and related cultural practices more closely in line with their Anglophone neighbors and fellow subjects around the British Empire. These subtle but important movements can be seen in the commerce surrounding wines and teas. Their presence, along with a variety of other comestibles and manufactured products in stores, public houses, and private homes signaled to German colonists that they had entered a space distinct from their original communities across the Atlantic. These same goods also offered an accessible means through which German-speaking colonists might integrate themselves into the society and culture of their new homeland.

For German immigrants in the Mid-Atlantic colonies, what to drink was no small matter. Wine could remain a staple of one's table and one's choice drink at public houses, but the wine often looked a little different, smelled different, and tasted different than what one remembered from back home across the ocean. Depending on where one shopped and drank, the glass or bottle of wine went through the hands of one of their co-linguists in Philadelphia trading around the Atlantic. However, the German merchants in Philadelphia were not usually focused on preserving Central European tastes in North America, but rather sought to turn their fellow Germans' tastes in line with the larger Anglo culture. These merchants through their dealings in

wines provided a daily reminder that the immigrants were in a different world, one that could be adapted to and even enjoyed.

For the emigrants from the Rhineland and the Holy Roman Empire' southwestern corner, who were the vast majority of transatlantic migrations over the eighteenth century, wine was a staple beverage. Moreover, wine consumption in British North America was not limited to German immigrants but found in taverns and in households of colonists of various social standing and backgrounds. The thirst for wine could not be quenched by colonial production. North American grape varieties had smaller berries, were less sweet, and possessed higher acidity levels that made them ill-suited for producing palatable wines. Moreover, the greater extremes in temperature and humidity on the eastern edges of North America compared to the wine-growing regions of Europe created higher risks for funguses, insects, bacteria, and frosts for both native and imported vines. Despite attempts throughout the colonial period to establish viticulture using both native and European vines, especially in southern colonies, commercially viable wine production in North America emerged only in the nineteenth century.[147] Hence, wine was a major import in the colonial era and made up a sizable portion of the re-exports of European goods from Great Britain to its North American colonies.[148]

The German immigrants from the upper Rhineland and wider region consumed locally produced Rhenish wines; and while Rhenish wine was also popular in Britain, it remained a small part of overall wine consumption within the British Empire. The British government

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[147] Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754, Containing Not Only a Description of the Country According to its Present Condition, But also a Detailed Account of the Sad and Unfortunate Circumstances of Most of the Germans That Have Emigrated or Are Emigrating to that Country*, trans. Carl Theodor Eben (Philadelphia, 1898), 66-67; Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 110-111; Erica Hannickel, *Empire of Vines: Wine Culture in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 8-9; Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America*, vol. 1, *From the Beginnings to Prohibition*, 2nd rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 94-100.

[148] Stephen Conway, "British Governments, Colonial Consumers, and Continental European Goods in the British Atlantic Empire, 1763-1775," *Historical Journal* 58, no. 3 (September 2015): 714.

placed high duties on Rhenish wine and frequent warfare in the region, especially in the early eighteenth century, disrupted its exportation. Furthermore, local demand for Rhenish wine was so high that it was often difficult to secure a regular supply for export. While the wine carried a positive reputation for quality in Britain, it was also thought of as being one that did not travel well. Importers assumed there was a high risk of Rhenish degrading in transit to Britain that only rose higher when it was shipped across the Atlantic to North America. Continental European wines from outside Iberia, including Rhenish, French, and Italian wines, accounted for just over eleven percent of wine imports to British North American during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century.[149]

The importation of Rhenish wine through Philadelphia was largely in the hands of the same group of retailers and artisans who made periodic buying trips back to continental Europe, like German-speaking Swiss Johannes Hegetschweiler of Lancaster or Johannes Seyl. Occasionally other immigrants made single orders of re-exported German wine through Britain, like William Stoy of Second Street in Philadelphia.[150] It was these actors, rather than the German merchant community of Philadelphia, who kept a trickle of Rhenish wine flowing into the drinking establishments and private homes of the Mid-Atlantic colonies.[151]

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[149] A.D. Francis, *The Wine Trade* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1972), 117; Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 117 figure 4.3.

[150] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, September 23, 1765; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, July 20, 1767; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 6, 1765; Mark Häberlein, "Transatlantische Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert: Die Kontake südwestdeutscher und Schweizer Einwanderer in Pennsylvania zu ihren Heimatregionen," in *Menschen zwischen zwei Welten: Auswanderung, Ansiedlung, Akkulturation*, ed. Walter G. Rödel and Helmut Schmahl (Trier: Wissenschaftler Verlag, 2002), 54.

[151] Gottlieb Mittelberger observed during his years in Pennsylvania in the early 1750s that both Spanish and German wines were ubiquitous in taverns and inns along with a variety of other alcoholic drinks. Mittelberger, *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754*, 49, 67. The one exception within Philadelphia's German merchant community was Francis Hasenclever. Hasenclever operated on Second Street on the eve of the American Revolution. He focused his trade on importing European goods through Dutch ports, including Rhenish wine. Although he, too, also sold Tenerife wine at this store. *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 13, 1773; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 223.

Instead, the wines German merchants sold to taverns, inns, and homes were ones they largely imported themselves from Iberia and the Wine Islands or brokered from other leading colonial merchants and firms. They supplied both their Anglophone and German-speaking customers with alcoholic beverages that were much more in line with the tastes of Britons rather than those of Central Europeans. In the 1760s, John Steinmetz occasionally imported pipes of Madeira wine down the coast from New York's second largest wine trader, George Foliot.[152] Following the completion of their ship *Charming Peggy* in early 1772, co-owners Henry Keppele and Steinmetz began sending the vessel on regular trips to Lisbon with occasional stops at other Iberian and Atlantic Island ports. Henry Keppele Jr. was occasionally a partner in these voyages as well. Besides selling the wines in their stores, the partners also sold wine wholesale right at the docks to various retailers and merchants, including smaller German firms, like Sheaff & Sickel.[153]

These three merchants were part of a growing trend of commerce between Philadelphia and Iberia and the wine-producing islands of the Atlantic following the end of the Seven Years' War. The profits in this transatlantic trade improved as numbers of leading Philadelphia merchants and firms shifted from selling wines on commission for British firms in the metropole and Iberia to building their own large vessels for transatlantic shipping, and financing their own ventures to Southern Europe and the Central Atlantic. In addition, the arrival of a period of sustained peace and Great Britain's naval dominance in the Atlantic Ocean lowered overhead costs like insurance and sailors' wages. The bulk of this trade was in Iberian, Madeira, Canary

[152] George Folliott and Co. to John Steinmetz, December 16, 1767, New York, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 205.
[153] "Wines delivered out the Charming Peggy," December 1773, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 5, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Ships Registered at the Port of Philadelphia Before 1776: A Computerized Listing (reproduction) by John J. McCusker (Collection 3235), HSP.

Island, and Azorean wines. The Keppeles and Steinmetz focused on Iberia and Canary Island wines that were growing in popularity against the well-established Madeira wine.[154]

The Keppeles and Steinmetz's trade with Iberia and the Wine Islands was largely mediated through the Lisbon firm, Parr, Bulkeley, & Company and Commyns Brothers & Power in Teneriffe. While the Keppeles and Steinmetz never made formal arrangements to take a set amount of wine annually at a set price as their Lisbon colleagues hoped, the German-speaking merchants did bring over considerable sums of wine to Philadelphia. In the fall of 1773, Keppele and Steinmetz imported four hundred quarter casks and two hundred pipes of Lisbon white wine, a total of over forty thousand gallons from Parr, Bulkeley, & Company aboard their ship, *Charming Peggy*. The fall shipment of wine brought their total wine imports from Iberia to over seventy-five thousand gallons for the year. The following summer the *Charming Peggy* carried back one hundred pipes and 799 quarter casks of wine, a similar total volume from the previous fall, back to Philadelphia.[155] So while wine was an increasingly popular import among Philadelphia merchants at large in the 1760s and 1770s, including some of its wealthiest merchants, like Reese Meredith and Joseph Wharton, several German merchants also became active in expanding the flow of wines popular in Britain to the North American colonies. It was

[154] Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*, 109; Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 116, 214-215; David Hancock, "Self-Organized Complexity and the Emergence of an Atlantic Market Economy, 1651-1815: The Case of Madeira," in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, ed. Peter A. Coclanis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 42-43.
[155] Duty on Wines imported in the Ship Charming Peggy, May 31, 1773, [Philadelphia?], Series 1, Box 9, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Letter to Parr, Bulkeley, and Co., June 22, 1773, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 11, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Invoice of Merchandise Shipped by Parr, Bulkeley, & Co. on the Charming Peggy on Account and Risk of Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, September 1, 1773, [Lisbon?], Series 1, Box 6, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill and Receipt for Duties on Wine on the Charming Peggy, October 31, 1774, [Philadelphia?], Series 1, Box 9, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

with this supply of wine that they kept their tavern-, inn-, and shopkeeper customers, often Germans, well fortified.[156]

John Wister, as a wine merchant and broker, played a critical role in introducing wines favored by British palates to German colonists throughout the Mid-Atlantic region. Wister spent his initial years in Pennsylvania working for his brother, Caspar Wistar, and then trading with inland Pennsylvania communities. Later, he shifted his focus towards alcoholic beverages after he secured himself a property on Market Street in Philadelphia by 1731. Whereas most other German merchants in the city sought to diversify their trading goods, shipping interests, and geographic regions where they traded as they accumulated wealth, Wister instead became more intensely focused on wine and spirits. He concentrated on brokering, buying small quantities of wines from a variety of merchants and retailers who had surpluses or remainders from blending wines. During the 1740s Wister expanded the geographic scope of his business beyond Philadelphia County, finding a growing number of buyers in Lancaster and York counties and later deeper into inland Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland. This expansion of trade and its geographic scope was almost entirely through business with fellow German immigrants. Over eighty-five percent of his customers in the late 1740s were German or Dutch. Wister's biggest customers were tavern and innkeepers, like George Gross of Lancaster and future merchant, Henry Keppele of Philadelphia. Wister's business with his fellow immigrants was

[156] Bulkeley & Co. to Henry Keppele, Jr. and John Steinmetz, April 3, 1772, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, & Co. to Henry Keppele Jr. and John Steinmetz, April 3, 1772, Tenerife, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 13, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, and Co. to Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz, June 21, 1773, [Lisbon?], Series 1, Box 5, Folder 15, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, and Co. to [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz, January 27, 1774, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 2, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*, 69; Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 217.

overwhelmingly in wines, like vidonia, Madeira, and Lisbon, along with Philadelphian, West Indian, and New England rum.[157]

Wister's business continued to rely on German immigrants and their progeny to sustain its success in the 1750s and 1760s. He introduced a variety of practices and offerings to cement his status as a leading wine wholesaler throughout Pennsylvania. He sought on several occasions to secure Rhenish wine for his German customer base through distributors in the Rhineland, Neckar River valley, and Amsterdam. It appears that Wister was never successful in securing a supply in large part due to high local demand. While he was unable to secure Rhenish wine, he was able to diversify his stock in accord with changing colonial tastes. Sales to customers increasingly included Tenerife wine and greater quantities of Jamaica rum and spirits alongside ever-present Madeira. Wister also began to make trips into the inland towns of Pennsylvania to visit regular customers as well as those from whom he had not secured recent orders. These rural and small town German-speaking tavern, inn, and storekeepers were the lifeblood of his business, especially in the face of increased competition. In addition to building business relations with fellow Germans in their new communities, Wister offered customers samples as well as instruction in tasting at his store on Market Street. These practices were likely critical in enticing and training the palates of German customers who had little to no experience in judging the taste and quality of varieties of wines being sold in British North America. Wister also hosted his inland consumers when they came to visit Philadelphia to secure their next supply for their businesses.[158]

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[157] John Wister Ledger, 1747-1770, p. 101-102, 105, 117, vol. 1, Wister Family Papers (Collection 1625A), HSP; Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 256-257, 271.

[158] Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 258-259; Hancock, "Self-Organized Complexity and the Emergence of an Atlantic Market Economy," 37. Dr. Richard Hill and his son, Henry, through their firm Lamar, Hill, Bisset & Co., became major players in the mid-eighteenth century wine trade in the Mid-Atlantic region. They captured much of Philadelphia's Madeira trade by 1760 and sought to expand their business into the Pennsylvania interior through their connections with Quaker merchants. However, the firm's fortunes started to decline following partner Thomas

John Wister's business in wine continued on in the 1770s under his youngest son, William, and son-in-law, Samuel Miles. William Wister was initially made a partner alongside his father and brother-in-law in 1771 and the following year the younger Wister and Miles took over the business, including the store on Market Street. While the new firm also began to sell imported British textiles and other goods from Great Britain and the East Indies, wine remained central to the business. Miles and Wister sold Tenerife, Fayal, Lisbon, Malaga, Sweet Mountain, and Madeira wines into the revolutionary period.[159]

The shift in wine consumption among German colonists away from the Rhenish wines of their homelands towards the Iberian and Atlantic wines that British metropolitans and colonists preferred can also be viewed through the German-language press. In this medium specifically targeting German-speaking customers, both Philadelphia German merchants and their wholesale customers, the publicans, innkeepers, and storekeepers of Philadelphia and surrounding towns, regularly advertised that they were offering a variety of wines, none of which were Rhenish. As mentioned above, Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz regularly advertised in *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote* when their ships arrived back in Philadelphia, including when the *Charming Peggy* returned carrying Lisbon and Tenerife wines in containers ranging from quarter casks to pipes.[160] Miles and Wister advertised their wines from Spain, Portugal, Madeira, and the

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Lamar's move from Madeira to London in 1757 and Dr. Richard Hill's death in 1762. The new generation of partners and junior partners squabbled for decades over the organization of profit sharing in the firm. Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 236; David Hancock, "The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade," *Business History Review* 79, no. 3 (Autumn 2005): 489-490.

[159] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 24, 1771; *Die Germantowner Zeitung*, November 7, 1771; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 14, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 20, 1773; *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, October 11, 1777; *Die Germantowner Zeitung*, November 4, 1773; Miles and Wistar Order to Pigou & Booth, August 16, 1771, Philadelphia, Box 5, Folder 5, Wistar Family Papers (Collection 94), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 256.

[160] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, June 15, 1773; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, December 7, 1773; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 3, 1775.

Azores.[161] Jacob Winey by himself as well as with his partner, Andreas Bunner, sold Madeira, Lisbon, Malaga, and Tenerife wines.[162] The advertisements by men like Hegetschweiler, Lancaster merchant Johann Philip de Haas, and Ben Lorenz Marketant for Rhenish wine paled in frequency to advertisements for Iberian and Atlantic Island wine not just by the German-speaking merchants, but also smaller retailers and publicans.[163] Even de Haas, who sold Rhenish wines, ran German-language advertisements featuring Iberian wines without mention of German ones.[164]

While wine represented a shift in kind of a staple good for German colonists, the consumption of tea and the use of its related accoutrements, like teapots and teacups, introduced of a cluster of goods and practices that were almost completely foreign to German-speaking immigrants. Furthermore, they were products that were developing a series of deep symbolic meanings within the British Empire. Tea gained a foothold in Britain thanks to Charles II and his wife, Catherine de Braganza's preference for it. The drink became the dominant hot beverage of Great Britain and British North America over the first half of the eighteenth century thanks to its mild, but noticeable levels of caffeine, and the tastiness and immediate jolt of energy that came with adding sugar to the refreshment. Tea also became a mass consumed good as its price and that of sugar declined over that same period. Tea prices fell in the first half of the eighteenth

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[161] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 24, 1771; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 14, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 20, 1773.
[162] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, July 19, 1768; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, March 2, 1773; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 12, 1774.
[163] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, November 26, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 6, 1765; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, July 20, 1767; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, October 27, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, May 3, 1774; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, June 21, 1774.
[164] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, October 27, 1772.

century because of rapidly rising imports of the good from China. British tea imports alone were fifteen times larger by weight in 1757 than they had been in 1717.[165]

Thanks to its taste and price, tea moved alongside rum and cider as the leading challengers and often replacements for beer as the primary beverage for most colonists in British North America. Germans in the Mid-Atlantic colonies, like Gottlieb Mittelberger and Johann Dietrich Fahnestock, were struck by how cheap tea and sugar were. Mittelberger estimated that English colonists in Pennsylvania midcentury consumed tea or coffee two to three times a day. Philadelphia merchant Samuel Wharton in the early 1770s estimated annual colonial tea consumption at two and a half pounds per person enough to make considerably more than one cup a day.[166]

Tea as well as coffee came to stand as tools of and symbols for British society's turn towards the rational and industrious. Coffeehouses and the hot caffeinated beverages they served were where the nation's commerce as well as current events and ideas could be discussed soberly and thoughtfully among the middling and upper sorts. The emergence of taking tea, both in homes and in shops, became a space and event for displaying one's sociability and politeness. A participant's deportment over a cup of tea became a crucial element in proving one's worthiness

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[165] David Grigg, "The Worlds of Tea and Coffee: Patterns of Consumption," *GeoJournal* 57, no. 4 (August 2002): 292; Gunther Hirschfelder and Manuel Trummer, "Food and Drink," in *European History Online* (EGO), (Institute of European History (IEG), last modified August 2013), http://www.ieg-ego.eu/hirschfelderg-trummerm-2013-en; Hanna Hodacs, "Part IV: A Taste for Tea," in *Goods from the East, 1600-1800: Trading Eurasia*, ed. Maxine Berg, Felicia Gottman, Hanna Hodacs, and Chris Nierstrasz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 259; Jürgen Kramer, "Tea and Sugar: On the Origins and Effects of a Consuming British Passion," in *Cases of Intervention: The Great Variety of British Cultural Studies*, ed. Marie Hologa, Christian Lenz, Cyprian Piskurek, and Stefan Schlensag (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 19; Chris Nierstrasz, "The Popularisation of Tea in Western Europe, 1700-1760," in Berg, Gottman, Hodacs, and Nierstrasz, *Goods from the East*, 263-276; Erika Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 35, 40-41, 45; Woodruff D. Smith, "Complications of the Commonplace: Tea, Sugar, and Imperialism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23, no. 2 (Autumn 1992): 270-273.

[166] Letter of John Dietrich Farestuck [Fahnestock], October 15, 1726, New York, Folder 1, Fahnestock Family Papers (Collection 1930), HSP; Mittelberger, *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754*, 65; Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 300; Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 55, 64, 85, 293.

and respectability. Middling and elite reformers also saw sugared tea as a replacement for the poor's reliance on alcohol, particularly gin. People's desire for tea, the argument went, would lead them towards greater personal industriousness to secure the resources to purchase it. Moreover, reformers hoped that by adopting tea into their diet, the working population would come to embrace the practices of sociability and civilization found in the rituals of taking tea practiced by their social superiors.[167]

The consumption of tea served as a binding agent for the peoples of the British Isles as well as the larger empire in the eighteenth century. With its ubiquity across geography and most income levels, tea drinking was emerging as a shared national activity, with nearly everyone having claims to sociability and respectability that could unify the diversity of metropolitan society.[168] Furthermore, the spread of these same goods and practices to British North America enabled British colonists to envision themselves as part of the metropolitan culture. This consumption of popular metropolitan goods, like tea, sugar, and ceramic tableware, and the following of metropolitan fashions and practices, served as a powerful source of cohesion and a particularly tangible one for colonists within a larger matrix of unifying British symbols. Many of these other symbols. like the Hanoverian monarchy, common law, and the balanced constitution that preserved the liberty of Englishmen were abstractions. In addition, the goods themselves also took on imperial meanings as the visuals surrounding tea emphasized the East India Company's role in securing the product directly from China. The colonists' dependence on

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[167] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 4-5, 7; Bickham, "Eating the Empire," 80-81; Kramer, "Tea and Sugar," 23-24; Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire*, 8; Smith, "Complications of the Commonplace," 275-277; Jon Stobart, Andrew Hahn, and Victoria Morgan, *Spaces of Consumption: Leisure and Shopping in the English Town, c. 1680-1830* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 33.

[168] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 232; Kramer, "Tea and Sugar," 25; Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire*, 40; Smith, "Complications of the Commonplace," 275, 277.

tea and its related goods thus made them interested in and reliant upon the institutions of empire that furnished them with this perceived necessity.[169]

In contrast to wine, tea remained a much less popular and rarely consumed product in Central Europe. Tea was largely viewed and used as a medicine rather than as a dietary staple. Only in East Frisia and Hamburg did a widespread tea drinking culture develop in the eighteenth century, thanks to their geographic proximity to, and close trade relations with the tea-drinking Dutch Republic and Great Britain. Hot caffeinated beverages remained rare for non-elites in the rest of German-speaking Europe until the second half of the eighteenth century. Coffee then emerged as Germans preferred hot caffeinated beverage, much of it reexported from Great Britain. In the late eighteenth century coffee became more accessible to rural and poorer Germans, and by around 1800 became a daily staple in all manner of households in regions like Hesse, Saxony, and Westphalia. Tea never expanded into lower income homes and placed a distant second in consumption within middling ones. The slow growth in tea consumption was tied to its significantly higher price compared to other beverages. Tea in German markets was approximately three times the price of coffee in the 1730s. Moreover, tea prices spiked during wartime while coffee prices remained comparatively more stable throughout the century and even started to go into decline after midcentury.[170]

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[169] Bickham, "Eating the Empire," 82, 109; Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 21-22.

[170] Hirschfelder and Trummer, "Food and Drink;" Michael North, *Material Delight and the Joy of Living: Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 158-161; Robert Liberles, *Jews Welcome Coffee: Tradition and Innovation in Early Modern Germany* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2012), 20-21, 23; Janine Maegraith and Craig Muldrew, "Consumption and Material Life," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750*, vol. 1, *Peoples and Place*, ed. Hamish Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 384-385; Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire*, 48. It should also be noted that hot caffeinated beverages were even slower to enter Swiss diets than they were other Central European ones, with coffee becoming a stable in Swiss homes only well into the nineteenth century. This may have been because several cantons issues decrees banning the importation of coffee into their borders in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Liberles, *Jews Welcome Coffee*, 20; Steven C. Topik, "Coffee," in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 643.

German merchants in Philadelphia played a central role in introducing tea and its accoutrements, as well as its British and imperial meanings, to German-speaking colonial customers. Tea, as a standard good to retail in the British Empire, was imported and sold by much of Philadelphia's German-speaking merchant community. Frederick Kuhl, William Clampffer, and David Deschler sold coffee and tea at their Philadelphia stores and advertised the goods in the *Pensylvanische Berichte* and the various forms of the *Staatsbote*.[171] Steinmetz imported over a thousand pounds of tea in three chests from London in 1769, but he more often secured his tea through purchases from other Philadelphia merchants, like Dorsey & Cresson, John Duffield, and Samuel Mifflin.[172] He made regular sales of tea to a variety of inland retailers, generally in quantities ranging from ten to fifty pounds an order. His regular wholesale customers for tea included Anglophone retailers like Samuel Davies, Nathaniel Blencowe of Kingwood, New Jersey, and James Arbuckle of Chester County.[173] He also sold to German

[171] Frederick Kuhl Waste Book, 1752-1807 (Collection Am.9095), HSP; *Pensylvanische Berichte*, July 16, 1755; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, January 23, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 28, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, November 9, 1773.

[172] Letter of Richard Wistar, October 9, 1772, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; "Invoice of Sundrys ship'd by Mildred & Rober[ts] in the Carolina [Captain] James Friend for Philadelphia on the proper Account & Risk of Daniel Wistar Merchant there & to him consign'd under," n.d., Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Bill of John Swift for Duty on Tea, April 27, 1769, Series 1, Box 14, Folder 16, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Dorsey & Cresson, February 8, 1770, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 15, Folder 9, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of Dorsey & Cresson, July 13, 1770, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 15, Folder 9, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of John Duffield, September 20, 1770, Series 1, Box 15, Folder 9, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Bill of John Duffield, January 4, 1771, Series 1, Box 15, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Hanna Hodacs and Leos Müller, "Chests, Tubs, and Lots of Tea: The European Market for Chinese Tea and the Swedish East India Company, c. 1730-1760," in Berg, Gottmann, Hodacs, and Nierstrasz, *Goods from the East*, 277.

[173] Nathaniel Blencowe to John Steinmetz, June 8, 1765, Kingwood, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 4, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Nathaniel Blencowe to John Steinmetz, February 27, 1768, Kingwood, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 7, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Samuel Davies to John Steinmetz, July 18, 1768, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 8, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; James Arbuckle to John Steinmetz, June 19, 1769, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; James Arbuckle to John Steinmetz, Coundry Town, Chester County, July 27, 1769, Chester County, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Samuel Davies to John Steinmetz, September 11, 1769, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

retailers and merchants, including his father-in-law Henry Keppele.[174] Francis Hasenclever imported both green and bohea (an inexpensive black variety) tea from Holland to sell. Richard Wistar and his cousin and fellow merchant, Daniel Wister imported small quantities of tea from Britain.[175]

Tea could not be consumed without the means to brew and drink it, and for the consumption of tea to have its full sociable and status-projecting effects it required a variety of almost entirely imported products like teapots, tea urns, tea tables, ceramic teacups and saucers, and sugar bowls. Ceramics, like china, queenware, and delftware, were superior in their ability to hold hot beverages than the more commonly possessed wood, brass, and pewterware in colonial homes. They proliferated alongside the practice of tea drinking across colonial society. Ceramics as well as tea brewing equipment were common in colonial elite homes in the 1720s and 1730s, and began appearing in middling ones at this time. By the 1770s sets of ceramic wares were regularly part of a middling household's property and were also found in over a quarter of low-wealth residences. Much of this growth in the possession of ceramics, glassware, and expanded amounts of cutlery and tableware happened in the 1760s.[176]

Like with tea itself, the German merchant community imported these goods from Europe and consciously sought to sell the products to German colonists, alongside Anglophone customers already versed in the practice of drinking tea. The most commonly bought and sold tea-related durable good was the most fundamental: the teakettle. Richard Wistar ordered a

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[174] Bill and Receipt of Henry Keppele, January 28, 1771, Series 1, Box 15, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.
[175] Letter of Richard Wistar, October 9, 1772, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; "Invoice of Sundrys ship'd by Mildred & Rober[ts] in the Carolina [Captain] James Friend for Philadelphia on the proper Account & Risk of Daniel Wistar Merchant there & to him consign'd under," n.d., Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library.
[176] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 43, 229, 309-310; Breen, "An Empire of Goods," 486, 488; Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America*, 183, 185-187, 297-298.

dozen copper teakettles at a time from William Freeman of Bristol.[177] In the German-language publicity of David Deschler, John Steinmetz, and Francis Hasenclever, they noted their sales of copper and iron teakettles.[178] Some of these same merchants sold related goods beyond the teakettle. Francis Hasenclever imported Dutch teacups along with the tea he secured from Holland. Steinmetz sold teaspoons as well as stone and delftware. Richard Wistar also ordered from William Freeman of Bristol on one occasion 250 sets of enamel stone teacups and saucers. In that same order Wistar asked for a half gross of enamel stone teapots, ranging in size from a pint and a half to three gills, as well as two dozen cream pots. He also ordered a gross of hard metal teaspoons from Mildred & Roberts of London.[179] The firm of Hubley & Graff explained to their German-speaking customers in 1771 that they had imported several chests of assorted china tableware and that china was a translucent porcelain.[180]

Through their introduction and continued supplying of tea and its complementary items to their co-linguists, German merchants bound these customers to items and practices that had ingrained meanings and symbols. These goods and activities both provided a tangible and immediate signaling of the empire as well as subtly knitted the empire's dispersed populaces together. Since regular tea drinking was a largely foreign practice to German immigrants in British North America, adopting the practice was embracing something distinctly British. Tea

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[177] Order to William Freeman, n.d., Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Order to William Freeman, December 4, 1766, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library.
[178] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 28, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, May 5, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, November 10, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 13, 1773; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 5, 1774.
[179] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, June 15, 1773; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, May 5, 1772; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 7, 1772; Order to William Freeman, Philadelphia, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library; Order to Mildred & Roberts, c. 1767, Richard Wistar Business and Personal Papers, 1743-1772 (Mic 220), Downs Collection, Winterthur Library.
[180] *Die Germantowner Zeitung*, November 7, 1771.

drinking's very representation of open sociability and respectability might have been particularly appealing to new arrivals seeking to establish themselves within their new communities. In addition, tea with sugar had a particular flavor and produced a noticeable and immediate sensations that could appeal to people across cultural and linguistic divides. Whenever German merchants linked their co-linguist consumers to tea they were also further entangling them with central commercial and cultural aspects of the British Empire.

The German merchant community in Philadelphia that emerged in the mid-eighteenth century was in many ways indistinguishable from the city's larger merchant population. Their trade routes to Great Britain, the Caribbean, and Southern Europe and their business correspondents in these regions differed very little from their Anglophone counterparts. The imported goods they extoled in their advertisements might have been mistaken for any number of other merchants' stock being hawked in print. It is also true that several German-speaking merchants did try to use connections back to their homelands or within continental Europe to keep German-made goods flowing into the hands of German immigrants in North America. Yet, the more common distinguishing feature of German merchants was their utilization of their shared language, culture, and often religion to build customer bases that stretched around the Mid-Atlantic colonies.

By connecting German-speaking colonist to the larger commercial networks of Philadelphia and beyond, the German merchant community anglicized these colonists' tastes and material culture. This Anglicization of taste and materiality brought recent continental European arrivals more in line with the larger Anglophone and metropolitan-focused society. This

alignment helped generate social stability and cohesion in a region experiencing a rapidly growing and diversifying population. It also made the colonists more dependent on, and more aware of their dependence on the empire in which they found themselves living.

The German merchant community of Philadelphia's commercial activities catalyzed acculturation in a way that legislation, charity schools, and coercion failed to do. The sweetness and warmth of sugared tea, the shine and allure of blistered metal shoe buckles, and the price and comfort of British and Irish linen bound German immigrants to the British Empire in a concrete and ubiquitous way, alongside love and loyalty to the Hanoverian kings, and taking on the rights and responsibilities of English liberty. The German-speaking Philadelphia merchants would also come to integrate their fellow immigrants in these other more abstract elements of imperial British subjecthood through their civic engagement. Yet, ultimately, the merchants' own deep and successful integration into British colonial society served to turn them into critics and later even rebels against the very empire they had become a part of.

Chapter Six: The German Merchant Community of Colonial Philadelphia and the Politics of Empire

As the German merchants of Philadelphia developed economic and social connections throughout the city and the Atlantic basin and became prosperous, they became more active civic participants within both the German-speaking community and the larger colonial society. They came to support not only established city institutions, but also created their own organization, the German Society of Pennsylvania (German Society or GSP). The German Society, founded in 1764, embodied the merchants' sense of Germanness and their identification as subjects of the British Empire. The organization's devotion to providing new German arrivals with both legal protections through the legislature and courts and material support introduced immigrants to their new rights and protections within the British Empire and integrated them faster into the local economy and society. German merchants also became political leaders of the growing wave of naturalized Germans able to vote in local elections. Several of them eventually entered the Assembly, becoming some of the earliest German representatives within that body.

As the German merchants became increasingly active in Pennsylvania civic life, they also voiced critiques of the post-1763 imperial reforms. A paradox emerged wherein some of the most integrated and financially successful German migrants within British North America started to openly oppose the metropolitan state and, ultimately, supported the dissolution of the empire and the independence of the colonies. The new revenue legislation and other imperial reforms threatened not only the merchants' bottom lines, but also the hard-earned rights and privileges they had secured through naturalization. It seemed to them that as colonists, they were sliding into a second-class status within the empire, an experience they were already painfully aware of when they were recent arrivals living precariously in North America. The German merchants

then applied their recent experiences in politics and transoceanic shipping to take on leadership of Pennsylvania's new revolutionary government and to help the Continental Congress prosecute its war effort. The German merchant community of Philadelphia subtly connected their fellow immigrants and progeny to the British Empire through ties of consumer goods, credit, laws, civic institutions, and electoral politics, but ultimately came to sever those connections and forge a new future independent of the British Empire.

The German Merchants as Civic Leaders in Philadelphia

Philadelphia and the wider region's rapid growth and increasing prosperity enabled a number of German colonists and their offspring to rise from humble origins to the ranks of middling and prosperous merchants and even allowed several of them to become very wealthy. Some turned their profits into large landholdings or properties around the city and colony. John Wister owned a number of lots in Germantown and built himself a country seat there in 1744 that would come to be called Grumblethorpe.[1] Frederick Kuhl acquired a number of buildings and lots on Philadelphia's most desirable road, Market Street, that he rented and sometimes sold. He also occasionally partnered with fellow German-speaking merchant Jacob Winey to buy and sell properties around the city.[2] Both Henry Keppeles owned properties within Philadelphia, including on Market Street and the Northern Liberties. They also bought and sold taverns in

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 30, 1747; Francis Ann Wister, "John Wister 1708-1789 Commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Coming to Philadelphia," *The Independent Gazette*, June 9, 1927, Flat Folder 10, Wister and Butler Families Papers (Collection 1962), Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP), Philadelphia; Milton Rubincam, "The Wistar-Wister Family: A Pennsylvania Family's Contributions Toward American Cultural Development," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 20, no. 2 (April 1953): 157.

[2] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, August 19, 1765; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 11, 1766; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 12, 1765; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 22, 1771; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, April 21, 1772; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 30, 1772; University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania, "Mapping West Philadelphia: Landowners in October 1777," (last modified December 17, 2018), http://www.archives.upenn.edu/WestPhila1777/map.php.

Lancaster and York counties. Keppele Jr. was particularly invested in lots on Yorktown's High Street, and he built himself a country estate on the Wissahickon road east of the Schuylkill River and Philadelphia starting in 1772.[3] Hillegas Jr. rented properties in the Northern Liberties and small farms in Passyunk Township several miles south of the city. In Chester County, Michael Hillegas Jr. worked with Jacob Winey to buy and sell land and buildings there.[4] Caspar Wistar bought over twenty thousand acres of land during his lifetime and held over 13,500 pounds sterling worth of bills of exchange and bonds when he died in 1752. The value of those financial instruments alone made Wistar one of the wealthiest men in the colony at that moment.[5]

As German-speaking merchants built fortunes of varying sizes, they came to donate parts of them to a variety of institutions. Successful merchants often became major benefactors for their congregations and neighboring churches of the same denomination, providing direct financing or managing accounts or lotteries. Caspar Wistar and his brother John Wister were two of the thirty-three founding members of the Fellowship Fire Company, the city's second oldest. Many German merchants contributed money to help create and maintain Pennsylvania Hospital. In 1755 the year the hospital's permanent building began to be constructed, many German

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[3] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatbote*, October 10, 1769; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 22, 1771; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 6 to April 13, 1772; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 16, 1772; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, June 8, 1773; University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania, "Mapping West Philadelphia: Landowners in October 1777."

[4] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, September 3, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, March 18, 1765; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle, and Universal Advertiser*, February 9 to February 16, 1767; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, February 16, 1767; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, June 8, 1767; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 2, 1767; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, March 29, 1768; University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania, "Mapping West Philadelphia: Landowners in October 1777."

[5] Markus A. Denzel, *Handbook of World Exchange Rates, 1590-1914* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 402; Thomas M. Doerflinger, "Commercial Specialization in Philadelphia's Merchant Community, 1750-1791," *Business History Review* 57, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 28; Rosalind J. Beiler, "From the Rhine to the Delaware Valley: The Eighteenth-Century Transatlantic Trading Channels of Caspar Wistar," in *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 175, 178; Rosalind J. Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650-1750* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 3, 151.

merchants donated and most donated in later capital campaigns as well.[6] Henry Keppele and Michael Hillegas Jr. were two managers for a colony-wide lottery in 1761 that raised funds for Philadelphia educational institutions. Plans for the money included housing for the academy that eventually became the University of Pennsylvania, and a building for each of the city's single-sex charity schools.[7]

In late 1764, the resources and efforts of many German-speaking merchants turned towards their fellow immigrants and co-linguists following the arrival of an immigrant transport ship in Philadelphia crowded with sick and hungry passengers. Henrich Miller published a letter in his November 19, 1764 issue of *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote* that publicized the miserable state of some of the passengers who had wound up in Dr. William Sarnighausen's care. The letter writer described the clinic as "a real hell, a land of living dead, a vault full of living corpses, from which nothing but their whimpering and the watery eyes signified that the souls were still in the rotting bodies." The letter concluded with a call for Philadelphia's Christians to have sympathy for these people and to follow the example of British generosity and magnanimousness as well as Jesus' efforts to love the stranger, feed the hungry, and cloth the sick. Philadelphians provided ad hoc assistance to these sickly arrivals and in the same issue of the newspaper it was noted that Second Street innkeepers Rudolf Bonner and Daniel Etter were taking donations.[8]

This shocking incident motivated sixty-five men to come together at the Lutheran schoolhouse on Cherry Street on December 26, 1764 to form an organization to provide aid and

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[6] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 29, 1755; Pennsylvania General Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, vol. 5, *Beginning the Fourteenth Day of October* (Philadelphia: Henry Miller, 1775), 147.
[7] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 14, 1761.
[8] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, November 19, 1764. "Hier war ein rechtes Tophet, ein Land lebendiger Todten, ein Gewölbe voll lebender Leichen, von welchen nicht als ihr Gewinsel und die thränende Augen zu erkennen gaben, daß die Seelen noch in ihren verwesenden Leibern seyn."

assistance to newly arrived German-speaking immigrants. The first meeting approved founding articles for the new society and elected officers. The attendees described themselves in their written articles as "his royal majesty of Great Britain's German subjects in Pennsylvania," who were moved by the conditions their landsmen suffered on the last ship from Europe to Philadelphia. They sought to create an organization to provide relief for these immigrants and the German nation in Pennsylvania. The organization met quarterly. At the Christmastide meeting on December 26 annual elections would be held for the officers: a president, vice president, treasurer, solicitor, a board of overseers, and two secretaries.[9]

The members reinforced their dual identities as Germans and British subjects in several ways. After members approved the founding articles and elected officers, they unanimously agreed to have the articles translated into English and sent to the lieutenant governor, the highest-ranking executive in the colony, with an address asking him for his protection. The German Society members also ordered that a copy of the translated founding articles be sent to the Assembly with a petition asking the body to pass an act for better regulating the migration and introduction of Germans to the colony. Several officers delivered the articles and addresses personally to the lieutenant governor and Assembly during the first week of 1765. In their petition to the lieutenant governor, which all the members signed, the document stated that they were "sundry Germans, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia" who felt that the

[9] German Society of Pennsylvania Minutes Book [Membership meetings, AE 1.1], 1764-1807, series 1, vol. 19, p. 1-2, German Society of Pennsylvania Institutional Records (Ms. Coll. 1), Joseph P. Horner Memorial Library (hereafter Horner Library), German Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter GSP), Philadelphia; Birte Pfleger, "German Immigration to Philadelphia from the Colonial Period through the Twentieth Century," in *Global Philadelphia: Immigrant Communities Old and New*, ed. Ayumi Takenaka and Mary Johnson Osirim (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 126.

Germans of the colony were populous and prosperous enough to provide charity to take care of their recently arrived co-linguists.[10]

Within the GSP itself, however, announcements of upcoming meetings during the colonial period were always printed in German newspapers and never published in English. The organization's minutes were always kept in German as well. At the GSP's second quarterly meeting ever, the body authorized the society to create a library to preserve and inculcate the German language. When the members created and approved a seal for the organization, they included the Latin phrase "*Religione, Industria et Fortitudine Germana Proles Florebit*," meaning "by religion, industry and courage the German progeny flourish." The seal had an image of an eagle, associated with the Holy Roman Empire and German states, rather than a more Britannic symbol, like an English lion or Scottish unicorn.[11]

GSP members also worked to differentiate their organization from contemporary ethnic aid societies in the city, like the St Andrew' Society, Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and Sons of St. George, by keeping their organization a strictly charitable body and not a social institution. These other bodies aided compatriots from the British Isles, but they also held regular meals and drinking around their meetings or their patron saints' days. In contrast, the GSP's regulations prohibited the quarterly meetings or officers' special sessions from being held within taverns and so nearly every meeting happened at the Lutheran schoolhouse. No drinking was permitted in the room where they assembled nor was any free alcohol offered to attendees during or after

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[10] German Society of Pennsylvania Minutes Book [Membership meetings, AE 1.1], 1764-1807, series 1, vol. 19, p. 21, 23-24, 26, German Society of Pennsylvania Institutional Records (Ms. Coll. 1), Horner Library, GSP.
[11] German Society of Pennsylvania Minutes Book [Membership meetings, AE 1.1], 1764-1807, series 1, vol. 19, p. 41, German Society of Pennsylvania Institutional Records (Ms. Coll. 1), Horner Library, GSP; Birte Pfleger, *Ethnicity Matters: A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania* (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2006), 11. Examples of notices for German Society of Pennsylvania meetings can be found in *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, June 17, 1765; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, March 22, 1768; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, December 20, 1768; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, March 21, 1775.

meetings. Members who held conversations during the meetings not related to the business at hand could be fined between two and six shillings starting on a second violation. The quarterly assemblies were scheduled on dates of great religious significance, like the Annunciation of Mary and Michaelmas. The founding articles stated if any of the dates fell on a Sunday, the meeting was to be rescheduled to the following Monday. Active membership and regular contributions were strictly enforced. Members who failed to attend a quarterly session and lived within a twelve-mile radius of Philadelphia had to pay a double contribution of five shillings. Those members who failed to attend a meeting during a calendar year or who fell too far behind in their required contributions were struck from the membership register.[12]

Many of Philadelphia's German-speaking merchants played leading roles within the organization's founding and operation during the colonial and revolutionary eras. Henry Keppele helped organize the initial meeting and was elected president at the first meeting on December 26, 1764. He served as the organization's president until 1781 when he declined his reelection, citing his ill health. Jacob Winey served as the organization's first treasurer. Following his withdrawal from the post in the middle of 1766, Henry Keppele Jr. was elected in his stead. Keppele Jr. remained treasurer until 1779. At the meeting on the feast day of John the Baptist in 1765, the membership elected merchant John Odenheimer as an overseer for the organization and he was elected to the post again the following year.[13]

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[12] German Society of Pennsylvania Minutes Book [Membership meetings, AE 1.1], 1764-1807, series 1, vol. 19, p. 2, 29, German Society of Pennsylvania Institutional Records (Ms. Coll. 1), Horner Library, GSP; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, December 14, 1767; Birte Pfleger, "Between Subject and Citizen: German-Speakers in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. diss., University of California-Irvine, 2003), 34-35; Aaron Sullivan, "'That Charity which begins at Home': Ethnic Societies and Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 134, no. 4 (October 2010): 309, 312, 314, 316-317.

[13] German Society of Pennsylvania Minutes Book [Membership meetings, AE 1.1], 1764-1807, series 1, vol. 19, p. 28, 43, 45, German Society of Pennsylvania Institutional Records (Ms. Coll. 1), Horner Library, GSP; Oswald Seidensticker, *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien: Von der Grundung im Jahre 1764 bis zur Jubelfeier der Republik 1876* (Philadelphia: Graf & Breuninger, 1917), 253; Birte Pfleger, "John Henry Keppele," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 1, *From the*

Merchants who did not serve in the leadership participated in other ways. William Clampffer occasionally hosted officers' meetings at his home. John Steinmetz was a founding member and one of four men selected to review the organization's accounts for the year 1766.[14] Young merchants starting out their careers after 1764 joined the organization, probably for a mixture of charitable and personal motivations. The organization offered members a means to connect with Pennsylvania's established German-speaking merchants, publicans, innkeepers, retailers, and professionals. For example, Adam Zantzinger joined the GSP in 1772, just a few months before he established his own store in Philadelphia and married one of Henry Keppele's daughters, Susannah.[15]

During the colonial era, the German Society sought to provide material and legal aid to recently arrived German immigrants, and to create stronger regulations on the transporting and treatment of immigrants on ships and at Philadelphia. The society's efforts not only alleviated the suffering and hardships of many immigrants from German-speaking Europe, but also served to integrate them into a foreign society with a different language, legal system, and social customs. Using their growing economic and political power, the German Society's members guided and sped up the process through which recent arrivals might come to share the same identity as the members themselves: Germans who were British subjects residing in a British colony.

As they wrote in their 1765 petition to the Pennsylvania Assembly, which they included with a translated copy of their founding articles, the GSP members first wanted stricter

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Colonial Economy to Early Industrialization, 1720-1840, ed. Marianne S. Wokeck (German Historical Institute, last modified July 13, 2015) http://immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry. php?rec =7.

[14] German Society of Pennsylvania Minutes Book [Membership meetings, AE 1.1], 1764-1807, series 1, vol. 19, p. 23, 45, German Society of Pennsylvania Institutional Records (Ms. Coll. 1), Horner Library, GSP; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, February 9, 1767.

[15] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, February 2, 1773.

regulations on the business of immigrant transportation through Philadelphia. The petition contained nine points that they wanted a new law to address, including requiring a German translator alongside inspectors when they examined passenger ships, captains to provide bills of lading for each passenger documenting their goods brought onboard, and to place responsibility for a dead passenger's freight onto another passenger only in the case of a man for his wife and children.[16] The GSP's petition represented the most organized campaign by German immigrants during the colonial era to improve the conditions of their countrymen's voyages and landings, although it was not the first reform effort.

The colonial government established regulations on shipping over the course of the eighteenth century. Most of the regulations prior to 1765 focused on dealing with the ubiquitous outbreaks of infectious maladies during transatlantic voyages. In 1741 several German colonists petitioned Lieutenant Governor George Thomas to establish a house for the treatment of sick ship passengers. With the governor's recommendation an act passed in 1742 establishing a pest house for ill passengers on Province Island, with nursing care provided by the shipmaster or owner who could draw on the value of the passenger's effects to cover the expenses.[17]

The pest house and the regulations surrounding its use proved inadequate; so another group of Philadelphians petitioned the Assembly in 1749 for further regulations as ship captains continued to stealthily unload sick passengers who then moved throughout the city. Overcrowding on immigrant transport ships was also becoming a major issue as demand for transport surged midcentury and shipmasters and owners sought to maximize profits. The petitioners complained that cramped ships quarters were spreading diseases that would reach the

[16] Seidensticker, *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien*, 46-47.
[17] Karl Frederick Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse, & Taylor Co., 1901), 60-62; Pfleger, "Between Subject and Citizen," 39; Farley Grubb, *German Immigration and Servitude in America, 1709-1920* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 77-78.

city's inhabitants without better regulations, especially as homeless new arrivals wandered the streets seeking assistance.

The overcrowding and unsanitary conditions aboard transport vessels continued to spur German colonial elites to mobilize and apply pressure on the government to implement further reforms to the immigrant transport business. The Assembly's 1750 "Act for Prohibiting the Importation of Germans or Other Passengers in Too Great Numbers in Any One Vessel" barred ships from entering the Delaware River unless they provided passengers with wholesome meat, drinks, and other necessities. The law also set minimum space requirements for each passenger (six feet by eighteen inches for adults and half that amount for passengers under fourteen years-old). Customs officials and local magistrates were now charged with inspecting incoming vessels to make sure they met these minimum space and supply requirements, as well as inquire about any accusations made by the passengers regarding crimes or violations committed en route. For each passenger brought over without the minimum required space, the guilty parties faced a ten pound fine per passenger, with half the fees going to maintain the pest house on Province Island. There was also a hundred-pound penalty for falsifying a deceased passenger's inventory of effects and money, along with a forfeiture of any claim to those assets to pay for the dead person's passage.[18]

Still, there remained numerous abuses of German migrants and other emigrants during and immediately after their transatlantic voyages. For one, while the 1750 law set minimum width and length requirements for passengers' berths, it did not address their height. Many

[18] State of Pennsylvania, *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, vol. 5, *1744 to 1759* (William Stanley Ray, 1898), 94-97; Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 63-64; Hartmut Bickelmann, "The Venture of Travel," trans. J.P.D. Toalster in *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983*, ed. Günter Moltmann (Stuttgart: Eugen Heinz Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 1982), 48.

shipowners refitted their transport ships to meet with the requirements, but lowered the height of berths.[19] Passengers also had to deal with crews that harassed or molested them, stole or damaged their luggage, gouged them on prices for goods bought onboard the ship, or robbed them of their cash or financial instruments. Many immigrant transport ships also lacked medical personnel or supplies which made the risk of disease outbreaks and death that much worse.[20]

Less than two weeks after several GSP officers presented their founding articles and petitions to the Lieutenant Governor John Penn and the Assembly, debate began on a bill concerning the treatment of passengers and their property during their voyages and the process of settling their debts with shipowners. While the bill passed the Assembly, Lieutenant Governor John Penn declined to sign it and asked that the bill be reviewed again at the next Assembly session later in the year. Penn's hesitancy to sign the bill at first may have resulted from a counter-petition by some Philadelphia merchants objecting to the legislation. The counter-petitioners argued that the immigrants coming over as redemptioners were free people making contracts explained or written in German.[21]

The Assembly passed the bill again in the next session in May 1765 and the Lieutenant Governor Penn approved it. This new law built on the GSP's petition and banned a number of exploitive practices. It set a minimum berth height of three feet and nine inches between decks, and at least two feet and nine inches in the cabin and steerage spaces. Also, no more than two full freight passengers could be placed in the same bedstead unless it was a parent wishing for a

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[19] Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 64; Pfleger, "Between Subject and Citizen," 42.
[20] *Pensylvanische Berichte*, October 16, 1753; Bickelmann, "The Venture of Travel," 48; Marianne S. Wokeck, "German Immigration to Colonial America: Prototype of a Transatlantic Mass Migration," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, vol. 1, *Immigration, Language, Ethnicity*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 10.
[21] Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 65; Pfleger, "Between Subject and Citizen," 44-45.

child to join them. The law also stipulated onboard medical care in the form of a well-regarded surgeon and fully stocked chest of medicines, as well as sanitation regulations, including fumigating between decks by burning tar and twice weekly cleanings of all decks with vinegar. Pennsylvania courts would now recognize passengers' debts on shipboard comestibles and medicines up to only thirty shillings Pennsylvania money (just under eighteenth shillings sterling). Shipmasters and pursers were further limited to a fifty percent profit margin on foodstuffs, medicines, and spices sold while at sea.

The shipowner was also responsible for thirty days of feeding, medical care, and luggage storage for passengers who were still bound to the ship while they searched for a means to pay for their freight and ongoing subsistence. When these unredeemed passengers went ashore to look for opportunities to pay their debts and their luggage remained onboard as security, the shipmaster had to provide the passenger with a certificate detailing the goods and their value. The law also banned the practice of ships' masters charging passengers for unloading their luggage at their port of destination, and required all non-sick and non-heavily pregnant women to be disembarked from the vessel within thirty days of arrival even if their freight costs remained unpaid. The relations of a deceased passenger could no longer be made responsible for the dead person's freight cost. Violations of these measures were to result in fines of between five and one hundred pounds depending on the breach.[22]

The law improved the enforcement mechanisms for both the old and new regulations by having the officers inspecting vessels with passengers go aboard with "a reputable German inhabitant of the city of Philadelphia well versed in the English and German languages to

[22] State of Pennsylvania, *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, vol. 6, *1759 to 1765* (William Stanley Ray, 1899), 433-434, 436, 439-440; Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 66.

be…interpreter." The paid interpreter was to introduce himself and the officer in German when they came aboard, help the officer read aloud the 1750 and 1765 laws' regulations, and then begin an inquiry among the passengers about the conditions during the voyage. As long as there were passengers remaining onboard the ship, the inspecting officer and translator were to make weekly visits to the ship to examine conditions onboard.[23]

The shipmaster also assumed more responsibilities for the care of passengers' luggage under the new law. They had to provide bills of lading for luggage that the passenger would not have access to during the voyage to prevent the theft of goods from personal luggage. The bills of lading were also designed to help customs officials charge the appropriate amount of money on the goods that German immigrants were carrying. Shipmasters were now legally responsible for declaring all goods for customs on behalf of his passengers. If any of a passenger's goods were seized for failing to pay customs, the shipmaster was liable and had to make good on the passenger's lost property.[24]

The indentures signed by German redemptioners after their arrival in Pennsylvania also had to be brought before the mayor of Philadelphia and the recorder of the city, who was to make an exact copy of the agreement. The agreement had to provide the master or mistress' specific address. If the master or mistress lived outside Philadelphia County then the county JPs had to hold a copy of the indenture as well as a written record of the indentured person's address. By making so many copies and having them reviewed by elected officials, the law was making sure illegal contracts or clauses would not be enforced or illegal actions be taken, like the new clause barring husbands and wives from being separated by their master or mistress, unless the indentured couple both voluntarily agreed. Having multiple copies with various colonial officials

[23] State of Pensylvania, *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, 6:434-435, 438-440.
[24] State of Pennsylvania, *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, 6:435-436.

also offered both parties the ability to seek redress from the magistracy or courts when they felt the indenture was being violated.[25]

Several factors enabled the GSP to quickly secure a sweeping regulatory act with strong enforcement mechanisms in less than half a year and over the objections of many of Philadelphia's merchants. As the German-speaking community's wealthiest and most influential members, the GSP members who signed the petition carried increasing political clout as more German-speaking colonists became naturalized and eligible to vote in the early 1760s.[26] The bill was also shepherded through the Assembly by German immigrant merchant and GSP president, Henry Keppele, who served his single term in the Assembly in 1764-1765. Keppele was well-suited to lead the legislative push. He was intimately familiar with the business of transporting immigrants, both as an immigrant who came to Pennsylvania on a ship that suffered a devastating outbreak of contagious fever, and as a merchant and shipowner who had taken consignments of immigrants.

Keppele and other GSP members vigorously reminded the Assembly and their fellow colonists that British law required immigrants be protected. They argued that the newly arrived immigrants were now under the protection of King George III (r. 1760-1820) and subject to the laws of the empire. Supporters of reforming the immigrant transport business framed the strong enforcement features as necessary to make sure the rule of law, an ideal so cherished by the British, was not flouted by unscrupulous crews, ship captains, and shipowners. In their address to Lieutenant Governor John Penn, the members wrote that their society would work for their co-linguists "whenever it shall appear, their distresses to have been occasiond by any means of

[25] State of Pennsylvania, *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, 6: 439-440.
[26] Philipp Münch, "German Language Almanacs in Revolutionary Pennsylvania," in *Pennsylvania's Revolution*, ed. William A. Pencak (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 57.

Oppression and wrong inconsistent with the Laws of the Realm of England, or the Laws of Nations and human Society."[27] The GSP routinely invoked British law to not just pass this regulatory bill, but to stop and punish those who abused German immigrants now residing within Pennsylvania colony.

The legislation's proponents also framed their reforms as beneficial to merchants and shipmasters by helping them secure their freight money. The law itself stated that once an immigrant went to sea, their goods became a pledge of payment for their freight costs. A month after arrival at the port of destination, the shipmaster or owner could begin proceedings to have the luggage seized as payment of any outstanding debt. Also, the law clarified that immigrants' labor could be sold to pay off the debts of other passengers in certain cases, like fathers for their wives and children, and children for their parent or parents.[28]

The German merchants and their fellow German elites used local courts to enforce the GSP's legislative victory and to ameliorate the harsh conditions that recent German immigrants experienced. The organization might have been particularly willing to use the courts and had confidence in them because its merchant leaders and members frequently engaged with them. As discussed previously, German-speaking merchants were experienced in dealing with the British government and courts through their naturalization processes, their work as executors of wills and assignees of debtors, and their suits in court to lay claim to outstanding debts. The GSP provided legal aid to recent German immigrants in several ways. The organization investigated immigrants' allegations of crimes committed by ship's crews and owners, like overcharging for basic necessities, violating passage agreements, and thefts of property during the voyage. The

[27] German Society of Pennsylvania Minutes Book [Membership meetings, AE 1.1], 1764-1807, series 1, vol. 19, p. 26, German Society of Pennsylvania Institutional Records (Ms. Coll. 1), Horner Library, GSP; Pfleger, "Between Subject and Citizen," 44.
[28] State of Pennsylvania, *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, 6:432, 436-437.

society also financed and brought prosecutions of these apparent crimes, as the British legal system required the private prosecution of most criminal offenses.[29] In 1765 the society spent ten pounds, six shillings, and seven pence to finance cases against shipowners whom immigrants accused of taking more money from them than agreed upon, and illegally detaining them aboard ships until they acquired the means to pay these new additional debts. The following year the organization received twelve pounds, eleven shillings, and two pence from successful court settlements against several shipowners.[30] The GSP also worked to ensure that the belongings of dead passengers went to their lawful beneficiaries rather than shipmasters or owners.[31]

The GSP used its influence and resources to protect the many German redemptioners who entered into indentured service to finance their transatlantic voyages. Redemptioners who brought complaints to a member would have their matter reviewed. Often the organization's first action was to visit the accused master or mistress to try and resolve the affair. As German artisans and farmers hired the vast majority of newly arrived German immigrants on indentures, the GSP had extra clout with these people as it was comprised of the colony's German economic and social elite. Going against the wishes of the GSP meant going against potential customers, creditors, suppliers, and elders in one's church. Matthias Kopplin agreed to arbitration with the organization after indentured servant Johann Zimmerman accused Kopplin of failing to pay Zimmerman's wife's 'freedom suit' of new clothes when her indenture expired. Kopplin agreed instead to release the Zimmerman's child from the rest of their indenture and to pay the couple

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[29] Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 148, 152, 161; Pfleger, "German Immigration to Philadelphia from the Colonial Period through the Twentieth Century," 131.
[30] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, January 20, 1766; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, February 9, 1767.
[31] Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 145-146.

five pounds in Pennsylvania currency.[32] When a discussion with the master or mistress broke down there was always the threat of bringing a suit against the owner for abuse or violation of the contract.

On several occasions the society went so far as to purchase redemptioners or those already serving indentures. In 1765 the GSP paid for three families of German indentured servants living in Maryland as their masters provided them with no necessities. The organization also moved them to Philadelphia, rented them a house, provided board for them, and arranged for the burial of a child belonging to one of the families. The expenses for this operation totaled nearly fifteen pounds.[33] In 1767 the GSP paid for the indentures of two poor children and hired a local poor woman to care for them.[34]

For recently arrived immigrants who lacked the financial resources to prosecute, as well as little understanding of the legal system they found themselves in across the Atlantic, the GSP provided welcomed support. It helped migrants who had just arrived and were settling in Pennsylvania understand their new rights and liberties. Living in a British colony represented a huge change in legal structures for migrants, who were moving from courts and legal systems built around decrees, ordinances, and Roman law, to a common law system based on previous rulings and decisions as well as laws passed by elected legislatures.[35] GSP members willingly used their knowledge of British law and local courts to aid their co-linguists in understanding

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[32] Pfleger, *Ethnicity Matters*, 12; James Boyd, "Merchants of Migration: Keeping the German Atlantic Connected in America's Early National Period," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present,* vol. 1, *From the Colonial Economy to Early Industrialization, 1720-1840,* ed. Marianne S. Wokeck (German Historical Institute, last modified February 12, 2015) http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php ?rec=229.

[33] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, January 20, 1766.

[34] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, January 19, 1768.

[35] Hermann Wellenreuther, "Contexts for Migration in the Early Modern World: Public Policy, European Migration Experiences, Transatlantic Migration, and the Genesis of American Culture," in Lehmann, Wellenreuther, and Wilson, *In Search of Peace and Prosperity*, 31-32.

how the British Empire's legal system might be used to their benefit, and how their status as aliens and potential subjects might be made advantageous.

Beyond legal assistance, the GSP provided recent arrivals, which the organization defined as immigrants having resided in the colony for less than a year, with a variety of material supports. The organization provided medical care and housing for sick passengers upon their landing. They also provided cash, wood for heating, and provisions, like food and blankets, for the often poor new immigrants and covered burial expense for those who could not afford it.[36] In 1766 the organization spent seventeen pounds, fourteen shillings, and ten pence on clothes, wood, sustenance, travel money, and burial costs for new migrants. The GSP spent an additional ten pounds, twelve shillings, and five and a half pence on foodstuffs that year for poor immigrants still bound to their ships. The GSP disbursed an additional fourteen shillings and nine pence for doctor's expenses.[37] Expenditures fluctuated dramatically between years depending on the demands for their assistance. In 1768 the society spent almost twenty pounds on goods and services for new German immigrants and almost sixty-five pounds the following year before dropping to eight pounds, ten shillings, and eleven pence in 1770.[38]

To facilitate their work, the GSP's officers early on envisioned constructing a building for the organization wherein they could hold their meetings, house their new German-language library, and, if need be, house indigent new arrivals. In the summer of 1765, merchant John Odenheimer agreed to sell a lot on Seventh Street between Chestnut and Market Streets for 125

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[36] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, January 20, 1766. Aiding the most recent German immigrants was also likely motivated in part by the fact that they were often barred from receiving public charity as they failed to fulfill the colony's residency requirement for eligibility for relief and the residency period was increased by the colony's 1771 law reforming previous poor laws. Calvin G. Beitel, *A Treatise on the Poor Laws of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: T. & J.W. Johnson & Co., 1899), 9-11; Sullivan, "'That Charity which begins at Home'," 311.
[37] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, February 9, 1767.
[38] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 24, 1769; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 23, 1770; *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 22, 1771.

pounds in Pennsylvania currency (about seventy-five pounds sterling). Most of the buyers were the GSP's administrators, including merchants Henry Keppele and Jacob Winey.[39] While a permanent building for the organization was constructed only after the War of American Independence (1775-1783), the GSP worked diligently to secure the money and materials for the project during the colonial era.

The German Society of Pennsylvania became an important civic institution in Philadelphia in the late colonial period. It attracted the colony's German-speaking economic and social elite into its fold, and membership became a necessary step for many young men to make contacts and signal their place within society. Philadelphia's German-speaking merchants, as members of this influential population, almost all became members of the organization and several of them served as officers within the GSP in the colonial and revolutionary eras. Between 1765 and 1776 more than eight thousand German-speaking migrants arrived in Philadelphia, and the GSP helped many of them become acquainted with the British legal system and their rights and protections within the empire.[40] By providing material benefits to new arrivals, the GSP helped ensure migrants became healthy, integrated, and productive members of the colonial society and economy. The organization thereby subtly strengthened the empire by preventing social dislocation, decreasing public charity costs, and increasing the manpower available to defend the empire.

While the War of American Independence and the occupation of Philadelphia prevented the GSP from meeting between the summer of 1776 and September 1778, the organization

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[39] Seidenstick *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien*, 71; Harry William Pfund, *A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania Founded 1764* (Philadelphia: The German Society of Pennsylvania, 1944), 12; Pfleger, *Ethnicity Matters*, 15.

[40] Pfleger, "German Immigration to Philadelphia from the Colonial Period through the Twentieth Century," 127-128.

became active again following the end of the British occupation of Philadelphia in June 1778. The organization focused its charitable efforts in the following years on the city's German poor since very few new immigrants were arriving. It distributed cash to needy families in Continental dollars and also began taking membership dues in the new American currency as well.[41] Where the organization had once been a force for integrating German immigrants into the British legal system, society, and local economy, it came to integrate migrants into the United States after the war. Many German-speaking merchants, like the GSP, would also make a similar transition, shifting their economic power and civic clout from calling for imperial reforms to clamoring for independence.

"Not bastards but His Majesty's loyal subjects and naturalized children": German Voters and German Merchants as Political Leaders in Colonial Pennsylvania

At the same time that the German merchant community's commercial connections and civic engagement within the British Empire were expanding, the community was becoming increasingly concerned with and critical of the shifts in imperial policy after the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Many of Philadelphia's merchants, especially its wealthiest Anglicans and Quakers, would remain politically quiet or loyalist. But German-speaking merchants overwhelming became active in opposition to the post-1763 imperial reforms and, later, ardent supporters of the Patriot cause. These men, who through their economic and civic actions were binding themselves and their fellow immigrants economically, legally, culturally, and politically to the British Empire, used those same connections and political clout to subsequently challenge the empire's legitimacy.

[41] Pfleger, *Ethnicity Matters*, 15-17.

Despite the rapid growth in German migration to Pennsylvania between the late 1720s and the start of the Seven Years' War, the political influence of German-speaking migrants within the colony remained very limited for a variety of reasons. First, naturalization until 1740 was confined to individuals who could afford to spend the time and money to oversee the passage of a private naturalization bill. The 1740 Naturalization Act formalized the process and lowered the financial costs for naturalizing, but still required the applicant to produce proof of at least seven years of continuous residency within the North American colonies as well as the taking of the Eucharist within a Protestant church (exceptions were made for Jews and Quakers). The Pennsylvania Assembly also took steps to check the influence of German migrants by limiting representation for new counties established inland for the colony's growing population. Whereas the original three counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester had eight assemblymen each during the colonial era, Lancaster County received four seats when it was established in 1729 and the counties established thereafter prior to 1775 received just one or two seats each.[42] Many migrants either declined to naturalize or to engage in electoral politics despite having the opportunity to do so. Instead, these thousands of migrants chose to focus exclusively on establishing their homesteads and communities and securing an economic footing on the Atlantic Ocean's western side.[43]

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[42] Chester Raymond Young, "The Evolution of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1682-1748," 35, no. 2 (April 1968): 154; Dieter Rothermund, "The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 84, no. 1 (January 1960): 8-10; Wolfgang Splitter, "The Germans in Pennsylvania Politics, 1758-1790: A Quantitative Analysis," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 122, no. 1-2 (January-April 1998): 67n59; Marianne S. Wokeck, "German Settlements in the British North American Colonies: A Patchwork of Cultural Assimilation and Persistence," in Lehmann, Wellenreuther, and Wilson, *In Search of Peace and Prosperity*, 212.

[43] A.G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 4, 7; Wokeck, "German Settlements in the British North American Colonies," 211-213.

The Seven Years' War stimulated growing participation of German-speaking immigrants in Pennsylvania's politics and fractured established political alignments within the colony. Prior to the conflict, German immigrants who did vote overwhelming supported Quaker and Quaker-aligned candidates for the Assembly and their policies for low taxation, peaceful relations with indigenous peoples, and no mandatory militia service. The growing numbers of Germans settling on the colony's western and northern fringes or squatting beyond the colony's bounds found the Quaker faction's policies at odds with their desires for inexpensive land. These economically-driven migrants wanted the colony to push for further land cessions and bristled at the Quaker faction's attempts to enforce earlier treaties and their bounds. German squatters and their Anglophone counterparts sparked rising friction between the colony and neighboring indigenous peoples. For Quaker elites, keeping the peace was not only a moral and political imperative, but an economically lucrative position as many were extensively involved in trade with indigenous peoples and Indian trader middlemen.[44]

The war's first years expanded the fissure between the Quaker faction and the more recent German arrivals, who mobilized to overturn the colony's long-standing pacifistic policies. The defeat of British forces under General Edward Braddock at the Battle of Monongahela in the summer of 1755 left Pennsylvania's frontier exposed to raids by French-allied indigenous peoples. These raids in 1755 often targeted squatters living beyond ceded lands, but triggered waves of panic throughout the colony as refugees fled into eastern Pennsylvania to escape the violence. German immigrants living in inland communities called repeatedly for the Assembly to

[44] Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 99; Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), 7, 10; A.T. Volwiler, "George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 46, no. 4 (October 1922): 283-284; Wokeck, "German Settlements in the British North American Colonies," 212.

take more robust measures to defend the colony. Later that year, hundreds of German-speaking immigrants marched to Philadelphia to demand that the Quaker-dominated Assembly raise funds to support the colony's defense. The march helped push a defense bill and militia bill through the legislature by the end of the year.[45] By February 1756, Philadelphia's new 'City Regiment' of militia was estimated to have between six hundred and over one thousand troops at their review with a sizable number of Germans in the ranks.[46] While many Germans worked to muster forces and funds, Philadelphia Quaker elites formed the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures to negotiate with Lenni Lenape and Native Americans in the Ohio Valley who had risen up to defend their lands. The new organization only furthered many German Pennsylvanians' concerns that Quakers' interests would subvert their own.[47]

The wartime and subsequent years also saw a rapid rise in German-speaking immigrants naturalizing, and a greater proportion of the German electorate identifying as Lutherans and Reformed, rather than as Quakers, Anabaptist, or Anabaptist-influenced denominations. In the 1740s a majority of the 850 naturalization oath takers affirmed rather than swore, indicating most German-speaking immigrants then naturalizing were Quaker or sectarian. Between 1760 and 1765, triple the number of people naturalized compared to the twenty years prior and the overwhelming majority of them were German-speaking. In 1764 alone, 2,600 German-speaking

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[45] John B. Frantz, "Religion, The American Revolution, and the Pennsylvania Germans," in *Pennsylvania's Revolution*, ed. William A. Pencak (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 77; Münch, "German Language Almanacs in Revolutionary Pennsylvania," 57; Jessica Roney, *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition: The Origins of American Political Practice in Colonial Philadelphia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 136; Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, xxv-xxvi, 35, 70, 78.
[46] Roney, *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition*, 136-137.
[47] Michael Goode, "A Failed Peace: The Friendly Association and the Pennsylvania Backcountry during the Seven Years' War," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 136, no. 4 (October 2012): 472-473; Geoffrey Plank, "Quaker Reform and Evangelization in the Eighteenth Century," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 59, no. 2 Religion and the Marketplace (2014): 181; Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 99.

immigrants and their progeny came to Philadelphia to be naturalized and be eligible to vote in the October elections.[48]

German merchants in Philadelphia emerged as key leaders of this growing German-speaking political presence. The merchants came to the fore in large part because few Central European elites migrated to British North America, and the German-speaking clergy hesitated to take on formal political roles. While Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg held great influence among German-speaking immigrants throughout the colony, he declined to hold any political offices. He did, however, urge immigrants to naturalize and vote. On October 1, 1764 he addressed a gathering of German-speaking people at the Lutheran schoolhouse and urged them to vote "because we German citizens are not bastards but His Majesty's loyal subjects and naturalized children […with] the right and liberty to have one or more German citizens in the Assembly and learn through them what is going on." Those attending the meeting after hearing Mühlenberg agreed to vote in a bloc and they threw their political support behind church elder and German immigrant merchant, Henry Keppele, who won a seat.[49]

Most other clergy were even more hesitant to engage in political affairs. Reverend Casper Weyberg, who despite having spent thirteen years serving Philadelphia's German Reformed

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[48] Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 127; Charles H. Glatfelter, *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Brief Account of their Influence on Pennsylvania*, (University Park: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1990), 26; Münch, "German Language Almanacs in Revolutionary Pennsylvania," 57; Richard K. MacMaster, Samuel L. Horst, and Robert F. Ulle, *Conscience in Crisis: Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739-1789: Interpretation and Documents*, Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History 20 (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1979), 53, 67 n.38; Hermann Wellenreuther, "Image and Counterimage, Tradition and Expectation: The German Immigrants in English Colonial Society in Pennsylvania, 1700-1765," in Trommler and McVeigh, *America and the Germans*, 1:93. Almost ninety-five percent of approximately ten thousand people who naturalized in colonial Pennsylvania were Central Europeans. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys*, 134.

[49] Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States and the Muhlenberg Press, 1945), 334; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 211; Wolfgang Splitter, "Order, Ordination, Subordination: German Lutheran Missionaries in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, ed. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 217.

congregation, declined an invitation in 1776 to join other ministers attending a conference to protest parts of the new state constitution, citing his insufficient skills with the English language.[50] Moreover, earlier political leaders within German-speaking communities, like Christopher Sauer, withdrew from the public or passed away. Sauer's publications, especially his newspapers, greatly influenced the political outlooks of his readers, especially those of pacifist tendencies, and his death in 1758 silenced an influential voice.[51] Even those outside the German-speaking community came to understand that Philadelphia's German merchants had great political influence among their customers and co-linguists. Colonel James Burd wrote in September 1764 to his colleague, Samuel Perviance Jr., that in order to further their faction's success in the October election, Perviance Jr. or another ally should have the elder Keppele draft circular letters to be distributed to his friends in Lancaster County urging their support for Burd's preferred slate of candidates.[52]

Philadelphia's German-speaking merchants came not only to enjoy growing political influence, but also colony-wide government offices. As late as 1761 there was a provincial Assembly session without a German immigrant assemblyman. But from 1765 until the end of the colonial government, there were a minimum of three German assemblymen, and sometimes as many as six in a session.[53] The Philadelphia merchants held several of those seats. The Quaker faction within the colony urged the Anglican Michael Hillegas Jr. to run for one of Philadelphia

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[50] Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793*, vol. 2 *The History* (Kutztown, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1981), 281, 295; Wokeck, "German Settlements in the British North American Colonies," 211.
[51] Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 2:297.
[52] Rothermund, "The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania," 19; Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 223-224.
[53] Splitter, "The Germans in Pennsylvania Politics, 1758-1790," 44-45; Mark Häberlein, "Wirtschaftliche und politische Eliten unter den deutschsprachigen Einwanderern in Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Deutsche Eliten in Übersee (16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Markus A. Denzel (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 2006), 36. The number of Assembly seats increased from thirty-six to forty-one in 1775. Splitter, "The Germans in Pennsylvania Politics, 1758-1790," 44.

County's seat in 1765 in the hopes that Hillegas Jr. would attract his co-linguists as a base of support. He won a seat that fall and continued to serve until the Assembly dissolved in 1776. He applied his experiences as a merchant to help regularly audit the General Loan Office's accounts and served on committees for the improved navigation of Pennsylvania's rivers.[54]

Like a growing number of their fellow colonists, the merchants became deeply concerned by the imperial policy shifts triggered by the Seven Years' War and its aftermath. Metropolitan officials saw the new ten-thousand-man army in British North America and larger Royal Navy presence in the Atlantic Ocean and Caribbean Sea as the means through which to protect the colonies from indigenous populations seeking to defend homelands, quiet new Francophone subjects, and dissuade other Europeans powers, especially the French and Spanish, from attempting to (re)gain footholds on the continent. As the primary beneficiaries of the new military presence, the colonists were expected to pay higher taxes to fund the force. The 1764 Sugar Act and 1765 Stamp Act were envisioned as two crucial revenue generators.

Some colonists also resented the metropolitan government's attempts to check their acquisition of and settlement upon indigenous peoples' lands in the postwar period. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 designated the borders of the new British colonies of Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida, as well as barred British subjects from privately purchasing or settling lands beyond the watersheds of rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 built upon earlier agreements made during the Seven Years' War that the British state would protect Native Americans' established claims to their homelands in exchange for peace.

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[54] Pennsylvania General Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, 5:433, 479; Pennsylvania General Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, vol. 6, *Beginning the Fourteenth Day of October, 1767* (Philadelphia: Henry Miller, 1776), 91, 111, 142, 151-152, 193, 237, 263-264, 336, 421, 484; Splitter, "The Germans in Pennsylvania Politics, 1758-1790," 51.

For British officials, the boundaries were to improve tenuous relations with Native Americans across the continent and prevent future costly wars between the colonies and indigenous nations. These issues grew only more important once the metropolitan government learned that a coalition of primarily Great Lakes and Ohio Valley nations under Ottawa chief Pontiac was attacking British garrisons and settlements as far east as Winchester, Virginia starting in May 1763. The British government also meant to encourage future colonial settlement along the more easily monitored Atlantic seaboard rather than the North American interior.[55]

The line in the Appalachian Mountains delayed and dashed the hopes of a range of Pennsylvanians and other colonists who saw profits and promises in the acquisition of indigenous peoples' lands in the trans-Appalachian region. Veterans of provincial forces hoped to receive their land bounties for their military service during the Seven Years' War in western lands. Gentry and merchants acquired millions of acres in speculative holdings beyond the Appalachians during and after the Seven Years' War, hoping that leasing and selling the land would serve as an alternative revenue stream as tobacco prices fell and Atlantic seaports went into recession.[56] Furthermore, the standing army, now charged with enforcing the Proclamation Line might just as easy cow Englishmen into submission as the empire's new French subjects or neighboring indigenous populations. Many colonists also objected to the preservation of wartime taxation levels in a time of peace, as well as to the fact that colonists lacked representation in the body that passed revenue legislation.[57]

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[55] Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 57, 69-75, 92-93.
[56] Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 60-62, 95-100; Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 5-9, 29-30, 32, 45.
[57] Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 82, 90; Eliga H. Gould, "Fears of War, Fantasies of Peace: British Politics and the Coming of the American Revolution," in *Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed. Eliga H. Gould and Peter S. Onuf (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 24-27, 31-32; Sarah Kinkel, "Disciplining the Empire: Georgian Politics, Social Hierarchy, and the Rise of the British Navy, 1725-1775," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2012), chap. 5.

For merchants and some of their customers, there was a more insidious measure by which Great Britain was turning its colonies into dependents rather than equals within the empire: debt. While debt was at the heart of the economic system, and nearly every colonist carried some, underlying this fact was that whoever was in debt lost some of their freedom and became dependent upon their creditor. The post-Seven Years' War economic downturn in British North America turned the attention of many colonial merchants and consumers to this issue as both groups struggled to pay their debts to those above them in the webs of credit. Philadelphia merchants' shops became glutted with British goods bought on credit that became harder to sell in the colonies. Additionally, merchants struggled to generate the same profits they had long enjoyed in the provisions trade with southern and Caribbean colonies.[58]

Compounding this problem was new parliamentary legislation that gave additional advantages to lenders. The colonies were barred in 1764 from printing their own money, a tool to potentially stimulate their economies, but one which would depreciate the value of the debts metropolitan merchants held from colonial consumers.[59] Richard Wistar, son of Caspar Wistar, bemoaned to a British business correspondent that money was not to be had, and unless Parliament authorized the further production of paper currency, "we Cannot Possible pay our

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[58] T.H. Breen, "Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776," *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 4 (October 1986): 499; Thomas M. Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760-1775," *William and Mary Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (April 1983): 203, 206-207; Holton, *Forced Founders*, 44-45; Jane T. Merritt, "Tea Trade, Consumption, and the Republican Paradox in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 182, no. 2 (April 2004): 136.

[59] Stephen Conway, "British Governments, Colonial Consumers, and Continental European Goods in the British Atlantic Empire, 1763-1775," *Historical Journal* 58, no. 3 (September 2015): 722; Holton, *Forced Founders*, 62-65; Wilbur C. Plummer, "Consumer Credit in Colonial Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 66, no. 4 (October 1942): 406. Despite this prohibition, the Pennsylvania Assembly continued to issue its own currency and German-speaking merchants were often the backers of it. In a March 1, 1773 release of twelve thousand pounds in denominations of four, six, fourteen, and sixteen shilling notes, the notes had to be signed by any three of a group of six men, which included four Philadelphia German merchants—Jacob Winey, Frederick Kuhl, John Steinmetz, and Henry Keppele Jr. Henry Phillips, *An Historical Sketch of Paper Money Issued by Pennsylvania; Together with a Complete List of all the Dates, Issues, Amounts, Denominations, and Signers* (Philadelphia: A.C. Kline, 1862), 36.

Debt to the [merchant] at home & shall be Quite Ruined for want of a Medium of Cash in Trade."[60] Additional legislation enabled creditors to seize American colonial debtors' land, tenements, and slaves as payment. Furthermore, in order to ease the collection of debts to metropolitans in colonial courts, affidavits of English residents were placed on the same footing as the legal testimony of a colonist present at the courthouse. The British-manufactured goods, and the networks of credit centered in Britain developed to pay for them, bound Anglophone and German-speaking colonists to the metropole in now seemingly burdensome chains.[61]

Public opposition to these changes in the colonial-metropole relationship manifested itself in Philadelphia in 1765 with the news of the Stamp Act's passage. The 1764 Sugar Act triggered no resistance in the city, in part because it was a modification (and a reduction at that) of an already established tax. In contrast, the Stamp Act created entirely new impositions through a series of charges on a variety of printed and handwritten documents from playing cards to land deeds, newspapers to wills. Merchants in particular were hit hard by the new duties. Starting November 1, 1765 legal documents for admiralty courts, bills of lading, annual licenses for selling spirits, newspapers, newspaper advertisements, charter-parties, bonds, and bills of exchange would all be subject to taxation.[62] In response to the legislation, Philadelphia's merchant community signed a non-importation agreement on November 7, 1765. Signatories

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[60] Richard Wistar to John Vance, c. 1766, Miscellaneous Collection 220, The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscript and Printed Ephemera (hereafter Downs Collection), The Winterthur Library, Winterthur, Delaware.
[61] Plummer, "Consumer Credit in Colonial Philadelphia," 407; T.H. Breen, "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 119, no. 1 (May 1988): 103-104; Breen, "Empire of Goods," 499; T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 196-198; Holton, *Forced Founders*, 44.
[62] *Anno Regni Georgii III. Regis Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae, Quinto. At the Parliament Begun and Holden at Westminster, the Nineteenth Day of May, Anno Dom. 1761, I the First Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c. And from Thence Continued by Several Prorogations to the Tenth Day of January 1765, Being the Fourth Session of the Twelfth Parliament of Great Britain* (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham, 1765), 179-204; Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760-1775," 197-198.

agreed not to order any goods from Great Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed, to countermand any outstanding orders from British merchants and manufacturers, and not to sell any British goods arriving under any circumstance after January 1, 1766. Among the dozens of merchant and firm signatories were much of the German contingent—both Henry Keppeles, John Steinmetz, John Wister, Daniel Wister, David Deschler, Jacob Winey, William Clampffer, and Hubley & Graff.[63]

While the Stamp Act generated a collective response from Philadelphia's merchant community, subsequent non-importation attempts exposed the fractures within that community. One that emerged was the growing willingness of German-speaking merchants to take bolder steps of resistance than many of their counterparts, especially the wealthiest Anglican and Quaker families and firms. When the Townshend Acts (passed in 1767) raised rates and created entirely new duties on a variety of imported British goods—glass, lead, paint, paper, tea—too many prominent merchants balked at another round of non-importation to create a viable agreement in 1768. The community was slower than its counterparts in other cities to even send a petition against the acts, taking nine months longer than the merchants of Boston. The Philadelphia petition did not even include the threat of boycott.[64] Only after the merchant communities of other Atlantic ports, like New York and Boston, formed their own non-importation agreements, and amid growing pressure from the city's radicalizing artisans and workers, did a non-importation agreement emerge in 1769. Even then, within months of the initiation of Philadelphia's second boycott, merchants began agitating for the revision or

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[63] "Resolution of Non-Importation Made by the Citizens of Philadelphia," Treasures Collection (Collection Am.340), HSP; John Russel Young, ed., *Memorial History of the City of Philadelphia, From its First Settlement to the Year 1895*, vol. 1, *Narrative and Critical History 1681-1895* (New York: New York History Company, 1895), 368-370.

[64] Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760-1775," 218-219; Roger D. Simon, *Philadelphia: A Brief History* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2003), 20.

rescinding of the agreement, citing their declining profits, credit lines, and market share in colonial trade.[65]

The hesitancy of many Philadelphia merchants, particularly its Anglican and Quaker elites, to aggressively resist metropolitan efforts to centralize authority and increase the North American colonists' financial contributions to the empire was rooted in a series of historical, political, religious, and economic factors. Philadelphia's merchants were particularly disorganized and lacked the social cohesion of their counterparts in other colonial cities due to the rapid growth and turnover within the population, their great linguistic and religious diversity, and the uneven distribution of wealth among them.[66] Philadelphia had long enjoyed the reputation of being a peaceable city with almost no crowd actions or formal protests during the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century. While there were some attacks on Quaker elites' homes in the aftermath of the Stamp Act's announcement in the city and a dunking, tarring, and feathering of an informant for the customs officials, the tumult was significantly less serious than in other North American cities. In fact, Philadelphia was the lone port where the stamp agent for the colony's home and property were actually protected by a crowd, rather than ransacked by one.[67] The Society of Friends' eschewing of violence and midcentury movement towards internal moral reform and away from worldly affairs, Anglicans' recognition of the monarch of Great

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[65] *Der Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, October 2, 1770; Merritt, "Tea Trade, Consumption, and the Republican Paradox in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia," 134, 136.

[66] Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Inistitute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 15; Simon Finger, "Maritime Labor, Economic Regulation, and the Spoils of Atlantic Commerce in Early Philadelphia," *Early American Studies* 13, no. 4 (Fall 2015): 20.

[67] Port of Philadelphia Custom House Records, vol. 10, leaf 1205 (Collection 0157) HSP; Roney, *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition*, 161-162. Richard Alan Ryerson, *The Revolution is Now Begun: The Radical Committee of Philadelphia, 1765-1776* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 26, 30-31. Philadelphia's emergence as a hotbed of Patriot activism by the eve of the War of American Independence was tied much more to the energy and organization of its 'mechanics'—artisans, shopkeepers, and small-scale manufacturers— than its merchants. Though many German merchants were part of the segment within the merchant community that worked with activist mechanics to adopt, enforce, and sustain boycotts against British goods. Ryerson, *The Revolution is Now Begun*, 30-32, 32n34, 46-47.

Britain as head of the church, and Lutheranism's embrace of the twin swords of church and state all played a role in the relative lack of demonstrations and violence against those sympathetic to, or implementing the newly approved taxes.[68]

Merchants, by virtue of their education and occupation, often held more conservative or quietist political positions. They rarely attended colleges, academies, or Inns of Court for education, instead receiving the bulk of their training through apprenticeships within a firm or counting house in which they had a familial or commercial connection. They were less likely to be exposed to the legal and political literature that fueled much of the contemporary debate about the colonists' proper position within the empire. None of Philadelphia's merchants produced a significant pamphlet on the imperial crisis of the late 1760s and 1770s.[69] Many merchants throughout the Atlantic basin envisioned themselves as apolitical agents, quietly knitting together the empire with their transactions. Additionally, by 1768 the postwar economic downturn had ended for Philadelphia and there was the renewed promise that remaining within the empire—with its easy access to credit, restrictions on outside competitors, an expanding free trade area, protection from the most powerful navy on Earth, and cheap manufactured goods—might yield ever greater profits.

Some merchants believed that, like previously unpopular regulations of commerce, the new legislation passed post-1763 could be largely ignored or circumvented and business could continue as usual.[70] Merchants on both sides of the Atlantic seemed keen for cooler heads to

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[68] Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 17. Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg advocated for his congregation in Philadelphia to remain politically neutral when requests were made for the bells of St. Michael's to be rung to celebrate the Stamp Act's repeal in 1766. Frantz, "Religion, The American Revolution, and the Pennsylvania Germans," 78.
[69] Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760-1775," 198, 212; Mary M. Schweitzer, "The Ratification Paradox in the Great Valley of the Appalachians," in Gould and Onuf, *Empire and Nation*, 120.
[70] Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760-1775," 212-213; Breen, "Empire of Goods," 490; David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

prevail throughout the crisis. In a February 1770 letter, Manchester cotton firm Benjamin and John Bowers bemoaned the continuation of the Townshend Acts "Contrary to our expectations, and that of the whole Trading part of the Nation […] the Ministry & his Majestys late Speech to Parliament, not at all tending to a reconciliation with the Americans, we are truly sorry this showed to be the Case […] we would hope that the essential good of this national will Claim the attention of Parliament." Similarly, in April 1775, Parr, Bulkeley, and Company wrote Steinmetz and the Keppeles that "We must sincerely wish for Peace to be restored between Great Brittain & her Colonies whereby Commerce will be revived."[71]

Beyond ties of commerce there were also strong bonds of family, especially among the Anglican and Quaker merchant elites. Just as the German merchants disproportionately married among themselves, often along religious lines, so too did many of their Anglophone counterparts. These familial relations of blood and marriage stretched directly from Philadelphia to the metropole and many of the city's Anglican merchants migrated directly from England. Thus, measures designed to squeeze the British or push the colonies farther apart from the mother country, impacted not just many merchants' bottom lines, but also their flesh and blood.[72]

For Quaker merchants and those siding with them, there were political dimensions, alongside religious ones, to their quiet stance after the Seven Years' War. The Quaker faction within Pennsylvania politics decided to support a 1764 petition to make Pennsylvania a royal colony and end the Penn family's proprietary rule. This decision led many politically-minded Quakers to remain quiet on the post-1763 shifts in imperial policy, and promote close relations

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[71] Benjamin and John Bowers to John Steinmetz, February 1, 1770, Manchester, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 11, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley, and Company to [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz, April 14, 1775, [Lisbon], Series 1, Box 6, Folder 5, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[72] Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760-1775," 212-213; Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*, 55, 61; Schweitzer, "The Ratification Paradox in the Great Valley of the Appalachians,"120.

with Great Britain in the hopes that their petition would be approved. Many Quakers believed a royal government would provide a more robust response to the recent demonstrations and mob violence. The Paxton Boys' destructive and murderous march through the colony in 1763 and early 1764 devastated Native communities within colonial society and, by extension, threatened the colony's peace and prosperity. Furthermore, they believed the colony's Presbyterian population was exploiting the colony's instability to gather political influence. As Presbyterians rose to the fore of the radical opposition to the Stamp, Townshend, and Tea Acts, Quakers shifted into more conservative positions in response. They increasingly saw the political radicalism of their opponents as less about the issues of taxation, commercial interference, and potential metropolitan tyranny, and more about seizing the upper-hand in colonial governance.[73]

Why then were German merchants willing to break from the conservatism that dominated among Philadelphia's merchants, particularly the most well-to-do and influential ones? For merchants, changes in imperial policies resulting from new charges on imported goods and on documents vital to transatlantic trade did indeed threaten the profitability of their business. The growing Royal Navy presence on the North American seaboard signaled an end as well to the policy of allowing colonial merchants to disregard the statutes on transatlantic commerce.[74] German-speaking merchants lacked the familial connections back to the metropole. They had instead forged their partnerships largely with other German merchants operating in Philadelphia and the Mid-Atlantic colonies.[75] Beyond familial connections with the metropole, German-

[73] Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, 77-79; Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760-1775," 215-217; Philip Gleason, "Trouble in the Colonial Melting Pot" *Journal of American Ethnic History* 20, no. 1 (Fall 2000): 6, 8; Roney, *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition*, 162, 164.
[74] Kinkel, "Disciplining the Empire," chap. 5; Conway, "British Governments, Colonial Consumers, and Continental European Goods in the British Atlantic Empire, 1763-1775," 712, 720-21.
[75] While London did have a small, but influential German-speaking merchant community, it does not appear that there was any intermarriage between the London merchants and firms and their co-linguist counterparts in Philadelphia. Rather, London's German-speaking merchants largely intermarried among themselves and their kinship networks connected back to continental Europe rather than North America. Margrit Schulte Beerbühle, *The*

speaking merchants also did not have business relationships and connections with metropolitan firms that stretched back generations like many of the city's leading merchant families. The value of their trade to Britain, while substantial, paled in comparison with the tens of thousands of pounds sterling in goods traded annually by the city's wealthiest merchants and firms.

The preservation of a sense of Germanness, alongside embracing the status of an English subject, enabled German-speaking merchants to have an alternative identity independent of the empire. From this perspective, they felt a sense of indignation at the perceived violation of hard-earned rights and liberties by the recent acts of Parliament. The merchants' outsider status was reinforced by some of the new legislation. The Stamp Act levied a double duty on all the items produced in the colonies and taxed under the act, if they were written in any language other than English.[76] As non-Anglophone subjects relying on consumer bases that were often from beyond the British Isles, the Stamp Act placed an extra financial burden on men like Henry Keppele, John Steinmetz, Frederick Kuhl, and their less well-to-do compatriots.[77]

The double duty prescribed in the Stamp Act may have also reminded the merchants of their days before naturalization when they had more limited rights. The German merchants or their fathers had gone through the laborious process of naturalization to pursue their livelihood, and they knew first-hand the disadvantages of being a non-subject residing in the British Empire. Even before the Stamp Act's passage, German merchants sought to avoid altering the political structures under which they enjoyed civil and economic rights. In 1764, Keppele was one of

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Forgotten Majority: German Merchants in London, Naturalization, and Global Trade, trans. Cynthia Klohr (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 8, 23, 37, 72, 251.

[76] A five-year exception was granted to the recently conquered Francophone territories of Canada and Grenada. Danby Pickering, *The Statutes at Large from Magna Charta to the End of the Eleventh Parliament of Great Britain, Anno 1761* (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham for Charles Bathurst, 1765), 188.

[77] The double duty on non-English-language documents led Benjamin Franklin to conclude in his 1766 testimony on the Stamp Act before Parliament that German colonists in Pennsylvania were even more dissatisfied about the legislation than their English-speaking neighbors. Great Britain House of Commons, *The Examination of Doctor Benjamin Franklin, before an August Assembly, Relating to the Repeal of the Stamp-Act, &c.* (Boston, c. 1766), 3.

twelve assemblymen who published a letter opposing Benjamin Franklin's selection as the colony's agent in London, largely on the grounds he would work to undermine the colony's proprietary government. At the same time, Caspar Kreble kept German merchants, David Deschler, John Wister, and David Wistar, informed about Franklin's work regarding the Stamp Act, as well as Franklin's efforts to replace the proprietary government with a royal one.[78] The wave of post-1763 revenue legislation and the growing military presence in the colonies no doubt felt like a chipping away of the foundation that girded their social status and economic opportunities.

Resisting new imperial policies, especially engaging in non-importation, might have also been an act of self-interest for German-speaking merchants. The economic downturn that followed the Seven Years' War had been caused in part by a glutting of the colonial market with British manufactured goods. Non-importation enabled merchants to clear through their stocks and elevate the price they could charge customers for the goods. One of John Steinmetz's inland customers hoped Steinmetz would "take no Advantage of the None Importation of British Goods in the prices of the Goods you send."[79] Non-importation prior to the Tea Act also either focused solely on the importation of dry goods—textiles, metalware, pottery—or the wet goods bans went largely unenforced. In both cases, merchants like John Steinmetz, the Keppeles, Jacob Winey, and John Wister, could continue their lucrative trade and brokerage in wine, oils, and comestibles from Iberia and the Wine Islands, and sugar and sugar products from the Caribbean,

[78] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, November 26, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, September 29, 1766.
[79] James Millar to John Steinmetz, January 11, 1770, Reading Furnace, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 12, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Merritt, "Tea Trade, Consumption, and the Republican Paradox in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia," 136.

while still following the non-importation agreements and signaling their opposition to metropolitan actions.

The merchants' narrow and perhaps self-interested framing of British imperial policies and their threats to British subjects, both native and naturalized, meant that they, like so many other colonists of European descent, did not address the issue of chattel slavery in their pursuit of liberty.[80] German merchants were likely familiar with Philadelphia's African population and their progeny. Over seven percent of the city's population in 1767 was enslaved and the black population was even larger, with between four and six hundred free blacks living in the city by the early 1770s. Moreover, this population concentrated during the day along the Delaware River and the docks and quays as slaves constituted about one-in-five dockworkers in the late colonial period. This was also where many German merchants resided, owned stores and storage spaces, and conducted business. Moreover, the city's slaves had some mobility and frequently went to public spaces to socialize when their work was done for the day. The German Lutheran congregation in the city also occasionally baptized and married slaves.[81] Sometimes black servants or slaves came to Germans' stores to buy goods or make payments on behalf of their masters. Some merchants, like Frederick Kuhl, hired free blacks for small projects, like

[80] For discussions of British North American colonists simultaneously advocating for their liberty, while also defending or tolerating chattel slavery, see Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 2006); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823*, Oxford ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); François Furstenberg, "Beyond Freedom and Slavery: Autonomy, Virtue, and Resistance in Early American Political Discourse," *Journal of American History* 89, no. 4 (March 2003): 1295-1330; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975); Edmund S. Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox," *Journal of American History* 59, no. 1 (June 1972): 5-29. For discussions of Patriots' rhetorical deployment of colonists as enslaved peoples or being treated like enslaved peoples, see Jack P. Green, "'Slavery or Independence': Some Reflections on the Relationship among Liberty, Black Bondage, and Equality in Revolutionary South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 80 (July 1979): 193-214; F. Nwabueze Okoye, "Chattel Slavery as the Nightmare of the American Revolutionaries," *William and Mary Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (January 1980): 3-28.
[81] Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 9, 14-15, 23; Simon, *Philadelphia: A Brief History*, 11-12.

maintaining a well.[82] Furthermore, the merchants had to be aware of how slavery made their businesses possible, from the sugar and molasses they imported from the Caribbean to the bills charging them for slaves hired to load and unload their goods in ports like Charleston.[83]

German merchants rarely owned slaves. Labor needs at stores and warehouses were often modest and intermittent throughout the year. Moreover, as German speakers, they would likely have been more comfortable taking on a German indentured servant to help in their domiciles or businesses. For those merchants who were Quakers, there was also a growing religious objection to the institution of slavery. The Yearly Meeting in 1716 and 1730 advised Friends not to buy and sell slaves, and the 1755 Yearly Meeting issued a strict warning against commerce in slaves rather than an advisory. Starting in 1758 the Yearly Meeting barred slave-owning Quakers from attending the leadership business meetings and refused to take financial contributions from slave-owning Friends. Caspar Wistar's open comments against slavery were rare among the German merchant community and likely influenced by his Quaker faith. He decided not to hire slaves to work any of his lands or his glassworks. Wistar noted in a conversation in 1734 with Hanoverian nobleman, Baron Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck, as they traveled from Philadelphia to Trenton, that he saw the ownership of blacks as unchristian.[84]

Yet, a few German merchants did own people and most seemed to have no qualms about engaging the institution. Frederick Kuhl owned and sold slaves in the 1760s. The people he

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[82] Frederick Kuhl Wastebook, 1752-1807, (Am. 9095), HSP; John Bayly to John Steinmetz, July 3, 1773, Donegall, Lancaster County, Series 1, Box 16, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.
[83] "Sales of Six Quarter Casks Lisbon Wines Received by the Brig Charlestown Packet. Samuel Wright Master and Sold on the Account and risque of John Steinmetz Merchant Philadelphia," April 14, 1774, Charleston, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.
[84] Gary B. Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (April 1973): 252, 254-255; Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 25-26; Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur*, 169. Pennsylvania's black population, both free and enslaved, in 1770 was three percent of the colony's total population. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of Colonial America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina, 1985), 206-207.

advertised and sold during that decade were likely acquired or inherited from his uncle, the baker and merchant, Markus Kuhl. William Clampffer owned a person in bondage according to the 1767 tax assessments for Philadelphia County. John Steinmetz on May 14, 1766 sold "a Negro Boy" at William Sitgreaves' vendue for forty-five pounds and ten shillings.[85] Daniel Wister, along with several other creditors of Jacob Hite, agreed to sell his over three thousand-acre plantation in Berkeley County, Virginia and the twenty-seven people he enslaved to recoup their losses. Michael Hillegas Sr., on behalf of Mrs. Thomas Maybury, offered payment of twenty shillings each for the capture of two self-emancipated slaves, an eighteen-year old man named Ned and an approximately thirty-year old man named Mons in 1748.[86] Thus, the German merchants of Philadelphia largely avoided directly possessing human chattel, yet they also remained mostly silent about the institution as it undergirded many of their profitable ventures.

Edging Towards Independence: German Merchants and the American Patriot Cause

German merchants' support for the Patriot cause grew in the wake of the Tea Act and Coercive Acts in the early 1770s. The passage of the Tea Act in 1773 unleased another wave of public demonstrations and resistance in Philadelphia, including threats of tarring and feathering

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[85] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, January 23, 1764; *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, May 20, 1765; "Sales & Net Proceeds at Vendue for…Mr. Stonemetze," May 14, 1766, [Philadelphia], Series 1, Box 14, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Philadelphia County Commissioners, *The Particulars of Each Persons Estate as Appears by the Township and Ward Assessors Return as Follows, By Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts, Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun., County Assessors* (Philadelphia, 1767), f. 190v, UPenn Ms. Codex 1261, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Nash, "Slaves and Slave Owners in Colonial Philadelphia," 248-250; Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 9, 15; Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 270. In the 1767 tax assessors' records for Philadelphia County, Kuhl is shown to own one slave, while Steinmetz possessed none. Philadelphia County Commissioners, *The Particulars of Each Persons Estate as Appears by the Township and Ward Assessors Return as Follows, By Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts, Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun., County Assessors* (Philadelphia, 1767) f. 174v, 175r, UPenn Ms. Codex 1261, Rare Book & Manuscript Library University of Pennsylvania.

[86] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 28, 1748; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 23, 1772. For a discussion of Jacob Hite's financial downfall and his desperate attempts to hold onto his property, see Holton, *Forced Founders*, xiii-xiv.

for any person who agreed to pilot a ship carrying tea up the Delaware River. The popular disaffection for the legislation was so great in Philadelphia that two of the four merchants charged with selling the now cheaper British East India Company's tea, Thomas and Isaac Wharton, resigned their commissions for fear of alienating their colonial consumer bases.[87]

The subsequent Boston Tea Party and Parliament's closure of that city's harbor and alteration of Massachusetts' government, however, triggered mixed responses among merchants in Philadelphia. When news reached Philadelphia in May 1774 of the Coercive Acts' passage, many leading merchants opposed another non-importation agreement, insisting instead that Boston should pay the damages and end the dispute. But the following month Philadelphians passed a resolution condemning the closure of Boston Harbor and urging the creation of a congress of deputies to organize a response from all the colonies. The resolution also called for a local committee from the county and city of Philadelphia to correspond with other colonies to bring about an end to the crisis on favorable terms. The forty-three-member committee contained five German Philadelphians: merchants Adam Hubley and Michael Hillegas Jr., tanner and retailer George Schlosser, baker Christopher Ludwick, and innkeeper and sugar manufacturer and retailer, Jacob Barge.[88] When elections were held for the committee in November and it

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[87] Merritt, "Tea Trade, Consumption, and the Republican Paradox in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia," 143, 146.
[88] Hezekiah Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America: or, An Attempt to Collect and Preserve Some of the Speeches, Orations, & Proceedings, with Sketches and Remarks on Men and Things, and Other Fugitive or Neglected Pieces, belonging to the men of the revolutionary period in the United States* (Baltimore: W.O. Niles, 1822), 180; Ryerson, *The Revolution is Now Begun*, 73, appendix M; Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760-1775," 223; Simon, *Philadelphia A Brief History*, 23; Carl Creason, "Christopher Ludwig," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 1, *From the Colonial Economy to Early Industrialization, 1720-1840*, ed. Marianne S. Wokeck (German Historical Institute, last modified October 31, 2013, http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=175. George Schlosser was a small-scale merchant, importing hosiery. He was also a tanner.

expanded to sixty-six members, voters placed Henry Keppele Jr. and Winey as well as Schlosser and Ludwick in the body.[89]

When non-importation once again became the preferred tool of resistance to the latest perceived infringement on the colonists' liberties in late 1774, German-speaking merchants played a leading role in enforcing the new agreement and creating domestic industry in and around Philadelphia. Francis Hasenclever, Henry Keppele Jr. and Jacob Winey were elected to the second division of Philadelphia's Committee of Inspection and Observation. The committee examined all vessels arriving in Philadelphia and local shops to ensure there were no goods present in violation of the non-importation agreement.[90] When Henry Keppele's wife of thirty-three years Catharine died in early November 1774, he arranged the funeral so that no mourning accessories were worn or given out. Traditionally, grieving families gave colonial mourners funerary tokens, like British-manufactured scarves or gloves, to commemorate the event. In varying degrees, Keppele's pietistic faith and patriot political orientation motivated his decision at this public event. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* noted Keppele's practice and lauded it as "An example, at this time, well worthy of imitation by all ranks of people."[91]

German merchants in Philadelphia also supported domestic industry in the wake of the Continental Congress' renewed plan for nonimportation. The United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting American Manufactures organized to establish a textile manufactory, and shares in the body were sold for ten pounds. The first meeting of the subscribers was March 16, 1775 and they elected eleven men to serve as directors including three German-speakers, two of whom

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[89] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 12, 1774; Splitter, "The Germans in Pennsylvania Politics, 1758-1790," 56n43-44. For the November 1774 election to what became the Committee of Sixty-Six several German merchants were placed on tickets. The radicals and mechanics placed Jacob Winey and Francis Hasenclever on their ticket, while the moderates recommended Adam Hubley and John Steinmetz to their supporters. Henry Keppele Jr. was on both factions' tickets. Ryerson, *The Revolution is Now Begun*, 270-271 appendix K 1 and K 2.
[90] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 12, 1774.
[91] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 9, 1774; Breen, "'Baubles of Britain'," 94-95; Pfleger, "John Henry Keppele."

were merchants: Frederick Kuhl and Jacob Winey. The directors leased a house for three years to start the factory, which at its peak in the fall of 1775 employed four hundred women to manufacture textiles.[92]

In the wake of violence at Lexington and Concord and the growing clamor for independence from Great Britain, several German-speaking merchants took up arms and assumed roles in the creation of Pennsylvania's new constitution and government. In reaction to the fighting in Massachusetts, Philadelphians formed several new militia units. John Keppele, a young merchant and son of Henry Keppele, was selected as a field officer for one of these units and would reach the rank of lieutenant-colonel by the time of his death on October 31, 1779 at age twenty-five. His brother, Henry Keppele Jr. served from July 1776 until his 1782 death with Pennsylvania's third battalion of state troops. Germans in the city began drilling together and periodically practiced marching between the Reformed church building on Race Street and one of the German Lutheran congregation's buildings.[93]

With revolutionary Pennsylvania's committees and government largely operated by men with no prior officeholding experience, Patriot German merchants were some of the most veteran political hands in Philadelphia.[94] Frederick Kuhl, a thrice-elected assessor for Philadelphia, served as an elected delegate for the city of Philadelphia at Pennsylvania's constitutional convention in July 1776, having established himself as a leading radical and pro-independence voice. Kuhl and Keppele Jr. became members of the new Council of Safety that served as the

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[92] *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet or, the General Advertiser*, March 20, 1775; J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1884), 2314; Roney, *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition*, 165-166. Michael Hillegas Jr. was also a subscriber. *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, January 18, 1780.

[93] *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, November 4, 1779; Frantz, "Religion, The American Revolution, and the Pennsylvania Germans," 80.

[94] Richard Alan Ryerson estimates that about ninety percent of civil and militia committee members in Pennsylvania between May 1774 and July 1776 had never previously held an office. Ryerson, *The Revolution is Now Begun*, 4.

state's executive organ and replaced the now dissolved Committee of Safety, while Hillegas Jr., the German merchant community's most experienced officeholder, became its treasurer.[95]

German merchants also applied their maritime connections to aid the Patriot cause. Jacob Winey formed a partnership with Robert Morris and Thomas Mason in August 1775. Together they outfitted a voyage to continental Europe that secured saltpeter, gunpowder, and firearms for the newly formed Continental Army as well as gathered freights ordered by the Continental Congress.[96] Andreas Bunner through his firms Bunner, Murray, & Company and A. Bunner & Company owned and outfitted at least four privateering vessels, ranging from the six-gun sloop, *Happy Return*, to the eighteen-gun ship, *Charming Sally*. Bunner-owned vessels captured over thirty British craft during the war. Bunner's prizes not only denied materiel to the British, but also supplied Continental forces, as was the case in 1780 when a captured shipload of Irish beef and pork saved American forces at Trenton from an acute food shortage.[97]

Like Pennsylvania political operatives before them, the Continental Congress assumed that the German-speaking merchants of Philadelphia held great influence among their co-linguists and co-religionists. In June 1775 the Continental Congress received intelligence from

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[95] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, September 27-October 4, 1773; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 5, 1774; *Story & Humphrey's Pennsylvania Mercury, and University Advertiser*, September 24, 1775; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*, 1:322-323; John W. Jordan, ed., *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, vol. 1 (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 1159; Sam Bass Warner Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods in Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1968), 27 table 5 part 1; Ryerson, *The Revolution is Now Begun*, 173.

[96] Thomas Mason, "Journal of my proceedings from the Commencement, until the Conclusion of my Voyage," folder 35, Henry Pleasants Jr. Collection (Collection 1508), HSP.

[97] Thomas Leaming Jr. to Bunner, Murray & Co., June 9, 1779, Series LII Richard Somers (I), Box 13, Folder 7, Item 44, Barry-Hayes Papers, Independence Seaport Museum, Philadelphia; Bunner, Murray & Co. to Richard Sommers, December 8, 1779, Series LVIII Ships' Papers, Box 15, Folder 16, Item 23, Barry-Hayes Papers, Independence Seaport Museum; Receipt of Bunner, Murray, & Co. to Richard Somers, February 17, 1780, Series LII Richard Somers (I), Box 13, Folder 7, Item 51, Barry-Hayes Papers, Independence Seaport Museum; David Hayfield Conyngham, *The Reminiscences of David Hayfield Conyngham 1750-1834: A Hero of the Revolution, and the Head of the Revolutionary House of Conyngham and Nesbitt Philadelphia, PA*, ed. Horace Edwin Hayden (Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1904), 80, 80n246; Jordan, *Colonial and Revolution Families of Pennsylvania*, vol. 3 (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 1223-1324; Charles Henry Lincoln, ed. *Naval Records of the American Revolution 1775-1788* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), 252, 325, 386, 470.

New York and North Carolina expressing concern about the lack of enthusiasm for the Congress' actions. On July 4, 1775 the Continental Congress passed a resolution asking the Pennsylvania delegates to "procure letters from the German Clergy and other respectable persons of that Nation, in this city to their friends and countrymen in the Colony of New York, and also to their countrymen in North Carolina." While Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg and Reformed clergyman Casper Weyberg declined to write the desired letters, the lay leadership of both the Lutheran and Reformed congregations as well as the German Society of Pennsylvania agreed to write letters in favor of the Continental Congress.[98]

The merchants remained involved with the Patriot cause after independence was formally declared and labored to keep their nascent state and country afloat financially. Adam Zantzinger provided the Continental Congress rentals of horses and wagons to transport money between Philadelphia and New York in 1776.[99] In March 1776, Frederick Kuhl, Adam Hubley, and Samuel Hillegas, son of Michael Hillegas Jr. were authorized by the Continental Congress, along with several dozen others, to sign and number four million dollars in bills of credit. Similarly, the Congress in August 1778 elected John Keppele and German-speaking Philadelphia retailer, William Sheaff as two of the men empowered to be signers of Continental currency starting immediately.[100] In 1779 John Steinmetz signed on to a scheme by Philadelphians to provide immediate cash to the Continental Congress to help it pay off its debts and curb inflation. In turn,

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[98] Worthington C. Ford et al., ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, vol. 2, *May 10 to September 20, 1775* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1905), 126; Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 2:362-363.
[99] Ford et al., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, vol 5., *June 5 to October 8, 1776* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), 765, 888.
[100] Ford et al., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, vol. 4, *January 1 to June 4, 1776* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), 194; Ford et al., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, vol. 11, *May 2 to September 1, 1778* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908), 765. Frederick Kuhl had already been authorized by the Continental Congress in July and December 1775 to sign for the government's bills. Ford et al., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, 2:207; Ford et al., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, vol. 3, *September 21 to December 30, 1775*, 423.

the subscribers proposed that what they paid immediately be credited to their taxes due to the government, and that any surplus they had with the Continental Congress after three years be repaid at six percent interest.[101]

The next year, a half dozen German merchants pledged subscriptions backed by their credit and property to the newly established Bank of Pennsylvania. The Bank of Pennsylvania's creators planned to raise three hundred thousand pounds in Pennsylvania currency (one hundred eighty thousand pounds sterling) to guarantee the loans the institution made in order to provision the Continental Army. The largest individual pledges were for ten thousand pounds by Robert Morris and Blair McClenaghan. By comparison, Francis Hasenclever, Isaac Melchior, Henry Keppele, and John Steinmetz pledged two thousand pounds each, Andreas Bunner, through his firm Bunner, Murray, & Company, pledged six thousand pounds, and Michael Hillegas Jr. pledged four thousand pounds (all in Pennsylvania currency). The Bank of Pennsylvania influenced the formation of an institution that came to supersede it in financing the war effort the following year: the Bank of North America.[102]

Hillegas Jr. rose to the highest rank within the revolutionary government among Philadelphia's German merchants when he became first jointly with George Clymer in May 1776 and later individually in August 1776, the Treasurer of the United States. For several months in the late summer of 1776 Hillegas Jr. was both Treasurer of the United States and the Treasurer of Pennsylvania.[103]

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[101] *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, August 24, 1779.
[102] "The Plan of the Bank of Pennsylvania, Established for Supplying the Army of the United States with Provisions for Two Months," *The New Jersey Gazette*, July 5, 1780.
[103] Jordan, *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, 1:1159-1160; William T. Parsons, *Another Rung Up the Ladder: German Reformed People in American Struggles 1754-1783* (Collegeville, PA: Chestnut Books, 1976), 13.

The merchants also helped convince German religious and social institutions to support the new revolutionary government and, in turn, have their institutions formally recognized by the new government. Following the British withdrawal from the city, German Lutherans held a thanksgiving service in Zion Church for the Continental Congress, Pennsylvania State Assembly, and the state's Supreme Executive Council. A faction of the St. Michael's elders made Frederick Kuhl 'president' of the German Lutheran congregation of Philadelphia and oversaw their congregation's re-chartering in 1780. The Patriot faction with Kuhl had Johann Christopher Kunze, an outspoken patriot, named the congregation's pastor over the more conservative Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg.[104] Similarly, the leadership of the German Society worked with the new patriot General Assembly of Pennsylvania to re-charter their organization under the new government. On September 20, 1781, the assembly provided a charter signed by Speaker Frederick A. Mühlenberg, son of the pastor, to the GSP. The charter entrusted the organization to care for distressed German citizens, and also to promote the education of poor children in both English and German, including by sending qualified candidates to the University of Pennsylvania.[105]

There was a price to pay for the outspokenness of the German-speaking merchant community, both during the 1777-1778 British occupation of the city and at sea. As British forces approached the city following their victory at Brandywine Creek in September 1777, many patriots, including merchants, fled the city to avoid retribution. Henry Keppele relocated to Lancaster to stay with his daughter and pro-revolution Lutheran pastor son-in-law Justus Heinrich Christian Helmuth. Other merchants decided to wait out the occupation in the city,

[104] Splitter, "Order, Ordination, Subordination," 227; Frantz, "Religion, The American Revolution, and the Pennsylvania Germans," 90.
[105] Pfund, *A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania Founded 1764*, 12-13.

including John Wister and John Steinmetz.[106] During the occupation the British used the property of German-language congregations and severely damaged or stole parts of it. The misuse of the church properties might have been retaliation for the congregations' general support for the Patriot cause. St. Michael's Church became a hospital for sick and wounded British soldiers. Zion Church and the German Reformed Church were also used by the British Army. Services could no longer be held in the Reformed Church and the congregation was forced to use its schoolhouse instead. By the end of the occupation, the German Reformed church building was partially destroyed and Zion Church's pews and chairs were gone.[107]

Fighting the empire with the strongest navy in the Atlantic caused great hardships for the German-speaking merchants and threatened their profits and property, especially their ships. On July 25, 1775 in the North Atlantic, the British twenty-gun warship *Glasgow* seized Keppele and Steinmetz's ship, *Charming Peggy*, and took the captured vessel to Boston. The Lisbon-bound ship was filled with over two thousand barrels of flour and over five thousand staves for making barrel-sized and pipe-sized containers. Ironically, Keppele and Steinmetz included orders to both their ship's captain, Thomas Dowman, and their trading partners in Lisbon, Parr, Bulkeley, and Co., that the *Charming Peggy* be rented out for as close to 150 pounds per month as possible or sold outright if someone would agree to pay 1,900 to 2,000 pounds sterling for it, as they feared ships were a precarious asset during the ongoing dispute with Great Britain.[108] In Boston,

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[106] Rubincam, "The Wistar-Wister Family," 157; Mark Häberlein, "Transatlantische Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert: Die Kontake südwestdeutscher und Schweizer Einwanderer in Pennsylvania zu ihren Heimatregionen," in *Menschen zwischen zwei Welten: Auswanderung, Ansiedlung, Akkulturation*, ed. Walter G. Rödel and Helmut Schmahl, (Trier: Wissenschaftler Verlag, 2002), 59; Pfleger, *Ethnicity Matters*, 15.

[107] Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, 2:401; Frantz, "Religion, The American Revolution, and the Pennsylvania Germans," 83.

[108] Henry Keppele Senior and John Steinmetz to Parr, Bulkeley, and Co., July 16, 1775, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 15, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz Instructions to Captain Thomas Dowman, July 16, 1775, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton (Collection 1619), HSP; Captain Dowman's Affidavit, December 26, 1775, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

General Thomas Gage, Commander-in-Chief of British forces in North America, ordered on August 19 that the cargo of flour be taken for His Majesty's Forces and had the cargo's value appraised by four Boston merchants.[109] General Gage decided to hold the vessel as leverage while he sought the return of British regimental uniforms that the Americans had captured and were holding at Philadelphia, or until it could be established that its owners were loyalists.[110]

Keppele and Steinmetz initiated a two-pronged effort to secure their ship and to gain compensation for their seized cargo, and they played off their then ambiguous status of being British subjects and Americans. In December 1775 they asked the British firm John Whitmore Sr. & Jr. of London to ask General Gage once again for payment. They placed the bill at nearly 5,500 pounds sterling for the flour and the lowest price they had been willing to sell their vessel for, and they asked the Whitmores to initiate legal action against General Gage if he refused to pay. The German merchants also requested that the commander of the *Glasgow*, Captain Tyringham Howe, be sued for the unlawful seizure of their ship, if he was in London and if Gage was not providing satisfaction to their claim. They gave Whitmore Sr. & Jr. power of attorney in February 1776 to pursue their affairs in Great Britain.[111]

As Americans, Keppele and Steinmetz also petitioned the Continental Congress and American maritime courts to secure compensation. Their petition was read by the body on January 27, 1776 and assigned to a three-person committee comprised of Samuel Ward, Robert

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[109] Captain Dowman's Affidavit, December 26, 1775, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Letter of D. Chamier, September 10, 1775, Boston, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Order on Thomas Gage, December 9, 1775, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.
[110] John Rowe to [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz, August 31, 1775, Boston, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Captain Dowman's Affidavit, December 26, 1775, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.
[111] [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz to John Whitmore Sr. & Jr., December 9, 1775, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; [Henry] Keppele and [John] Steinmetz to John Whitmore Sr. & Jr., February 24, 1776, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

Alexander, and George Wythe. The committee reported on February 2 that since the vessel had been seized by a British warship and was being detained by Admiral Graves, the petitioners were not justified in being compensated by either the Continental Congress' treasury, or by the sale of the seized British uniform materials possessed by the Continental Army.[112]

When the two German merchants learned that American privateers had recaptured their ship in the summer of 1776, they brought a suit before the new maritime court of the Middle District of Massachusetts in Boston where the privateers had taken it to be declared a prize. Unfortunately for Keppele and Steinmetz, the court ruled on September 7, 1776 in favor of the privateers, and the ship and its cargo were ordered condemned and to be sold at a public auction.[113] Keppele then appealed the ruling and petitioned the Continental Congress in October 1776 to also appeal the decision. The Congress agreed to place the appeal before a five-delegate committee.[114] The appeals in the state court and Continental Congress dragged on into 1783, when the Continental Congress upheld the maritime court's ruling and Robert Morris authorized the vessel's auctioning. Keppele then took the case before the Court of Appeals in Cases of Capture, and it entered the September 1783 docket.[115]

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[112] Ford et al., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, 4:96, 108; Paul H. Smith, et al., ed. *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, vol. 3, *January 1, 1776-May 15, 1776* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1978), 161.

[113] Register of the Ship Peggy, June 25, 1776, Halifax, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Briton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; "At the Maritime Court for the said Middle District held at Boston in the county of Suffolk aforesaid by the Honourable Timothy Pickening Jun.r Esqire Judge of the said Court on Saturday the seventh day of September in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Seventy Six," [Boston], Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[114] "The Petition of Henry Keppele of the City of Philadelphia Merchant on Behalf of himself and other Owners of the Ship or Vessel called the Charming Peggy with her Tackle Apparel and Furniture," October 7, 1776, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Ford et al., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, 5:884-885.

[115] J. Bradford to Andrew Black, April 16, 1783, Boston, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 4, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Andrew Black to J. Steinmetz, April 17, 1783, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 4, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; *The Pennsylvania Packet or The General Advertiser*, June 19, 1783.

Surprisingly, it was the British courts that ultimately provided some form of compensation to Keppele and Steinmetz for the seizure of their vessel and its cargo. The initial condemnation of the *Charming Peggy* and its cargo by the Vice Admiralty court was overturned by the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes on July 18, 1781. The two merchants provided Whitmore Sr. & Jr. with materials that showed that Captain Dowman had not played a role in the ship's detention and that the *Glasgow* captured their vessel nine months before an Act of Parliament authorized British vessels to seize all American vessels and their cargo on the seas.[116] While the Lords Commissioners lowered the claimants' valuation of the *Charming Peggy*, they agreed the two merchants should receive the ship and its cargo's value as well as interest on this sum. On December 20, 1781 they received 3,290 pounds, nine shillings, and seven pence. The Lords Commissioners recognized this as an initial payment and calculated that over 2,800 pounds sterling was still owed to Keppele and Steinmetz as yet unpaid compensation.[117]

Even when German-speaking merchants could hold onto their vessels during the war, they struggled to finds profitable trading ventures and ships often became financial burdens. Keppele, Keppele Jr., and Steinmetz each possessed a third share in the ship *Catherine* and they authorized the Lisbon-based Robert Pasley and Co. to find a renter or buyer for the ship. Unlike the *Charming Peggy*, the *Catharine* successfully reached Lisbon in February 1775 and again in

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[116] [Henry Keppele and John Steinmetz?] to John Whitmore Sr. & Jr., April 9, 1778, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 8, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; "Extracted from the Registry of his Majesty's High Court of Admiralty of Great Britain. In his Majesty's High Court of Appeals for Prizes—In the Matter of the Charming Peggy otherwise the Peggy Thomas Dowman Master taken by his Majesty's Ship of War The Glascow, Tyringham Howe Esquire Commander," n.d., Series 1, Box 9, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[117] "Extracted from the Registry of his Majesty's High Court of Admiralty of Great Britain. In his Majesty's High Court of Appeals for Prizes—In the Matter of the Charming Peggy otherwise the Peggy Thomas Dowman Master taken by his Majesty's Ship of War The Glascow, Tyringham Howe Esquire Commander," n.d., Series 1, Box 9, Folder 10, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

early 1776, but the Lisbon firm struggled to sell or rent the ship after that. Maintaining a ship properly to make it seaworthy was expensive, and as late as 1780 Steinmetz was requesting Robert Pasley and Co. to sell the vessel and send the profits back across the Atlantic.[118]

Just as devastating as the seizure of vessels and cargo and the idling of ships was the breakdown in the correspondence that made transatlantic commerce possible, and the formal bans on trade between Great Britain and the rebelling colonies. The Continental Congress ordered the nonimportation of British goods starting on December 1, 1774, and it initiated a ban on exports to Great Britain starting September 10, 1775. Great Britain's own ban on commerce with the rebelling colonies came into force in March 1776. By the fall of 1775 the regular packet boats that carried correspondence, bills of exchange, and cash to New York and Charleston from Britain became intermittent. These streams of small vessels were the crucial connection for North American merchants and their British counterparts. While they were reestablished in port cities the British Army occupied, their frequency and durability paled in comparison to the prewar system.[119]

Without regular and safe shipping connections, firms like Robert Pasley and Co. could not send remittances back to Steinmetz in Philadelphia and held onto them for years. Similarly, the profits of the *Charming Peggy*'s ill-fated last voyage were intended to pay off part of Keppele and Steinmetz's debts to Pigou and Booth in London, and Pierce and Brown in Bristol.

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[118] Robert Pasley and Co. to Henry Keppele, John Steinmetz, and Henry Keppele Jr., April 27, 1775, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 5, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; John Steinmetz Account Current with Robert Pasley and Co. of Lisbon, June 30, 1776, Series 1, Box 13, Folder 4, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; John Steinmetz to Pasley and Co., March 20, 1782, Philadelphia, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 3, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

[119] Joseph Barfield to John Steinmetz, October 7, 1775, Falmouth, Series 1, Box 9, Folder 18, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Robert Pasley and Co. to Henry Keppele, Henry Keppele Jr., and John Steinmetz, February 15, 1777, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 7, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley and Co. to [Henry] Keppele and [John] Stenimetz, December 17, 1777, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 7, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

Benjamin Bowers sent the Keppeles and Steinmetz their current account in early 1776 and asked them to pay their debts. Bowers noted that despite interruptions caused by the emerging war, other American merchants had successfully sent payment and without even having to be asked.[120] Whereas the Keppele family and John Steinmetz's joint ventures in the early 1770s led to tens of letters received each year from firms throughout Great Britain, Iberia, and the Wine Islands through 1775, in 1777 they received just two letters from foreign correspondents. Correspondence for the German-speaking merchants from abroad remained a trickle until 1783 and the end of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain.[121]

Notwithstanding the War of American Independence's heavy costs to their businesses and personal wealth, and the demands on their time by the war effort and various new roles in state and federal government, many of the merchants continued to operate their businesses during the conflict. Following the end of the British occupation, Keppele returned to Philadelphia and along with his son-in-law, Peter Kuhn, sold Madeira wine, West Indian spirits, coffee, sugar, imported salt, and other comestibles at their joint store on Market Street between Fourth and Fifth Street. He also worked with several other merchants and independently during the war years selling similar wet goods to American consumers.[122] Keppele Jr. until his 1782 death sold a variety of (often imported) spirits—French brandy, Madeira wine, West Indian rum, whisky—as well as sundry consumables and dry goods, like shoes.[123] Adam Zantzinger

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[120] Pasley and Co. to John Steinmetz, October 18, 1775, [Lisbon], Series 1, Box 6, Folder 5, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Benjamin Bower to Keppele, Steinmetz & Keppele, February 1, 1776, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 6, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.
[121] Robert Pasley and Co. to Henry Keppele., Henry Keppele Jr., and John Steinmetz, February 15, 1777, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 7, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Parr, Bulkeley and Co. to [Henry] Keppele and [John] Stenimetz, December 17, 1777, Lisbon, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 7, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.
[122] *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, November 14, 1778; *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, August 14, 1779; *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, December 14, 1779.
[123] *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, December 1, 1778.

expanded his offerings during the war and also tried to tailor some of his products specifically for wartime. Before the war, Zantzinger concentrated on iron goods and hardware, but during the war he began to sell a variety of wines, spirits, and dry goods.[124] He advertised in late 1778 camp equipment that any proper officer would want in the field, from tea kettles and creamware to flatware and gridirons. He sold sets of these camping goods in twenty-two inch by fifteen inch boxes, convenient for carrying on campaign.[125] Despite the disastrous fates of his ships, John Steinmetz was able to keep up with at least some of his regular customers' demands for tobacco, sugar, coffee, tea, German- and English-language almanacs, and wine.[126]

Pennsylvania and the Mid-Atlantic colonies at large served as the site of the largest German-speaking migration within the eighteenth-century British Empire. This movement of tens of thousands of people was spurred and facilitated by Pennsylvania's active recruitment of Central European migrants, and the British metropolitan government's continuing support for the immigration of foreign European Protestants, including through the 1740 naturalization legislation. The emergence of an organized migrant transporting industry centered in Rotterdam, London, and Philadelphia facilitated this sizable transatlantic migration over the mid-eighteenth century. From within these waves of German-speaking immigrants, a small group residing in

[124] *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, September 7, 1776; *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, March 24, 1781; *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, January 1, 1782.
[125] *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, December 3, 1778.
[126] James Millar to John Steinmetz, September 12, 1776, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; James Millar to John Steinmetz, October 8, 1776, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; James Millar to John Steinmetz, December 7, 1776, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; James Arbuckel to John Steinmetz, November 11, 1776, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; Richard Seedon to John Steinmetz, December 2, 1776, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP; John Jamison to John Steinmetz, October 21, 1776, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 1, Jasper Yeates Brinton Collection (Collection 1619), HSP.

Philadelphia, British North America's most rapidly growing port city, acquired property and dared to risk it through intracolonial and transatlantic trade.

The German-speaking merchant community of Philadelphia, connected through language, faith, and family ties, became subtle yet important imperial actors. Through their commercial and civic practices, they helped bind their fellow German immigrants and first-generation colonists to the British transoceanic empire. German-speaking merchants served as critical intermediaries in the flows of credit, goods, and cultural practices that linked the colonies to the British metropole. Furthermore, their civic activities, primarily through their work with the German Society of Pennsylvania, introduced immigrants from the moment they arrived in Philadelphia's port to the British legal system, and their new-found protections and privileges. These quiet integrative practices helped solve a worrisome and growing problem for a variety of British imperial officials and actors on both sides of the Atlantic: how to ensure that the significant German migration to the Mid-Atlantic colonies did not threaten colonial security, society, and political order.

Yet, at the same time as they were integrating the German-speaking population (including most successfully themselves) into the imperial economy, local legal and political institutions, and Anglophone culture, the merchants were becoming increasingly uneasy about metropolitan imperial policies. The new taxes imposed on North American colonists, and the sizable permanent military presence remaining on the continent after the Seven Years War, gave both native and naturalized British colonial subjects pause and moved many to speak out and organize. Among German-speaking merchants these shifts in imperial policy caused a particularly strong reaction owing to their vulnerability within the empire as foreign-born and recently naturalized subjects. Moreover, the new laws seemingly undercut the low taxes, equal

rights for both natural and naturalized subjects, and impartiality in imperial markets and courts that had made Pennsylvania and British North America at large appealing locations in comparison with their Central European homelands. German merchants therefore became some of Philadelphia's most committed imperial critics and Patriots during the late 1760s and 1770s, and many actively participated in breaking the bonds that they had spent their business and civic careers diligently knitting together. Thus, the German-speaking merchant community of Philadelphia was a significant actor in both the growth of British North America and its dramatic divorce from the mother country.

Epilogue

Throughout the eighteenth century, British imperial officials and institutions, from the British East India (EIC)'s Court of Directors to colonial governors, sought to deploy German-speaking peoples around the globe for the empire's benefit. Germans from across Central Europe and across a range of socioeconomic backgrounds seized opportunities generated by a demand for European Protestants. When these migrants arrived overseas, or moved into British possessions from other empires, they found themselves ensconced in imperial projects or assigned tasks that did not always comport with their hopes for the future. Ambivalence about their new positions led them to use a range of tactics with British officials, indigenous peoples, and enslaved populations to secure their own priorities. Through these acts of resistance and negotiation the migrants often bent imperial projects and the local structures of colonial rule. Their range of activities on behalf of the empire transformed the Atlantic and Indian Ocean basins, from extending the settler colonial project in eastern North America to helping introduce Western education and racial hierarchies in India.

The German migrants' global activities were central to the eighteenth-century British Empire's operations. The empire's territorial expansion and intensifying exploitation of lands and resources generated massive demands for labor of all kinds over the eighteenth century. In Europe, this dynamic drew in a widening swath of peoples not only from the British Isles but also from German-speaking Central Europe. Germans applied their sweat and skills, and leveraged British demands and desires, to make the British Empire a transnational and collaborative project among European Protestants.

The global reach of German migrants belies enduring notions of German provincialism prior to the mid-nineteenth century. The Germans who went abroad were not always elite

intellectuals, like Johann Reinhold Forster, Georg Forster, or Alexander von Humboldt. Many more of the migrants were farmers and soldiers, artisans-turned-traders, and pastors, all of whom carried forth their own knowledge, ignorance, and prejudice to colonial environments. They also generated webs of direct connections between German-speaking Central Europe and the world beyond. Eighteenth-century Germans were not passive figures within the early modern globalizing world, serving as pawns for European powers. Rather, they were active agents engaged in transformative processes of imperialism, capitalism, political revolution, and settler colonialism.

German migrants' distinct language, denominational beliefs and frequent openness to a universal spiritual brotherhood, agrarian practices, and even codes of military justice shaped their participation in the empire's construction and preserved German communities in their new imperial settings. Yet, they also shared beliefs in the superiority of Protestantism and Europeanness that facilitated their collaborations with Britons in the empire. Despite their own origins outside of global empires, German migrants overseas were not innately more attuned to anti-colonial perspectives or to the suffering of non-European peoples under British rule. Migrants who objected to British imperial rule did so because of perceived offenses against themselves, or the empire's failure to meet their expectations for economic advancement, expanded political and social privileges, or the coming Millennium. Through their imperial entanglements, whether they always acknowledge them or not, the migrants transformed landscapes, spread the Gospel, imposed Western social norms and British tastes around the world, and exploited non-European peoples. They acted like other colonizing Europeans of their age.

The War of American Independence (1775-1783) and, especially, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815) disrupted the established channels of migration from Central Europe and strained ties between Great Britain, German-speaking Europe, and German migrants abroad. Soldiers, not settlers, became the dominant migrant population during these decades.[1] These wars, however, did not change the British Empire's reliance on German-speaking collaborators, nor the types of roles the migrants filled. Tens of thousands of German-speaking peoples still moved overseas and labored as borderland settlers, missionaries, and merchants, following patterns established over the previous century.[2]

German migrants continued to participate in British government-organized settlement schemes and in the consolidation of British control over lands recently seized from indigenous peoples. The German immigrants and their progeny in state-planned borderland settlements in New York and South Carolina, who remained loyal to the British crown during the War of American Independence, frequently moved into new communities in Canada in the 1780s and 1790s. They settled in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and in what would soon become Upper

[1] Rodney Atwood, *The Hessians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Inge Auerbach, *Die Hessen in Amerika 1776-1783* (Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission Darmstadt und Historische Kommission für Hessen, 1996); Friederike Baer, "The Decision to Hire German Troops in the War of American Independence: Reactions in Britain and North America, 1774-1776," *Early American Studies* 13, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 111-150; Stephen Conway, "Continental European Soldiers in British Imperial Service, c.1756-1792," *English Historical Review* 129, no. 536 (2014): 79-106**;** Stephen Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, 1740-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 43, 47-48, 117, 141-145, 174-175**;** Aaron S. Fogleman, "From Slaves, Convicts, and Servants to Free Passengers: The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution," *Journal of American History* 85, no. 1 (June 1998): 43-76; Holger Thomas Gräf, Andreas Hedwig, and Annegret Wenz-Haubfleisch, ed. *Die 'Hessians' im Amerikanischen Unabhängingkeitskrieg (1776-1783): Neue Quellen, neue Medien, neue Forschungen* (Marburg: Historische Kommission für Hessen, 2014); Stephan Huck, *Soldaten gegen Nordamerika: Lebenswelten Braunschweiger Subsidientruppen im amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlang, 2011); John McAleer, "'The Key to India': Troop Movements, Southern Africa, and Britain's Indian Ocean World, 1795-1820," *International History Review* 35, no. 2 (February 2013): 300-303; Mark Wishon, *German Forces and the British Army: Interactions and Perceptions, 1742-1815* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 104-164.

[2] The rise in the nineteenth century of racial Anglo-Saxonism further encouraged German-British collaborations in and beyond the British Empire. James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 5-6; Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

Canada (present-day southern Ontario), joining other loyalists from the rebellious colonies to form settlements and farmsteads that solidified British claims to lands on the emerging border between Canada and the United States of America.[3] Hundreds of Germans migrated to Jamaica in the 1830s as part of British state and private initiatives to find an alternative labor force for plantations in the wake of the abolition of slavery throughout the empire. Like their predecessors in South Carolina, colonial officials envisioned that the Germans would help shift the colony's racial demographics and serve as militiamen and police to control the emancipated black population.[4]

Over the first half of the nineteenth, century scores of German missionaries continued to spread the Gospel in British colonies under the aegis of organizations like the London Missionary Society (LMS) and Church Missionary Society (CMS). These bodies, like the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) before, struggled to find British candidates to go to remote environments. The CMS cited the efforts of the SPCK's German missionaries when they decided to accept ordained Lutheran pastors from the continent as missionaries. The CMS and LMS took on German candidates trained at new institutions, like Lutheran pastor Johannes Jänicke's mission school in Berlin and the Basel Mission School. As in the eighteenth century, working with these British organizations offered German churches and missionaries access to places seemingly ripe for proselytization, and to the necessary logistical and financial

[3] Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World*, repr. (New York: Vintage Books, 2012), 29, 69, 76, 85-94, 123, 125, 127-130, 147-152, 156-175, 177-180, 199, 202, 205-206, 326; Robert Stansbury Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution*, 2nd ed. (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Digital Press, 2011), 10, 194-195; James W. Paxton, "Kinship, Communities and Covenant Chains: Mohawks and Palatines in New York and Upper Canada, 1712-1830," (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 2006), 346-451; Georgia Carole Watterson Troxler, "The Migration of Carolina and Georgia Loyalists to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 1974), 105-165, 256-336; Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton: Esther Clark Wright, 1955), 6-7, 66, 155-157, 204-205, 216, 249.
[4] D.G. Hall, "The Apprenticeship Period in Jamaica, 1834-1838," *Caribbean Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (December 1953): 162-163; Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 75-79, 197.

support to sustain a global mission.[5] Of the first fifteen CMS missionaries, twelve were German, and only in 1817 did the CMS have more Anglophone missionaries than German-speaking ones. The LMS appointed twenty German candidates to stations in Ceylon, India, and southern Africa between 1804 and 1814. There were ninety-nine German evangelists in India in 1852, the majority of whom served with an Anglican mission.[6]

The British East India Company (EIC) had tapped the Halle-trained Lutheran missionaries' linguistic, pedagogic, and other expertise to facilitate its administration of Indian society and colonial labor in the eighteenth century. In later years, both the EIC and, eventually, the British state turned to other educated Germans, many coming from new research-focused universities and institutions, to help survey and administer British overseas possessions. Germans managed much of South Asia's forests in the second half of the nineteenth century through the Indian Forestry Service.[7] The Geological Survey of India recruited recent graduates from German universities throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Scores of German botanists,

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[5] John Jaenicke to London Missionary Society, March 7, 1826, Council of World Missions Archives, London Missionary Society Home Office (hereafter CWM/LMS Home), Incoming Correspondence, Box 4, Folder 8, Jacket A, School of Oriental and African Studies (hereafter SOAS) Special Collections and Archive, London; Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 238-239; Andrew F. Walls, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Missionary Movement in Britain," in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vol. 1, *The Danish-Halle and the English-Halle Mission*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 126.

[6] Robert Eric Frykenberg, "Christian Missions and the Raj," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 119; Andrew Porter, "An Overview, 1700-1914," in Etherington, *Missions and Empire*, 47; Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004), 56-57; Fred D. Schneider, "Parliament, The East India Company, and the Calcutta Bishopric," *Journal of Church and State* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1974): 57; James Sibree, *A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, Etc. From 1796 to 1923* 4th ed. (London: London Missionary Society, 1923), 5-10.

[7] David Arnold. "Globalization and Contingent Colonialism: Towards a Transnational History of 'British' India," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 16, no. 2 (Summer 2015) https://muse.jhu.edu/; Ulrike Kirchberger, "German Scientists in the Indian Forest Service: A German Contribution to the Raj?," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29, no. 2 (July 2001): 3-4; Kris Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals Across Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 31-32; Joachim Oesterheld, "Zum Spektrum deutscher Eliten in kolonialen Indien. Ein erster Überblick," in *Deutsche Eliten in Übersee (16 bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Markus A. Denzel (St. Katharinen: Scripta-Mercaturae-Verlag, 2006), 381.

geologists, Indologists, and chemists participated in British state-sponsored scientific expeditions and surveys designed to generate information about the resources, climates, and peoples of the British Raj. British officials used this information to more effectively exploit resources within colonial possessions and manage subject populations.[8]

The growing Anglo-German imperial rivalry that emerged after the German Empire's founding in 1884 and, more acutely, World War I itself, forced imperial officials and the British public at large to recognize just how many German lived and worked within the British Empire. British metropolitan and colonial governments wrestled with what to do about the hundreds of thousands of alien residents and British imperial subjects who were natives of Germany or the Austro-Hungarian Empire as well as their progeny. The Germans who had built railways, established mills, shared the Protestant faith with non-believers, surveyed waterways, and performed hundreds of other tasks for the empire, might now employ their expertise and colonial experiences in acts of espionage and sabotage that could undermine imperial defenses. These anxieties produced national registers and civilian internment sites from northern Ontario to South Australia.[9]

Mounting British anxieties about the Germans in their midst came at the same time as German-speakers appeared to vanish in the British Empire. With the start of World War I,

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[8] C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*, 1st pbk. ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Ulrike Kirchberger, "Deutsche Naturwissenschaftler im britischen Empire. Die Erforschung der außereuropäischen Welt im Spannungsfeld zwischen deutschem und britischem Imperialismus," *Historische Zeitschrift* 271, no. 3 (December 2000): 621-660; Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement*, 24-33; Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 143-145.

[9] On the German presence in British Empire during World War I and anxieties about it, as well as the internment of Germans and ethnically German peoples in the British Empire during the conflict, see Bohdan S. Kordan, *No Free Man: Canada, the Great War, and the Enemy Alien Experience* (Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 14-15, 19, 22, 38, 41, 47, 85; Panikos Panayi, "Prisoners of Britain: German Civilian, Military and Naval Internees during the First World War," in *'Totally Un-English'? Britain's Internment of 'Enemy Aliens' in Two World Wars*, ed. Richard Dove (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 29-43; Ernest Scott, "Australian in the World War: Section II Political," in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. 7 pt. 1, *Australia*, ed. J. Holland Rose, A.P. Newton, and E.A. Benians (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), 571, 573.

Central European and ethnically German British imperial subjects frequently hid their backgrounds, and often avoided German-speaking organizations and institution during the war. Imperial officials and governments pressed German-settled communities across the empire to change their names, from Berlin in Ontario (present-day Kitchener) to Bismarck in Tasmania (present-day Collinsvale). Historians of the British Empire were now loath to discuss a shared Anglo-Saxon heritage or to comment upon the wide-ranging German presence within the British Empire over the past two hundred years, emphasizing instead the narrative of the British Empire as a national endeavor. World War II only further reinforced this silence and the notion of the empire as a British national achievement.[10]

"Immigrant Imperialism," through its four studies of German missionaries, merchants, soldiers, and settlers, peels back the nationalist narratives to reveal the eighteenth-century British Empire's reliance on German-speaking peoples. Visions of global empires built by metropolitan populaces may have fueled emerging nationalist sentiment in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, but those perspectives were rooted more in the mythical and ideal than in reality, like so many nationalist constructs.[11] The British Empire was a trans-European undertaking guided by peoples from across the continent with no previous ties to the endeavor. The empire became a conduit through which Central Europeans made global connections not just through their correspondence and commerce, but through their migrations and labor. Germans helped close demographic gaps with rival empires and indigenous polities and nations. They brought skills to

[10] Gerhard P. Bassler "Germans," in *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*, online ed., ed. Gerald Hallowell (Oxford University Press, 2004) https://www-oxfordreference-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195415599.001.0001/acref-9780195415599-e-650; Belich, *Replenish the Earth*, 62, 66; Scott, "Australia in the World War," 573.

[11] For examples of earlier discussions of the idea of a nation as built upon the mythic or on timeless narratives, see Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Ernst Renan, *What Is a Nation? And Other Political Writings*, trans. and ed. M.F.N. Giglioli (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 247-263.

colonial spaces that officials believed British migrants lacked. To reach their goals, be they global or personal in scope, the British Empire and German migrants needed one another, whether or not they recognized or embraced their collaborative partnerships in colonial spaces. Regardless, these relationships furthered the rise of European global dominance, a far-reaching historical phenomenon whose legacy continues to shape the twenty-first century world.

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