

“ARMS AN EMPLOYMENT”: MOTIVATIONS FOR ENLISTING IN THE 18TH  
CENTURY BRITISH ARMY

by

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## ABSTRACT

NICHOLAS KANE. "Arms an Employment": Motivations for Enlistment in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century British Army. (Under the direction of DRS. DAVID JOHNSON and JOHN SMAIL)

In the eighteenth century, the British military boomed in size with the various wars that occurred throughout the century. Over two hundred thousand soldiers joined the British army over the course of the century. This thesis examines the many incentives that existed for enlistment and the motivations that soldiers expressed in their own accounts. This thesis also emphasizes the voice of the British enlisted soldier and less of a top down approach on the motivations. The few accounts written by soldiers of the period are used to display their voices in the most authentic way possible. Royal Chelsea Hospital Pension records also provide a sense of where the soldiers came from in terms of location and occupation. The thesis has three parts with the first chapter describing the world around the recruits, the second chapter explains the recruiting processes implemented by the military and recruiting parties, and the last chapter tells the motivations of enlistment through the voices of the recruits themselves.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## DEDICATION

Dedicated to the British redcoats of the eighteenth century and to those who have ever enlisted in order to find their own way in life.

To past, present, and future students. April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2019 will be the day that forever changed University of North Carolina at Charlotte and the families affected. The thesis was finished in sobering thoughts of life's fragility and impermanence, but also in thought of the community that continues to inspire its own motivation in face of hardships.

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**INTRODUCTION:**

## FOR KING AND COUNTRY ... AND COIN

John Robert Shaw lay in bed surrounded by the other new recruits of the 33<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of Foot. They had marched almost two hundred miles from Leeds to London and settled into the Chatham barracks for a short rest before being shipped to America to fight in the colonial rebellion. He had no notion of the colonists' plight, only that he had grown tired of his occupation as a stuff-weaver where he wove a coarse cloth made of worsted wool. Born in Bradford in the Yorkshire county of England, the textile industry encompassed Shaw's early life. Shaw often got into trouble with his friends as an adolescent and consequently was punished by his father.<sup>1</sup> Sometime in 1777 Shaw had enough of his current life of ill-treatment by his step-mother and the threat of physical punishment from his father. At the age of 16 he decided that the hard work of the textile industry did not line up with his life and, instead, turned to soldiering as a way to improve his life, perhaps even becoming a "gentleman" in the process.<sup>2</sup> Shaw travelled from Bailen [sic] to Leeds after hearing about a recruiting party staying there. The 33<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of Foot had a party in a local alehouse, where Shaw negotiated his enlistment and received extra pay.<sup>3</sup> He had new clothes which included the regimental coat and cocked hat, and had extra spending money from the bounty he took upon enlistment. He heard the news of Bunker Hill and the defeat of the British army and the battle of Long Island, but remained steadfast in his decision.<sup>4</sup> His father had tried to buy him off when

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<sup>1</sup> John Robert Shaw, *A Narrative of the Life & Travels of John Robert Shaw, the well digger, now resident of Lexington, Kentucky* (Lexington: Printed by David Bradshaw, 1807), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 9. Bailen is likely a corruption of Bailden, a parish in Yorkshire county.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 9, 12.

he found out he had enlisted but Shaw resisted the offer and stayed as a recruit.<sup>5</sup> The recruiting sergeant had promised him a life of luxury and fantasy, and Shaw intended to see it through.<sup>6</sup>

Over 500 miles north of Shaw in the Caithness county of Scotland, John MacDonald, a school teacher, joined the army. MacDonald came from a rather prosperous family of gardeners in Argyll, Scotland, in the southwestern part of the Highlands.<sup>7</sup> Not noticeably rich or poor, MacDonald's family represented the middling sort of the eighteenth century. MacDonald received an education at a young age, substantial enough for him to be teaching his own classes at the age of 14. He joined an organization called the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a pro-Hanoverian organization that sought to eradicate any remaining Jacobitism and to educate Scottish Highlanders about Protestantism and teaching literacy.<sup>8</sup> In 1778, he enlisted in the North Fencibles after hearing about his friend who purchased a captain's commission in the new regiment. MacDonald joined as pipe-major, a skill he learned in the last few years, and travelled around Scotland as part of the recruiting party.<sup>9</sup> Not satisfied with staying in Scotland for the duration of the war, he joined the 73rd Highland Regiment of Foot. MacDonald saw service in Gibraltar during the siege and later embarked with the soldiers to India. He stayed in the military for several years and then travelled around the world for another few years as a servant until he returned to his teaching career.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 10, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 7.

<sup>7</sup> John MacDonald, *Autobiographical Journal of John MacDonald, Schoolmaster and Soldier, 1770-1830*, ed. Reverend Angus MacKay (Edinburgh: Darien Press, 1906), 27-8.

<sup>8</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 29-30.

<sup>9</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 33-35.

<sup>10</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 35-6.

The two accounts above described a couple motivations for enlisting into the British army. The thousands of other recruits enlisted for their own reasons and motivations in the eighteenth century. While many joined for similar reasons, each had their personal one for joining the army. Some reacted to the economy and environment around them and some saw the military as a means of a stable livelihood. Some saw joining the military in a time of war as a patriotic duty. With Great Britain in an almost constant state of war, the patriotic recruits had multiple opportunities to express it. Some just could not find satisfaction in the lives they currently lived. Young and single British men found a certain appeal with the redcoat uniform and a life of glory and adventure.

British soldiers came from a diverse range of backgrounds and social standings. In contrast to the soldier's label of scum and villainy, soldiers came from stable environments and not always from poverty. Accounts such as John Robert Shaw's and John MacDonald's, along with others, provided descriptions of enlisted soldiers as previously employed, somewhat educated, and not forced into the army by conscription or criminal pardon. Few turned to a criminal life during their service and most hoped it would improve their lives. The eighteenth-century British soldier enlisted from a variety of motivations including personal and economic. Thus, motivations for enlistment cannot be generalized with one or two specific reasons that address all those who enlisted. To do so would take away historical agency from British soldiers. Instead, multiple motivations existed for enlistment into the British army.

British men enlisted in both war and peacetime, with a higher enlistment number during a war period. Men also enlisted into the army during a time of economic chance with the Industrial Revolution beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century. The

revolution transformed urban and rural sectors alike in expanding manufacturing and industrialization. The lower classes had little choice in employment opportunities, more so if lacking any specialized skills. The move towards industrialization and manufacturing left many people seeking new employment in different parts of the country, the colonies, or the military. To the unemployed, the military offered consistent pay, clothing, food, and shelter as well as an opportunity to improve their social standing. Those that did not look at the military as a temporary wage could create a career for themselves and eventually gain a pension after discharge. These lower-class men would have the choice of enlisting into the army as privates initially, but in time they could possibly move to the rank of non-commissioned officer which offered a higher daily wage and more authority.

The eighteenth-century soldier differed from soldiers of previous centuries. By the end of the seventeenth century soldiering in the English army had started to move towards a professionalization modeled after Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army introduced in 1645 and away from the older recruitment strategy of militias mustered by feudal lords.<sup>11</sup> In times of war or conflict, lords would conscript their armies from the tenants under their control. Armies of earlier periods, such as medieval England, relied on conscripted soldiers that feudal lords pulled from their lands for wars that took place in England. Overseas war required a more professional soldier with either a paid retainer or foreign mercenary to fill the ranks.<sup>12</sup> After the war or battle, the soldiers would then

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<sup>11</sup> Mark Kishlansky, "The Case of the Army Truly Stated: The Creation of the New Model Army" *Past & Present* No. 81 (Nov. 1978): 62, 65. See also Mark Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979) for more on Cromwell's army.

<sup>12</sup> John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (New York: Cambridge Press, 1989), 8.

return to the land and continue farming. Full-time soldiering, before the early eighteenth century, meant mercenary work in foreign armies. The need for standing armies due to constant warfare pushed for professional soldiers that volunteered and away from mass conscription. With the departure of using impressment and conscription tactics, such as Press Acts or forcing men to join to gather troops, volunteers made up the majority of the British Army by the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup> With the exception of the Jacobite Uprisings, the wars that involved Great Britain occurred abroad on either the European continent or the colonies.

Britain could not escape war in the eighteenth century. As early as 1701 the country became involved in wars against the Bourbon alliance of Spain and France. The amount of wars in the long eighteenth century between 1688 and the 1790s mirrored the earlier Hundred Years War with Britain experiencing relatively few years of peace. The Wars of Spanish Succession and Austrian Succession took place on the continent as well as in the American and West Indian colonies, pulling the British army across the globe.<sup>14</sup> The Seven Years' War started in 1756 after a few years of relative peace. The war involved the great powers of Europe at the time and took place from Europe to the Philippines. Great Britain led one coalition consisting of Portugal, Prussia, and other German states against France's coalition with Spain, Russia, and the Holy Roman Empire. The British coalition defeated the French coalition in 1763 and with the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Britain gained territory from France including land in North America,

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<sup>13</sup> Peter Way, "The Scum of every county, the refuse of mankind' Recruiting the British Army in the eighteenth century," in *A Comparative Study of Military Labour 1500-2000*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (Amsterdam University Press, 2013): 295. Conway, "Politics," 1181.

<sup>14</sup> Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, 29. The Spanish Succession took place between 1701-1714 and the Austrian Succession from 1744-48.

the Caribbean, and India. By the American War of Independence, the army swelled to more than double the size of the army during the Seven Years' War and the government ramped up recruitment drives, thereby increasing the opportunities for men to enlist in the army. With economic hardships and the employment opportunities offered by the army, Britons who needed work or felt dissatisfied with their current employment enlisted.

At England's periphery, Scotland military development originated from two events in the eighteenth century. The first would be the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, which involved the British army against the Jacobite forces around Great Britain. The Jacobite movement appeared after the Glorious Revolution in 1688, which ended the reign of King James II. An exiled James, however, continued to have supporters called Jacobites, who resisted their new monarchs King William III and Queen Mary II. Jacobites first rose against the government in 1689 which ended in defeat and James II lived the rest of his life in France. The Jacobite supporters rebelled again in 1715 before attempting once more in 1745 with Charles Edward Stuart leading the army. Stuart's Jacobite army comprised of Scottish, Irish, and English sympathizers. The rebellion of 1745 and its failure led to the ending of further Jacobite risings. The House of Hanover had taken control of the throne in 1714 and with the failing of the Jacobite rebellion in 1746, the Hanover monarchy's rule had become final.

The next event stemmed from the rebellion's failure and impacted Scottish recruitment into the British army in the 1750s. In 1747, King George II sought to suppress any further resistance from Scotland after the ending of the rebellion. Parliament linked Jacobitism to Scotland overall without realizing that only a fraction of Scottish people had supported the Jacobite cause. To quell any future rebellions and make ex-

Jacobites loyal subjects of the Crown, the British government issued legislation. This included civilization attempts of Scotland to transform them into more like England or become North Britain such the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and changing Highland culture. The “civilization” effort increased after the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 with attempts to subdue the culture and plant more influences from the south. In 1746 the British government issued the Proscription Act and the Disarm Act to change Highland culture and root out any other possibility for Jacobite rebellions in the future by not only disarming them but banning tartan clothing, a cultural aspect of the Highlands.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the Acts, the government also forced former Jacobite leaders off their land and imprisoned them, even if they had not physically participated in the rebellion. The British army saw the enlistment of Scottish Highlanders increase during the 1750s with the creation of specific Highland battalions and regiments.

The British military consisted of the Royal Navy and the Army. The army had a diverse corps of regiments in ethnicity and type. The regiments of foot or infantry made up most of the army but also included cavalry units and artillery. The infantry consisted of “marching regiments,” fencibles, and militia. The army described “marching” units as the active service that did not have a permanent quarters such as the Foot Guards. In comparison, the fencibles or militia stayed within the British Isles as a home defense in case of invasion. Only until the turn of the nineteenth century would some fencibles see some overseas service, but for only a short time and duration. Technology and tactics of the time dictated the sizes of regiments with most regiments consisting of either 500 or 1000 men at full strength. A regiment of 1000 often had two battalions to divide the corps

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<sup>15</sup> John Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon Press, 2002), 193.

into a more manageable size. Around 500 men, including officers, made up a battalion which the army further divided into 10 companies of around 50 men. A battalion or regiment of full strength would have enough soldiers to function for active service. Throughout the eighteenth century, regiments recruited to augment or replace lost numbers.

After 1770, the British army restructured the battalions by changing the number and types of companies. The battalion's 10 companies consisted of 8 battalion companies and two flank companies. The flank companies differed from battalion companies in tactics, dress, and sometimes soldiers. Each battalion had a grenadier and light infantry company as their two flank companies, which often detached from the regiment to form a designated flank battalion. The grenadier company originated from the late seventeenth century when these soldiers carried grenades and acted as the regiment's shock troops. The creation of the light infantry occurred during the Seven Years' War, specifically the French and Indian War in North America, and became part of the regular establishment by 1770. The flank companies had differing roles and leaders considered them to be the elite soldiers of the time. The grenadiers by the Seven Years' War lost the equipping of grenades due to technological flaws but remained as the army's shock troop and retained the tall bearskin cap.

The sizes of the army fluctuated in times of war and peace. At the height of the Seven Years' War, the army had 126 marching regiments, seven battalions of Foot Guards, and 30 companies of Royal Artillery. The army shrunk during peace time from 1764 to 1775 and grew close to previous numbers when the American War of

Independence began.<sup>16</sup> The army had an average number of 100,000 soldiers throughout the war, not only fighting in the American theater but stationed around the world such as India, Gibraltar, and the West Indies. Even in peacetime, regiments needed to be augmented or fill ranks as some soldiers became unfit and therefore discharged. The war office reduced the regiments during peacetime to smaller sizes and discharged or drafted some of the extra men into other regiments that needed more soldiers in the ranks. Drafting in this instance did not mean the conscription system that occurred in the twentieth century but, instead, the transfer of soldiers from one regiment to another. In peacetime, soldiers often served their enlistment in several regiments as the war office drafted men accordingly to other regiments.

The eighteenth century saw the enlistment of over two hundred thousand men into the British army. Whatever drew them in, they enlisted as means of survival and livelihood. Conscription excluded, men chose the army thinking it fit their needs and wants. Their enlistment reflected choice and agency, not out of reaction to an economic depression or social change.

## **HISTORIOGRAPHY**

The field of Military History stretches back to the Roman era with the studies of Julius Caesar's campaigns. Military historians studied the technological changes and advantages between armies, the tactical decisions of leaders, and conflicts between nations. The eighteenth century fits within the early modern warfare studies with firearms and large-scale battlefield tactics as the main focal point. The study of private soldiers remained small until the later parts of the twentieth century.

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<sup>16</sup> J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service: The Training of the British Army, 1715-1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 11-12.

In 1981 Sylvia Frey published *The British Soldier in America: A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period*, which broke away from the studies of generals and officers in the British army.<sup>17</sup> Instead, Frey studied the common soldier and their lives in the military. Frey pulled from two regiments: the 54th and the 2nd Regiment of Guards. Both served in the American War of Independence and experienced the hardships of war. Frey used records that had just been released to the public and held at the archives for research. She became the first to create a social history of the British soldier and use primary sources other than officer journals. The social history field differed from the dominant “armchair generaling” and officer biographies of the traditional military history field. By the mid-1970s, military history consisted of judging battle strategies and blunders of tactics. If any focus on military people existed, only officers and generals drew their interest. Frey’s work created a pathway for more social histories to be created within the field of military history and eventually created the “new” military history - War and Society. War and Society focused on more than just battles and officers but the socio-economic and cultural factors that influenced the military and war. After Frey, the subject of British soldiers would remain untouched until the 2000s.

Peter Way discussed military labor in 2003 with his article “Class and the Common Soldier in the Seven Years’ War” and developed the topic in 2013 with his chapter “The scum of every county, the refuse of mankind” in *Recruiting the British Army in the eighteenth century*.<sup>18</sup> As a labor historian, Way’s study of the professional

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<sup>17</sup> Sylvia Frey, *The British Soldier in America: A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

<sup>18</sup> Peter Way, “Class and the Common Soldier in the Seven Years’ War,” *Labor History* 44, no. 4 (2003): 455-81 and “‘The scum of every county, the refuse of mankind:’ Recruiting the British Army in the

soldier became part of the same class and status as that of the lower working classes of British society. Way categorized soldiers as wage laborers, in the same regard as those that worked in a factory or farm. Way emphasized the class of soldiers in the struggling world of imperialism and industrialization and how the soldiers worked to fit into the new economy and growing fiscal-military state. The categorization as laborers helped place the idea of choice and agency onto soldiers.

Stephen Brumwell's book explained the diverse ethnic backgrounds of British regiments and did away with the imagery of soldiers as automatons for the British army. Instead he claimed the British soldiers had thoughts and motives of their own.<sup>19</sup> Brumwell's research involved the few accounts of enlisted men, regimental returns, and pension records, which revealed the complexity of the British army in North America during the French and Indian War. His work did not focus on economic backgrounds of the towns that soldiers left behind upon enlistment or the idea of military labor. Brumwell's focused on the ethnic background and diversity of the regiments during the Seven Years' War. He wrote about their general experiences throughout the war and the perspectives from their officers of the rank and file but did not write a campaign history book.

Brumwell used the American campaign as a vehicle for displaying the individuality of soldiers and the adaptation of warfare tactics. The tactic adaptation showed the willingness of the British army to change in different environments and in response to different enemy tactics. His study challenged the British army's image as a

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eighteenth century" in *Fighting for a Living: A Comparative Study of Military Labour 1500-2000*, edited by Erik-Jan Zürcher, (Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 291-330.

<sup>19</sup> Stephen Brumwell, *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755-1763* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2002), 6.

monolithic entity. Brumwell also tackled the notion of British soldiers as “scum of the earth” as said by Arthur Wellesley the Duke of Wellington. The negative perspective colored the image of British soldiers for decades to come in military history. His research with ethnic backgrounds and diversity helped with the change in the perception of British soldiers as motivated individuals instead of automatons. Brumwell’s, much like Frey’s, work humanized the soldiers into relatable characters with thoughts, concerns, and motives during the war.

Stephen Conway studied the connections of Britain and the military within the eighteenth-century world. He focused on the military as an institution and how it embodied the nation as a symbol of pride and identity.<sup>20</sup> However, the British army differed little from other European armies as a whole including the structure and formation of the army. European armies relied on their own population for raising armies but also on foreign manpower to fill the ranks and numbers. Likewise, the social backgrounds of the British army mirrored other armies of Europe with upper-class gentlemen as officers and leaders and commoners in the rank and file. Conway did not breakdown the demographics or the experiences of the British soldier but looked at how the military affected society and how the institution of the military worked in Britain. The socio-political slants of his studies placed the military among the political events and wars that happened throughout the century.

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<sup>20</sup> Stephen Conway, “The British Army, ‘Military Europe,’ and the American War of Independence,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 67, No. 1 (January 2010), 69-71. See also, Stephen Conway, “The Eighteenth-Century British Army as a European Institution” in *Britain’s Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society, 1715-1815*, eds. Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack (Liverpool: Liverpool Press, 2014).

Don N. Hagist released *British Soldiers American War: Voices of the American Revolution* in 2012.<sup>21</sup> Hagist's work expanded the study on enlisted soldiers of the eighteenth century, particularly of the American War of Independence. He used primary sources in a narrative frame with some context around each soldier. His focused use of primary sources in his work let the soldiers speak for themselves and the additional sources corroborated their texts. Hagist thought that inclusion of secondary sources would create some bias in the soldiers' voices. Each chapter displayed a different theme and soldier to match with a transcribed journal or entry from the soldier. The chapters described soldiers that volunteered, had been forced to join, came from skilled backgrounds, and criminals in the army. Hagist went into detail with the social and political context of each soldier's experience and choices.

Later in the 2010s, Matthew Dziennik and Ilya Berkovich released their works on soldiers of the eighteenth century. Dziennik's book *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* focused on the Highland soldiers of the American War of Independence, including the situation of Highland society after the Jacobite rising of 1745, their militarization, and their experiences in the war in North America.<sup>22</sup> Dziennik dispelled the myth of Highland troops as a natural fighting group and argued that they took the opportunity that imperial expansion offered with the need for soldiers by the government and the want of employment by men. Dziennik also tied the Highland economy to militarism and the symbiotic relations between the two. He used primary sources to describe the circumstances that the soldiers came from in

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<sup>21</sup> Don N Hagist, *British Soldiers American War: Voice of the American Revolution* (Yardley: Westholme Publishing, 2012).

<sup>22</sup> Matthew Dziennik, *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

Scotland and how it would influence them. He also described recruiting in Scotland, which resembled England in many regards.

Ilya Berkovich published *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe* in 2017 and talked of the various motivations including enlisting and continuing to be part of the regiment. He pointed out that previous historians attributed motivations for enlistment with romantic views, troublemakers needing refuge, and the poor taking the bounty for financial relief.<sup>23</sup> He also disputed the idea that soldiers only maintained discipline due to fear of punishment and constant drilling. Similar to Don Hagist, Berkovich used a broad scope with eighteenth-century soldiers' accounts from Britain, Germany, and France. He focused on enlisted ranks but still used journals from officers to create a fuller picture while also pulling from the few sources that exist from enlisted authors. In addition to the accounts, Berkovich consulted administrative records such as court martial records to further explore the motivations of soldiers. Berkovich noted that motivations had three stages: the voluntary enlistment, the will to fight in battle, and putting up with the daily army life. He used sociological theories and models from the twentieth century, particularly the Second World War, as a comparison but he did not let the theories create an obstacle for interpretation of records. His book focused more on the experiences of soldiers once part of the army, but he included a chapter dedicated to reasons for enlistment. Berkovich's sociological approach helped understand how eighteenth-century soldiers viewed themselves within the world and within the military. Soldiers saw themselves as members of an institution with a unique identity in comparison to civilians, which would have influenced men considering

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<sup>23</sup> Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of the Common Soldier in Old-Regime Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2017), 129.

enlistment into the military. Berkovich covered how the army drew in and encouraged men to enlist with various tactics such as recruitment posters, recruiting parties, conscription, and money.

Jennine Hurl-Eamon in the 2010s focused on gender studies surrounding British soldiers. Her articles and book centered on themes of masculinity, adulthood, and marriage of the British soldiers in the eighteenth century. While most eighteenth century British soldiers did not marry before or during their service, Hurl-Eamon viewed the married soldier as not one escaping their marriage but providing for their family with the opportunities that the military offered.<sup>24</sup> Single men used the army to provide themselves with a stable employment, married men with a family hoped to have the capability to create a survival strategy with the wages of army and the pension after their service ended. Family men often chose to enlist for a short term such as three years or into a local militia which hardly saw any service other than patrolling against bandits.

This work seeks to explore the motivations for enlistment and the historical events and activities that increased recruitment for the British army in the eighteenth century. It examines recruiting practices, the perception of the common British soldier, and soldier accounts. Statistics gathered from the Royal Chelsea Hospital Pension Application records from Inverness and Yorkshire counties provide a small window of the varying reasons that Scots and English joined the army. Both are rural areas, but Yorkshire overshadows Inverness in terms of population and industry. A survey noted that West

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<sup>24</sup> Jennine Hurl-Eamon, "Did Soldiers Really Enlist to Desert Their Wives? Revisiting the Martial Character of Marital Desertion in Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of British Studies* 53 (April 2014): 356-377.

Riding Yorkshire had a population of over 350,000 in 1761.<sup>25</sup> Inverness did not have the manufacturing industry that Yorkshire had; instead, it had a large agrarian economy that persisted through the Industrial Revolution. Agrarian economies had changed by the mid-eighteenth century and the improvements meant less work force needed to tend the fields. However, rural areas such as Inverness in Scotland still relied on manpower for agricultural production well into the eighteenth century. Urban centers and metropolises would fare in a different way than towns in the countryside. However, even the isolated and remote towns or villages of the Highlands felt the effect of commercialization.<sup>26</sup>

The years 1750-1795 provide a focused period for my study. The range covers the start of the Industrial Revolution and the major wars that involved Great Britain. This periodization also includes the different generations affected by industrialization and policies enacted to improve the economy. This study will examine the variety of regiments that men enlisted into and the possible considerations for their choices. Ireland could not be counted in this study due to its colonial status during this time period. I draw from primary sources such as journals from contemporary soldiers that enlisted into the British army around the time of the American War for Independence, muster rolls, and Royal Chelsea Hospital pension records. This study will focus on their voices and views when possible, including extrapolating from officers and official papers, on reasons for enlisting into the British army. The motivations may not point toward the economy as a main factor but one of many throughout the century.

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<sup>25</sup> E.A. Wrigley, "English County Populations in the Later Eighteenth Century," *Economic History Review* New Series 60, No. 1 (Feb 2007): 55.

<sup>26</sup> Neil Davidson, "The Scottish Path to Capitalist Agriculture 2 (1747-1815)," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 4, No. 4 (October 2004): 431-436; 448-9.

## CHAPTER I. THE RECRUIT'S WORLD AROUND THEM

### WAR AND ECONOMY

From the eleventh to the late fourteenth centuries, England ran under a feudal system with a monarchy at the top. Noble barons, such as the Duke of Lancaster, reigned at the top with a small middling-class and then lower and peasant classes underneath them. Laborers and peasants worked under the landlords as freeholders or renters or as copyholders, who paid rent in labor. Agriculture work consisted of a subsistence living with the surplus going to the landowner to sell in the market. The transition away from feudalism began in the late fifteenth century with the increase of productivity and use of money as a means of exchanging goods. The lowlands and uplands of England differed in economic production. The lowlands comprised of the south, east, and midlands of England, which focused on agricultural production. The uplands in the north and west centered around industry, which included mining, metalworks, and textile. The light loam and fertile sand soils of the lowlands suited agriculture better than the uplands with chalky, clay heavy soil.<sup>27</sup> The less arable lands of the uplands pushed for less farming and livestock tending as clay did not allow for crops or grass to take roots well since clay can be waterlogged and drains less efficiently than lighter soils.<sup>28</sup>

Before the mid-eighteenth century, Britain's economy was comprised of the cottage or putting out system as well as a large agricultural economy rather than the large-scale factories that started to emerge and took over manufacturing by the first half

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<sup>27</sup> E.L. Jones, "Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1660-1750: Agricultural Change" *The Journal of Economic History* 25, no. 1 (March 1965): 10-11.

<sup>28</sup> "North Carolina Extension Gardener Handbook," <https://content.ces.ncsu.edu/extension-gardener-handbook/1-soils-and-plant-nutrients>

of the nineteenth century. Cottage production included industries such as textile, metal-wares, and leather goods, which workers made in their own homes.<sup>29</sup> Manufacturing and the production of goods increased with the introduction of the Industrial Revolution. England went through population and demographic changes in the early years of the Industrial Revolution as people moved from the rural areas to more urban centers including London. The manufacturing sectors attracted those from rural areas looking for employment or a more stable occupation than farming.

Before large scale machinery, people made textile products in their own cottages as an industry in itself. The putting-out system began in the sixteenth century and allowed products to be made in cottages or workshops. Instead of working in a guild or large factory, workers could finish products inside their own homes or workshops. These cottage industries usually consisted of skilled work such as textile, shoemaking, and even gun manufacturing. The putting-out system remained in use until the mid-nineteenth century when large scale factories with assembly lines and unskilled workers replaced the cottage industry. Large textile factories did exist in Yorkshire in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, but relatively few in number compared to the cottages workshops. The textile industry changed in Yorkshire during the beginning of the Industrial Revolution as mills started to increase in production.<sup>30</sup>

The Industrial Revolution in England expanded commercial ventures and production beginning several centuries earlier. Rural counties became mechanized with various industries such as woolen textiles in Yorkshire and iron forging in Shropshire, increasing production and output for British commerce. Even by the first half of the

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<sup>29</sup> Brewers, *Sinews of Power*, 181.

<sup>30</sup> Hudson, "Proto-Industrialization," 39.

eighteenth century, the textile industry in Yorkshire remained diverse with both small and large-scale manufacturers producing woolen fabrics alongside each other. The Yorkshire textile economy focused on the industries of woolen and worsted textile production. The cottage system of artisans and small-scale producers persisted with the rise of larger manufacturers. A small number of entrepreneurs dominated the worsted branches while a larger number of manufacturers controlled the woolen industry.<sup>31</sup> Woolen included fulled cloth that went to the production of blankets or coats while worsted produced lighter weight cloths such as shalloons and serges that had more diverse uses. The textile manufacture in the West Country such as Yorkshire required specialization and a form of divided labor. Weavers, dyers, woolcombers, and spinners eventually replaced clothiers by the early eighteenth century and created an extensive putting-out system that worked for commissions from merchants.<sup>32</sup> Weavers in cottages could increase their production with innovations in industry such as the introduction of the fly shuttle. The fly shuttle allowed for wider sheets to be made but also only needed half the workforce.

Rural England's agricultural economy also experienced change in the years before and during the Industrial Revolution. For centuries since the medieval era, most English and Welsh farmers relied upon the open field system that divided the land between arable and pasture.<sup>33</sup> Only in the southeast did landowners and farmers practice enclosed lands. Farmers rotated between two or three fields to allow the land to lie fallow and recover soil fertility. These lands would be under communal use and used by more than one

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<sup>31</sup> Pat Hudson, "Proto-Industrialization: The Case of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry of the 18th and Early 19th Centuries," *History Workshop*, No. 12 (Autumn, 1981): 36-8.

<sup>32</sup> Hudson, "Proto-Industrialization," 44.

<sup>33</sup> See H.S.A Fox, "The Alleged Transformation from Two-Field to Three-Field Systems in Medieval England," *The Economic History Review* 39, No. 4 (Nov., 1986): 542 and J.Z. Titow, "Medieval England and the Open-Field System," *Past and Present* 32 (1965): 98-9.

person at times. The use of common lands grew after the Black Death when more than a third of the total population passed away from illness and the empty lands became available from owners passing away. During this time, tenants created traditional rights to the use of the lands for farming and some livestock. The three field crop rotation came about in the late sixteenth century and remained in use until more lands fell under enclosures. By the late seventeenth century, landowners decided to modernize farming practices and to enclose open fields. Owners restricted the lands for themselves and denied the old traditional rights of common use. The increase of enclosed lands and number of large landholders pushed former tenants to look for employment in towns.<sup>34</sup> The enclosure allowed for modernization of farming to progress and grow. Medium to large landholders invested into their lands with improvements and increased productivity with the need of less workers. The price per acre of labor declined with these improvements of land enclosure and enlarging of fields, which increased the output of crops. The employment of men in agriculture did not decline as much as women and children, but did not grow alongside the amount of improved land acquired by landholders.<sup>35</sup>

Scotland started the century with a change in both monarchy and economy. After the Glorious Revolution and the turn of the eighteenth century, the kingdoms of England and Scotland united in 1707. Scotland and England had previously been united under one crown with James the I and II, but not as one country. The Act of Union in 1707 tied the two kingdoms into one nation and under one crown. The union would benefit both

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<sup>34</sup> Robert Allen, "Agriculture during the industrial revolution," in *The Economic History of Britain since 1700*, Eds. Roderick Floud and Donald N. McCloskey, 2nd edition, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 97.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Allen, "Agriculture during the industrial revolution," 114-5.

England and Scotland with political issues but economic as well, especially with Scotland's failed Darien colony attempt in Panama. The act of union also banned the ability of a Catholic contender from taking the throne. The Union of 1707 began Scotland's new economy with Scottish merchants and traders having access to the colonial ports for exchange of goods. While agriculture remained as the main staple of domestic production, Scotland did have sectors of woolen and linen manufacturers. Much of it connected to the cottage and home industries, the quality and quantity could not compete with the larger-scale weavers of Yorkshire and restricted to cheaper grades of wool. Scottish woolen manufacturers faced heavy competition with their English counterparts, who had better resources, manufacturing infrastructure, and links to trading.<sup>36</sup> The Scottish woolen sector stayed alive throughout the eighteenth century in the home-subsistence market but declined in appearance in the open market.<sup>37</sup> The English woolen manufacturers of Yorkshire dominated the market by the middle of the century, which resulted in fewer exports from Scottish makers.

The Highlands did not go through a massive introduction of manufacturing; Instead, agriculture remained at the center of Scotland's economy well into the eighteenth century and changed little with the introduction of other industries. Even the woolen and flax industries, two of Scotland's growing industries, stood at the periphery of the agricultural economy. Since the medieval ages, agriculture assumed the main role of Scotland's economy and how the population survived through the centuries after. The Scottish agricultural system of the early eighteenth century resembled feudalism with a

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<sup>36</sup> C. Gulvin, "The Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry, 1707 - 1760," *The Scottish Historical Review* 50, No. 150, Part 2 (Oct., 1971): 124.

<sup>37</sup> C. Gulvin, "Scottish Woollen," 132-3.

patriarchal landlord at the top and tenants below him. England moved away from feudalism centuries before while the change in Scotland from feudalism would not happen until after the Jacobite Rising of 1745. Landowners could no longer rely on the subsistence of feudalism and would have to engage in the market, risking their fortunes to possibility of poverty or great success.<sup>38</sup> Once the Industrial Revolution began to set in Scotland, the economic structure began to change with tenants becoming wage earners rather than serfs. While wages did not equal any more than a subsistent living, it still meant a degree of freedom from under a landlord who would have forced them to work on the lands. The same transformation occurred in England but with a larger merchant and commercial class that rivaled the landed gentry with accrued capital. The “gentlemanly capitalists” and middling class earned their income through business, financial, and mercantile industries, which differed from the gentry’s reliance on land for income.<sup>39</sup> Improving farmlands with new methods and technology meant more production of goods and stability. Instead of paying rent in kind, laborers could pay with money and the surplus also earned them a wage to save with.

Scotland’s textile industry remained small in comparison to England’s, but manufacturing processes also came to the cities such as Glasgow for weaving and some rural districts known for weaving. The cottage industry lasted longer in Scotland than in England as the economy could be sustained with small-scale weavers. This transition did not happen as fast in Scotland as it did in England with Scotland remaining under a quasi-feudal system well into the middle of the eighteenth century. Scotland also lacked the

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<sup>38</sup> Neil Davidson, “Scottish Path to Capitalist Agriculture 2: The Capitalist Offensive (1715-1815),” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 4, No. 4 (October 2004): 419-21.

<sup>39</sup> For more see P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, “Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Overseas Expansion I. The Old Colonial System, 1688-1850,” *The Economic History Review* 39, No. 4 (Nov., 1986): 501-525.

growing merchant classes that profited off the selling of commodities and goods for money until the early eighteenth century.

Scotland's economy developed differently than England's in the early eighteenth century with a push for agrarian reform starting by the late seventeenth century. While the Black Death did take a toll on Scotland's population, it did not create the yeomanry class as in England's case. The Plague continued to ravage the population for centuries after the initial outbreak in the fourteenth century and slowed population growth to a crawl. England's agrarian reform came slowly after the Black Death. Farmers started the reform in the late fifteenth century by taking over abandoned lands and breaking up large estates into manageable sizes for yeomen. With larger land plots, yeomen could increase production and improve their lands without worry of meeting quotas. The decrease in the English population also meant a decrease demand from agriculture and food production. The reform in Scotland came quickly and from the top of society with the nobles and gentry taking control. Landlords and gentry commercialized and improved the lands to increase the output, therefore increase the profit gained from the land.<sup>40</sup> Landowners enclosed the lands in the way that their English counterparts did decades earlier. However, the Scottish Highlands did not have the same common lands that England did. The runrig system differed in that landowners divided the land between tenants and often reassigned them to make sure tenants did not keep the best lands to themselves. Tenants paid the tacksman or landowner in kind for the annual rent. The runrig system survived throughout the eighteenth century but would begin to decline at the end of the century as clearances and land enclosures occurred more often.

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<sup>40</sup> Davidson, "The Scottish Path to Agriculture 2," 419.

Scottish landowners and gentry began to move towards commercial farming by the middle of the century. Leases for tenants became longer, an incentive for tenants to improve the lands on their own dime, and larger fields to produce enough to sell to the markets. However, the increased income still relied on manpower in the Highlands and the resistance towards letting tenants emigrate or join the army.<sup>41</sup> Much like England, any former tenants in rural Scotland could go to the cities such as Glasgow and Edinburgh for work and be absorbed into the economy. Towns offered work similar to those in England with some textile manufacturing in the linen or textile industries.

Agricultural reform assisted economic gains as well as social improvement. The higher output of agriculture turned a higher profit for landowners and kept tenants employed and successful throughout the duration of the lease. Tenants pushed for longer leases as an incentive to improve the lands. Short leases of five to ten years de-incentivized tenants as landowners did not ensure them that they could have tenancy again. Improvements took time, resources, and money from the tenants and if they would not have the land again after the lease ended, then the tenants would likely not improve the lands nor stay with the landowner.<sup>42</sup> With little security of tenancy over land, tenants and laborers became fluid and more mobile with employment. At times, evicted tenants or tenants unsatisfied with the lack of stability would consider emigrating for better opportunities. The possible surplus of labor in Scotland from the fluid tenancy would prove a fertile ground for military recruitment.

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<sup>41</sup> Davidson, "The Scottish Path to Agriculture 2," 436. Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 47-8.

<sup>42</sup> Davidson, "Scottish Path to Agriculture 2," 430.

## CHAPTER II. RECRUITMENT PATTERNS:

### RECRUITING PARTIES, IMPRESSMENT, AND BOUNTY MONEY

The European wars in the eighteenth century amped up the need for soldiers across the globe. The Seven Years' War in the 1750s involved well over 100,000 British soldiers and spanned over three continents. The military especially increased during the years of the revolutions in the later part of the century. By the end of 1779, the House of Commons estimated that nearly two hundred thousand soldiers had been deployed with fifty-eight thousand in North America. The House also stated that recruiting services also raised 21,900 men that year with 20,500 from volunteers and the remaining recruits from the Press Act of 1778.<sup>43</sup> A newspaper clipping in December of 1778 from a Scottish paper showed that the army would be raising 32,000 soldiers. Ten Scottish battalions and ten English battalions joined the establishment along with two brigades of 5000 soldiers each. The Scottish regiments would either serve in North America, Gibraltar, or the Indies.<sup>44</sup> Spain joined the American War of Independence in 1778, along with France. The British war office sought to strengthen the footholds in foreign territories such as Gibraltar, Minorca, and the West Indies. The government also feared invasion forces from the French and Spanish. To secure the territories and Britain, the war office authorized the creation of new regiments and the push for recruitment throughout the isles.

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<sup>43</sup> House of Commons, Wednesday, December 8 [1779]. An Estimate of the Army and militia establishments in the British Empire. *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (Oxford, England), 11 December 1779, Saturday, Page 2.

<sup>44</sup> Unknown author, "\_\_\_\_," *The Derby Mercury* (Derbyshire, UK), December 26, 1778, p. 2.

The British war office used Press Acts sporadically throughout the eighteenth century, often coinciding with war and a demand for more soldiers. Parliament employed press acts in 1703-11, 1743-4, 1756-7, 1778-9, and in 1783. All took place amidst periods of war but, with the exception of the 1703-11 Press Act, the acts only lasted a couple years maximum. When the supply of volunteers did not meet Parliament's demands of soldiers, the government used a Press Act to gain recruits. The Press Acts did not function as a total draft but targeted men who did not have gainful employment or had itinerant lives.<sup>45</sup> While the army's impressment lasted for a short period, the Royal Navy's impressment continued without end. The army did not solely rely on impressment but recruiting efforts backed by large numbers of volunteers. As seen in Figure 2 below, the volunteer soldiers dwarfed the soldiers gained from the 1778 Press Act and by the next year Parliament repealed the Press Act.

In 1775, the British army had seventy numbered active regiments garrisoned around the world, but by the end of the American War of Independence the army had one hundred and five numbered regiments active in the various wars scattered across the globe. The recruitment numbers did not include the many provincial units raised in the colonies and the German auxiliary army bought for the war. Raising the troops for the wars during the eighteenth century from the Seven Years' War to the wars of revolutionary France took effort from the government and the officers to entice volunteers to enlist in the military. Effort would include more than advertisements, conscription, and Press Acts, but also the use of recruiting parties sent throughout Britain to pull in soldiers.

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<sup>45</sup> Brumwell, *Redcoats*, 63.

We are assured from good Authority, that the most vigorous Exertions will be made in the ensuing Campaign. A new Army and new Commanders are to be sent to America, The Militia are to be called out in this Kingdom. New Corps are already put upon the Establishment: Many others are in Contemplation; and the Scotch Brigades are to be recalled from the Service of the States of Holland.

The new Troops talked of, as proposed to be raised immediately, are the following, viz.

A Battalion of Highlanders under Lord		
MacLeod, consisting of	—	1000
The Manchester Volunteers	—	1000
Duke of Argyle's Highlanders	—	1000
Campbell's Welch Loyal Volunteers	—	2000
Duke of Athol's Highlanders	—	1000
Col. Gordon's Highlanders	—	1000
Duke of Hamilton's Regiment of Arran	—	1000
Col. Dalrymple's Loyal Lowlanders	—	1000
Midland Highlanders	—	1000
Sutherland's and Mackay's Highlanders	—	1000
The Earl of Seaforth's Highlanders	—	1000
Scotch Dutch Brigades to be augmented to		5000
Irish Roman Catholics	—	5000
Ten English Battalions, consisting of		10000
Men each	—	10000
Total		32000

The Regiments that are completing in England are ordered to Ireland to make up the Complement, and compleat Regiments are to embark from thence for America.

Figure 1 The Derby Mercury, December 26, 1778.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Wednesday, December 8.*

Mr. Jenkinson moved the Army Estimates, which he stated as follows:

Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain	35,000 Men.
Other Forces,	76,000
Gibraltar, - - - - -	6,500
Minorca, - - - - -	6,500
North America.	
Foreign, ———	24,000
British - - - - -	34,000
	58,000
West-Indies, - - - - -	10,000
	192,000
In all,	192,000
The Charge of these, 4,100,000 l.	
Of the above the Militia were reckoned at 37,500, and their Charge 700,000 l.	
Most of the Establishments and Charges he said were superior to those of last Year, and explained the Reasons; the recruiting Service had raised,	
By Volunteers - - - - -	20,500
The Press Act - - - - -	1,400
	21,900

Figure 2 House of Commons, Wednesday, December 8 [1779]. An Estimate of the Army and militia establishments in the British Empire. Jackson's Oxford Journal (Oxford, England), 11 December 1779, Saturday, Page 2

The common image of the recruiting party consisted of a junior officer, a sergeant, and at least a dozen men going from town to town getting young men to join the army as a part of patriotic duty and spirited martialism.<sup>46</sup> Recruiting parties often used market days and village fairs as opportunities to find young men willing to join the army. The recruiting party often went to the local taverns as part of their strategy, not because it allowed them to get the men drunk but due to the fact that taverns acted as local gathering point of a community. Locals used taverns a place of socializing and gossip, and traffic increased with market days and fairs.<sup>47</sup> The roving recruiters used this to their advantage and often succeeded at gaining new recruits with this method. Recruiting also coincided with the change of seasons, warmer and harvest seasons resulted in market days and fairs at common pace. However, winter indicated that harvest season had past and that more idle hands would be available to recruit at local taverns.<sup>48</sup> The parties recruited in both times of war and peace to strengthen regimental numbers and reinforce any numbers lost from battle. Often times, a regiment serving abroad had a recruiting party or “additional companies” left behind in Great Britain to continue recruiting for the regiment.<sup>49</sup> Once the additional companies hit a satisfied number, the company embarked to wherever the parent regiment garrisoned and helped replace lost soldiers. John Robert Shaw enlisted into such a company before embarking to America to join the rest of the regiment.

Contemporaries often believed the army recruiting party used tricks to gain recruits. One of these included getting men drunk in a tavern and while intoxicated, the

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<sup>46</sup> Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 139.

<sup>47</sup> Don N. Hagist, *British Soldiers American War: Voices of the American Revolution* (Westholme Publishing: Yeardeley, 2012), 8.

<sup>48</sup> Holding, *Fit for Service*, 120.

<sup>49</sup> Hagist, *British Soldiers American War*, 10.

men would “take the King’s Shilling” and be officially enlisted. John Matson of Yorkshire found himself entrapped into joining the army in London when a recruiting agent kidnapped him and a few others.<sup>50</sup> On the 30th of January 1781, a well-dressed man approached Matson and told him of employment that could earn him £40 a year. The man pretended to be Matson’s friend as he led Matson into a house. The man and a couple others trapped Matson in the house, forcing him to swear into the 100th Regiment of Foot. The kidnapers put Matson “into a room with three or four more, dressed in white jackets and caps, all young men” and kept them there for two days.<sup>51</sup>

Matson’s experience of conscription may reflect the experience of other men. The conscription made him bitter towards the service, not only did the kidnapers rob him of his choice in career but robbed him of his money and pocket contents. Matson grew to hate his career of soldiering “more than any other” and had thought about self-mutilation.<sup>52</sup> Self-mutilation to escape conscription into the army occurred often in the eighteenth century, enough for the events to be recorded.<sup>53</sup> Matson saw men attempt to escape the barracks, but ultimately captured and punished by the lash. Desertion did occur in both voluntary and impressed cases of enlistment.

Recruiting agents or “crimps” worked as a middle-man for some regiments to acquire soldiers. Agents used both legal and illegal means to gain recruits. The King’s Shilling had a connotation of trickery to it with recruits finding it at the bottom of their drinks, hidden in the palm of the recruiting sergeant and handed off in a handshake, or

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<sup>50</sup> John Matson, *Indian Warfare, or the Extraordinary Adventures of John Watson the Kidnapped Youth, late of Kingsland Road, London; formerly of Bridlington Quay, in the County York; Architect and Builder. Written by Himself* (London: Effington Wilson, 1842), 10-86; Hagist, *British Soldiers American War*, 58-9.

<sup>51</sup> Matson, *Indian Warfare*, 18.

<sup>52</sup> Matson, *Indian Warfare*, 18.

<sup>53</sup> Conway, “Politics,” 1182.

taken from the officer in an inebriated state. Sometimes the recruiters paid for the drinks the men consumed by taking it out of the bounty offered to their new recruits.<sup>54</sup> While the military wanted volunteers they did not dissuade from recruiters from tricking some men into joining.

Recruiting parties did not rely on tricking their potential recruits to join but instead they used the attraction of money in the form of bounties. Bounties could be considered as an advanced payment, a sign on bonus, for joining the military and as an almost official enlistment into the regiment. They garnered the attention of the youth and unemployed and became an official part of recruitment by the mid-century with the Seven Years' War. The Recruitment Act in 1756, which coincided with the Press Act, stated that each volunteer could obtain three pounds for enlistment.<sup>55</sup> The bounty money seemed enough to entice British men to enlist for the recruiting parties. The war office pushed for an increase in bounties to further entice men to voluntarily join the army.

The artistic perception of the recruiting party varied as shown below. Depictions ranged from comedic to bitter and antagonistic. How much of the public these artists represented cannot be certain but their survival speaks of their circulation. Most depict the recruiting sergeant as an unscrupulous man who would resort to trickery to gain a recruit and would tear apart the family back home. Tricks often involved potential recruits in a drunken state and getting them to enlist by involuntarily take a shilling. While the depictions contained some amount of truth, as mentioned before most of the recruits volunteered without coercion. These depictions may have lead to the negotiation strategies implemented with men knowing that recruiting sergeants would use any means

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<sup>54</sup> Berkovich, *Motivation in War*, 130.

<sup>55</sup> Brumwell, *Redcoats*, 63.

to gain their fealty to service. Most depictions of the recruiting sergeant lean towards the satirical and negative portrayals than a more honest and realistic one.



Figure 3 John Collet, *The Recruiting Sergeant*, 1767. Courtesy of Hackney Museum.

John Collet's *The Recruiting Sergeant* depicted the scene of a recruiting party gaining a new recruit with humor and theatrical postures. The painting focused on the recruit and the sergeant with the man receiving a shilling from the sergeant - symbolising the finality of his choice. While Collet did not paint a pint of ale in the man's other hand, the fact that he took the shilling in front of an inn signifies the possibility of drinking. Besides taverns, locals congregated at inns for drinks and conversation, another target

place for recruiting parties to attend for prospects.<sup>56</sup> The background contained different characters with a wide range of expression. Directly behind him a seated older woman expressed her lamentations of the man taking the shilling. The woman symbolized the mothers and wives that cried when their sons or loved ones joined the military. Others include children touching the edges of the sergeant's halberd, a drinker inside the inn, a drummer talking to a man, and women watching the scene go down. Collet depicted working class people in the painting, the type that recruiting parties went after in towns, especially the young men.<sup>57</sup>

The idea of opportunity in the military would not have been apparent to many around the nation without stories or testimonies of veterans. Soldiers who fought in the North American or the European theaters of the war discovered the opportunities offered by the military as a means of stable employment. The pay and life appealed to young, single men rather than family men who depended on a sizeable sum of money to survive on. Bounties of three pounds equaled to the amount of the wage of an unskilled laborer of around 4 months.<sup>58</sup> For a young or penniless man this may have been the most money they had ever had at one time and could be used to help their family back home. Recruiting parties used this as an incentive to gain new recruits from unemployed men. John Robert Shaw from Yorkshire heard that the 33rd Regiment of Foot had stopped in Leeds and travelled from his village to enlist.<sup>59</sup> The fact that he heard of the regiment

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<sup>56</sup> Hagist, *British Soldiers American War*, 8.

<sup>57</sup> Charles George Harper, *The Portsmouth Road and its Tributaries: To-Day and the Days of Old*, (London: Chapman & Hall Limited, 1895), 93-94

<sup>58</sup> Berkovich, *Motivation in War*, 133.

<sup>59</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 4.

being in Leeds while in Bradford, roughly nine miles away, meant that news of a recruiting party travelled around the county.

Before the establishment of the Highland regiment, Scots would have had to join English regiments or enlist in foreign services. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth Scottish soldiers would often join foreign armies such as the Dutch or French army.<sup>60</sup> The Scotch Brigade formed under the Dutch Republic in the later decades of the sixteenth century and continued up to the middle of the eighteenth century when the British government took away the Dutch Republic's rights to recruit from Scotland. The Scotch Brigade fought in the European continent for the various wars that involved the Dutch including the Eighty Years War and the War of Austrian Succession. Before the mid-eighteenth century, the British government hesitated to create specific Highland regiments stemming from the fear of Jacobite ideology. During the 1740s, the British government allowed Highland Independent Companies to join the regular British army. Initially the independent companies could only police the Highlands, but the Highland officers pushed to form an entire Highland battalion as part of the regular army. The regular army had benefits that the Independent companies did not such as half pay for retired officers and government funding.<sup>61</sup> The government upgraded the Independent companies during the 1740s, and created the first Highland regiment - the 43rd regiment of foot. The newly established regiment fought in the War of the Austrian Succession in 1743 before coming home to Scotland to participate in the Jacobite uprising of 1745.<sup>62</sup> The 43rd regiment of foot helped with the creation of more Highland regiments. The

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<sup>60</sup> Such as the Garde Ecosaise of the 15th and 16th centuries.

<sup>61</sup> Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful than the Soil: Army, Empire, and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 20-1.

<sup>62</sup> Mackillop, *More Fruitful*, 20-1.

number of Highland regiments increased during the Seven Years' War and categorized Scotland as more than a peripheral territory of Britain but a source for military recruitment.<sup>63</sup>

Recruiting in the Highlands boomed in the 1750s and over the next thirty years almost twenty regiments would be raised in the Highlands. With the British army becoming more and more involved in global affairs and wars, the Highland regiments would be a part of it. Highlanders saw how the military could benefit their lives and give new opportunities that differed from industrial or urban labor. For the wealthy and capital-owning classes, trade and land prospecting in the colonies would be advantageous, but for the lower classes the military would be the new provider of income. Protecting and expanding the Empire required a military force large enough to fight off enemy armies and rebellions, thus the need for large-scale recruitment and the military saw the Scottish Highlands as the new reservoir for recruits.<sup>64</sup>

Nevertheless, recruiters in Scotland faced obstacles - especially from local civil powers and gentry.<sup>65</sup> Often the interests of the British government or army did not meet those of the landed elite, which caused some conflict between the two. The British government questioned the loyalty of Highland elites, especially after the events of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, and planned to introduce Hanoverian governance into the Highlands as an effort to keep watch for any future insurrections. After the rebellion, the British government annexed the lands of former Jacobite leaders and supporters. In addition, Parliament outlawed the heritable judicial positions in Scotland with the

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<sup>63</sup> Mackillop, *More Fruitful*, 24.

<sup>64</sup> Matthew Dziennik, *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 29-30.

<sup>65</sup> Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 35.

Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1746 as a means of diminishing control of Scottish clan chieftains over their tenants.<sup>66</sup>

The Highland elite and population had an uneasy relationship with the army by the 1750s with the British army posted in several locations in Scotland as watchdogs.<sup>67</sup> Local elites, aware of their liberties as British subjects and worried about their autonomy over their lands, resisted the government's reach into their estates to recruit from their tenants. Highland landlords relied on the productivity of their lands and with a threat to their available laborers they risked losing profits and sustainability. Tenants would not be forced to join, however, if given an offer high enough they would not refuse to join. Resistance towards recruitment also came from the fear of military rule and the perception of a standing army as more of an occupational force than one for protection.<sup>68</sup>

Highland elites did wish to become part of Great Britain and enjoy the benefits, but not at the cost of their autonomy and land ownership. After the battle of Culloden, the elites suffered from legislation passed by Parliament that took away power and villainized Scots in the south. Scotophobia ran rampant through England from the fear of another Jacobite insurrection. The government pressured Highland elites that had wished to be involved in politics after 1746 as a show of loyalty to the Crown. The conflict between the two especially came into play when recruiting parties entered the estates of gentry and attempted to recruit the tenants out from under the gentry's control. Elites took that as an insult and recognized the danger that losing tenants to the army would

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<sup>66</sup> "Heritable Jurisdictions (Scotland) Act 1746, Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, 20 Geo. II (c.43), 1746; Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 37.

<sup>67</sup> Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 34.

<sup>68</sup> Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 33.

have to the success of their land operations.<sup>69</sup> For centuries before the Jacobite insurrections, the clan system ran Highland society. Clan comes from the Scottish Gaelic *clann* meaning family, and the clan chieftains often held seats of authority and nobility. By the mid-eighteenth century, the clan system had died out but a hierarchy that resembled the system remained with tenants and laborers at the bottom and landed elite at the top. However, the hierarchy did remain patriarchal in the sense that gentry and elites protected the rights of their tenants and held the army responsible for any wrongdoing or commitments expected to be fulfilled from them.<sup>70</sup>

With the elite at odds with recruiting forces, the army had to find another way to recruit without treading on the authority of local Highland elites or civil powers. Even Justices of the Peace or local sheriffs had authority over recruiting parties, especially when a recruiter berated or wrongfully recruited a townsman. In Scotland, the final step of enlisting consisted of taking the Oath of Fidelity in front of a judge. Often times, it would be taken a day after a man took the proverbial or literal “King’s shilling” so that the man could be sober and free from any forceful persuasions. Recruitment practices in Scotland resembled those in England, including the recruiting party and swearing in by a Justice of the Peace.<sup>71</sup> However, one difference lay in the bounty given to recruits in Scotland, which often was higher than those in England, and the sheriff’s role in enlistment.<sup>72</sup> English recruits still negotiated for a higher bounty but did not reach the amount that Highland recruits often did. Recruiters encountered veterans or tenant

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<sup>69</sup> Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 35.

<sup>70</sup> Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 39.

<sup>71</sup> Great Britain, Regiment of Foot, 115<sup>th</sup>, *Standing Orders for Prince William’s regiment of Gloucester* (Gloucester, 1795), 16.

<sup>72</sup> Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 39; Brumwell, *Redcoats*, 274-6.

farmers who negotiated for a higher bounty than initially proposed by the government. Instead of the usual three-pound sterling, veterans negotiated for a higher bounty or higher ranking with the recruiter. Officers found recruiting difficult to entice recruits to enlist without using bounties and by the mid-war period of the American War of Independence, higher bounties became the norm.<sup>73</sup> Veterans knew the risks involved in soldiering and had already experienced it firsthand. A recruit with a higher bounty could either save the money for later or send back to his family as remittance. Men used the bounty to pay off any rent, buy needed clothes or food. An unmarried young man could see the large sum as a way to move up socially and secure himself financially with a likelihood of buying some property. Negotiating for a higher rank also meant more money, but not upfront. Ranks such as Sergeant received a higher yearly pay than a private and would be a position an experienced recruit would attempt to obtain.

The creation and recruiting for a regiment did not come from spontaneity but from the outlook of an upper class man towards the army and the opportunities it could offer. Before 1767, those that could afford the heavy price tag on the colonel commission could establish their own regiment. After 1767, an officer could only attain the rank of colonel by either seniority among lieutenant colonels or petition to the King for the raising of a new regiment.<sup>74</sup> While the person who raised the new battalion would take the rank of colonel, other officer positions needed to be filled and almost always with those of greater social and financial backgrounds, which juxtaposed the backgrounds of most enlisted soldiers. Men used on the purchase system for entry into the officer corps

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<sup>73</sup> Dziennik, *Fatal Land*, 49.

<sup>74</sup> Steven Baule, *Protecting the Empire's Frontier: Officers of the 18<sup>th</sup> (Royal Irish) Regiment of Foot during Its North American Service, 1767-1776* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014), 37.

which came after the downfall of Oliver Cromwell. While the purchase system did not encourage a more meritocratic environment, the government did not want to have a repeat of Cromwell's army. Soldiers of fortune formed the majority of the Generals in Cromwell's army in the 1650s, and most depended on the office pay for their lavish livelihood.<sup>75</sup>

Officers often relied on recruiting parties to bring in enough soldiers to create a regiment. However, at times the officer would have to pull recruits from the workforce on his own estate. In times of war, harvest season, or other events, the officer had limited men to choose from in a region.<sup>76</sup> Some nobles and gentry competed with each other on pulling in recruits from their labor force or tenants. Landed gentry could either gain a commission in the army for recruiting a certain amount of men or earn money for each soldier brought in. "Recruiting for rank" became a common way to gain a commission, which had similarities with the recruiting party. Unlike enlisted or non-commissioned ranks, men purchased officer commissions at varying prices that depended on the rank. Each officer commission had a certain price or number of raised men needed for the commission. In 1758, during the Seven Years' War, John Grant obtained an ensign commission by raising fourteen men, otherwise he would have to purchase the commission for £400 or £450 for a royal regiment.<sup>77</sup> The trend continued during the American War of Independence when in 1778 Alexander Campbell earned his captaincy by raising men from the nearby estates.<sup>78</sup> While the "recruiting for rank" seemed easy for

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<sup>75</sup> Steven Baule, *Protecting the Empire's Frontier: Officers of the 18<sup>th</sup> (Royal Irish) Regiment of Foot during Its North American Service, 1767-1776* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014), 33.

<sup>76</sup> Stephen Conway, *War, State, and Society in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 2006), 45.

<sup>77</sup> Brumwell, *Redcoats*, 275.

<sup>78</sup> Mackillop, *More Fruitful*, 110.

a gentleman to obtain a commission the bounty prices of enlistment could cause a strain on financial resources if the gentleman overpaid for each recruit. For an efficient recruitment, both Grant and Campbell had to ensure bounty expenditures did not exceed roughly £28 for each man, an absurd price, or else the benefit of recruiting for rank did not occur. Since the average bounty came to around £4 and an ensigncy only required the potential officer to raise fourteen recruits, a man such as Grant could acquire the ensigncy for £56 instead of £450. Recruiting officers and potential officers had to bring extra money to negotiate for the often-expensive bounty money bartered by a recruit.

*Table 1 Officer Commission Prices 1766*

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Commission Price for Regiment of Foot</b>
Lieutenant Colonel	£3,500
Major	£2,600
Captain	£1,500
Captain Lieutenant and Lieutenant	£800
Lieutenant	£550
Ensign	£400

The Industrial Revolution also affected the upper classes, especially with the change in the agricultural and monetary economies. While elder sons inherited lands and could gather an annual income from agricultural production or land rents, younger sons of the wealthy looked to other ventures for revenue. More than often these sons looked to professions such as lawyer, doctor, priest, or even businessman.<sup>79</sup> Families thought that a diversification of employment would benefit the interest of the family and reduce the

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<sup>79</sup> Stana Nenadic, "The impact of the military profession on Highland gentry families, c. 1730-1830," *The Scottish Historical Review* 85, no. 219 (April 2006): 78-82.

chance of poverty. Families sent their younger sons that would not inherit the land to become professionals in other occupations such as the ones previously mentioned. A fraction of the sons looked to the military but instead of enlisting as a soldier they sought to obtain a commission for an officer rank. A commissioned rank provided similar money and social status that resembled that of a landowner, and a financially conscious officer could live an independent and stable life from the income. Similar to enlisted men, gaining entry did not require any training or education. That played a role in turning the military as an option for a young son's employment.<sup>80</sup> The age of a future officer factored in the rank as well. Ensign ranks, the lowest commissioned officer, would often be as young as fifteen years old, and their commission was either by a father or other family member. Ensign positions offered the young men an opportunity of gaining a more prestigious rank later while earning income for himself. The income did not earn as much as lieutenant, captain, or higher officer ranks but provided enough for the young man to survive and live a somewhat lavish lifestyle in comparison to the enlisted soldiers.

The social status of soldiers and officers changed towards the middle of the century, with upper class families accepting their sons' positions in the military as a worthwhile alternative to land owning. The acceptance of new respectable occupations for the gentry and upper middle classes likely came from the shift towards commercialization and growth of middle class merchants towards the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>81</sup> Out of the eight sons Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine had in the early 1700s, five turned towards the military in their adulthood. The two eldest sons would inherit the land and estate while the other younger sons would receive education

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<sup>80</sup> Nenadic, "Highland gentry," 78.

<sup>81</sup> Nenadic, "Highland gentry," 85. Linda Colley, *Britons*, 64-5; 99-100.

and training for other occupations such as lawyer or business.<sup>82</sup> Four of the younger sons became unhappy with their occupations and turned their ambitions to the opportunities that the military gave to the new generation of adults. The sons that gained commissions fought in the wars that involved Great Britain in the 1740s and 1750s, three died either while in service or from wounds they never recovered from. When the old agrarian and land-owning economy could not give them a gentlemanly lifestyle, or a life in the sake of a commoner, the military became one of the alternatives.

Families spent large amounts of money getting their sons into the military and as an officer and often found themselves supporting them while serving across the sea. Unless the officer could find a dignified way to live within his own means or find an additional route for income, the officer would often find himself in debt after several months of service.<sup>83</sup> The officer had to buy his own clothing, feed his horse if he owned one, saddlery, pay his servants, pay for the luxury items such as brandy, tent, and other equipment.

Prospects of acquiring land also pulled in soldiers. After the end of the French and Indian War and with the Royal Proclamation in 1763 the government gave land grants to enlisted soldiers of upward of 200 acres, enough for soldiers to become landed yeomen and improve their economic and social statuses.<sup>84</sup> Becoming landowners and yeomen meant a more stable employment and economic freedom than their former lives as tenant farmers or other laborers, whether skilled or unskilled. While most discharged soldiers did not become landed elite or closer to being gentlemen, the fertile lands of

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<sup>82</sup> Nenadic, "Highland gentry," 80-1.

<sup>83</sup> Nenadic, "Highland gentry," 90-1.

<sup>84</sup> Brumwell, *Redcoats*, 297.

America became an opportunity that discharged soldiers from the French and Indian War could not pass up. The promise of land grants continued years later for the soldiers that served in the American War of Independence from 1775 to 1783, however, the land grants pertained to Canada instead of America. Recruitment posters offered 50 acres for soldiers at the end of the war, a substantial amount of land for a commoner, and with the confidence that the British army would win the war soldiers could hope to have American land.

*Table 2 Land Granted by Rank*

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Land Earned</b>
Enlisted	50 acres
Non-commissioned officers	200
Ensign or Coronet	2000
Lieutenants	2000
Captains	3000
Majors	5000
Lieutenant Colonels	5000
Colonels	5000
Generals	5000

After the French and Indian War, the British government decided to disband many of the regiments raised for the war. The table above described the land amount discharged soldiers in North America could petition for. Only discharged had the chance of petitioning for land in America. Soldiers of the 78th Regiment of Foot petitioned for land in Quebec after the war. Other discharged soldiers could petition for various lands in

America or Canada such as New York, Vermont, North Carolina, and what would become Ohio.

Britons also encountered promotional material such as recruiting posters and advertisements in newspapers. Literate men read the financial benefits that the military offered such as pay and pension. The promise of promotion for literate men also caught the attention of would-be recruits. The propaganda behind recruitment posters laid out the incentives for recruits to join including clothing, pay, land grants, honor, and possible pension. Financial promises encouraged recruits to join. Not only the initial enlistment bounty but some regiments offered a higher pay. The 56<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot offered one and a half to two guineas depending on the size of the recruit. In addition, the Royal Artillery promised a daily wage of a shilling and four pences for a recruit.<sup>85</sup> The language of the recruitment posters flattered recruits into enlistment by calling them “gentlemen,” “heroes,” and stated that the recruits would serve with distinction.<sup>86</sup> A recruitment poster for the 22<sup>nd</sup> or Sussex Light Dragoons, shown below as Figure 2, emphasized a heroic theme and the treatment of the soldiers with generosity and kindness. The poster attempted to instill a sense of patriotism and civic duty with the nation’s need of defense

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<sup>85</sup> Berkovich, *Motivations*, 135.

<sup>86</sup> Berkovich, *Motivations*, 137-8.

against France and Spain, who had just joined the American War of Independence.

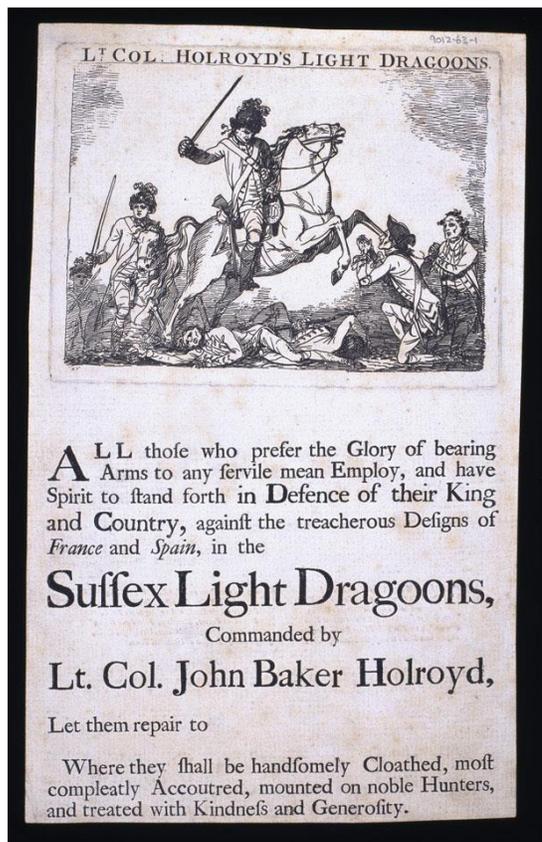


Figure 4 Recruiting poster for Sussex Light Dragoons, circa 1779 (Courtesy of the National Army Museum) NAM. 1990-12-63-1

As will be seen in the following section, the promise of a pension gave men more incentive to join. The army gave pensions for soldiers that served twenty years or sustained wounds that made them infirm while in the service. The Royal Chelsea Hospital provided a place for infirm soldiers to recover as an in-patient. Other soldiers well enough to be out of the Hospital but not able to work received their pay as an out-pensioner. The Royal Chelsea Hospital began its care for soldiers in the later part of the seventeenth century and as a major institution for the army by the early eighteenth century. The Royal Chelsea's counterparts Kilmainham of Ireland and the Royal Navy's Greenwich hospital all began their operations at around the same time. If a potential

recruit could survive the twenty-year mark as a career soldier, then the pension seemed like a bonus for enlisting.

## CHAPTER III. THE RECRUITS THEMSELVES

### THE NEW MILITARY LABORER

While the military gave Britons a chance to escape poverty or seek a better life, it would not happen immediately. For most common folk, their enlistment would start them at the bottom with the rank of private. Recruits trained for several months until they became disciplined soldiers and familiar with the various drills. An enlisted soldier started his career at the rank of private, the lowest rank, and if promoted he could achieve the rank of sergeant, the highest enlisted rank. Promotions only came from merits received in the service or show of exemplary soldiering. The next rank would be ensign in regiment of foot or infantry, a commissioned rank. Unlike most modern militaries, the eighteenth-century British army's officer corps did not exist out of meritocracy, but patronage and wealth. British men had to purchase officer ranks with commission and the large cost deterred any man of an ordinary background or means to obtain such. Both the enlisted and commissioned soldiers came from a diverse background and life before joining the military. The lowest officer rank began at the ensign rank but lieutenant would be the first with a command structure assigned to the rank. However, even officers could not gain an instant promotion. For example, to gain a promotion from lieutenant to captain, an officer would need to find a regiment with a vacant captaincy position to fill, and then the officer would need to pay for the commission again. Fortunately, the officer would only have to pay the difference between lieutenantcy and captaincy.

Enlisted soldiers received a daily pay of 8 pence but with stoppages it ended up as tuppence or 2 pence. The 8 pence would be further reduced by two-pence for “off-reckonings” which paid for expenses such as uniforms.<sup>87</sup> The meagre pay gave them an equal or better life compared to an unskilled laborer but for the young and transient man, the pay would have been enough for a stable life.<sup>88</sup> In times of peace, the army may have been garrisoned in either domestic locations or a foreign colony as a peacekeeper. War changed that routine with regiments sent abroad as part of a campaigning army or stationed in an area full of hostility. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, soldiers could expect to be shipped out to North America, the West Indies, Gibraltar, East Indies, or India. They had no control over where the regiment would be shipped and they gambled on the chances that they would return home unharmed or alive. To enlist into the army meant risking death while seeking a chance to improve their life or to escape from poverty.

With the professionalization of the military in the late seventeenth century the role of soldiering became an accessible form of employment. Soldiers provided labor and a service for a wage. The professional soldier changed the class structure and reorganized labor in Britain within the context of the economy and warfare. Class structure had only begun to form in these years and Marxist labels of “proletariat” would not come to fruition until the mid-nineteenth century. The specialized soldier class grew from the growing fiscal-military state of the British Empire and the need for a professional army.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Way, “Class,” 468.

<sup>88</sup> Frey, *British Soldier*, 53.

<sup>89</sup> Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, 55-7.

With professionalization, men could enlist in the army as a means of a new career and obtain the government benefits of being a soldier such as healthcare and a pension.

Much like other occupations, the army competed with not only the civilian job market but within the military. A potential recruit had the opportunity to enlist in more than just one of the regiments of foot in the army as well as horse regiments such as dragoons and cavalry. One could choose between different regiments that offered different opportunities, pay, benefits, and social status. The Royal Artillery, Foot Guards, and Dragoons paid the most, especially the artillery, but entering in Dragoons meant owning a horse and having competency in riding.<sup>90</sup> The military did not have recruiting offices but parties as mentioned before which brought the regiments to the towns. With recruiting parties constantly roving the countryside, Britons had their pick of regiments to choose from when a party stopped into a town. Regiments attributed to a certain county such as Durham or Yorkshire did not appear until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The imagery of the redcoat had its own connotations and status within British society. The uniform, like any symbol, represented the strength of the army and enforced the idea of patriotism.

A soldier of the line, the common foot soldier, made around £24 in one year without stoppages.<sup>91</sup> The translation of a daily pay of a private's six-pence with stoppages came out to around £10 per year, or under \$2,000 of 2018 currency.<sup>92</sup> The meagre pay allowed for a stable life in the army and soldiers could pay for extra food or clothes but

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<sup>90</sup> Hagist, *British Soldiers American War*, 57-8

<sup>91</sup> The yearly pay of eighteenth soldiers cannot be compared with wages of 2018 as the currency and denomination changed in the twentieth century.

<sup>92</sup> The Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency by Eric Nye provided the conversion. The converter can be found online at <https://www.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm>. The 2019 currency amounted to \$1,869.53 or £1418.81.

not much else. One pence could pay for a small amount of alcohol or firewood to heat a home for a day.<sup>93</sup> The National Archives have a currency converter that calculates purchasing power of the pounds sterling of the past compared up to the year 2017. £10 in 1780 held a purchasing power equal to around £860 in 2017 currency, which could buy two cows, eleven stones worth of wool, one quarter ton of wheat, or sixty-six days wage of a skilled tradesman.<sup>94</sup> In addition, the Bank of England have an inflation calculator based on the price index of a select decade in comparison to another. With inflation the same £10 of 1780 would be £1763.17 with around 2.2% averaged inflation per year.

The pay rates increased with promotion in ranks and soldiers could get extra pay by completing work outside of the normal duties such as cutting firewood and tending to horses. Soldiers who came from a skilled occupation such as tailor and blacksmith could earn extra pay as well. The ability for better pay did not stop there as joining the cavalry, grenadiers, or guards paid more than the standard infantry.<sup>95</sup> However, soldiers could not outright join one of these special regiments, instead, officers selected men from regular regiments. In addition, the Guards and grenadiers had physical requirements of height and build before one could join.

The travel opportunities attracted recruits looking for adventure in the military. Peacetime travel meant duty in garrisons in foreign colonies. However, in war, regiments moved to where the action occurred and would not always be a pleasant climate. A campaign in North America might have seemed like paradise in comparison to those that

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<sup>93</sup> Liza Picard, *Dr. Johnson's London*, 294-7.

<sup>94</sup> TNA, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/>, The Archives have a disclaimer to use the converter as a general guide and not as a statement of fact.

<sup>95</sup> Alex Burns, "How Well Paid was the Average Eighteenth-Century Soldier?" *Kabinettskriege*, April 23, 2018. <http://kabinettskriege.blogspot.com/2018/04/how-well-paid-was-average-eighteenth.html>. Burns is currently a doctoral student at West Virginia University and focuses on the British and Prussian armies between 1740-1815. He obtained his Masters in History at Ball State University.

embarked in the West or East Indies. Soldiers complained about the tropic climate in the Caribbean and India. Travelling to foreign lands provided an exotic and adventurous experience for lower class, as well as the chance to gain land grants from service. Soldiers that served in North America especially sought after land grants in contrast to those that served in the East Indies. The culture and climate of North America better suited those who came from Britain versus the harshness and foreign culture of the Indies.

The social origins of soldiers varied in the eighteenth century with many coming from lower classes of differing occupations. Conscripts and pressed men made a minority of the army's numbers and remained in the margins even during the height of the Press Acts in the eighteenth century.<sup>96</sup> Even with the Press Acts that occurred in 1757 and 1778 the army had a steady stream of volunteers. The incentives of a reward for enlisting seemed enough to encourage more volunteers rather than the use of press-gangs or other means of conscription.<sup>97</sup> Military leaders noted that conscripts did not make great soldiers in comparison to volunteers and advised against recruiting them in large numbers for the army. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell Dalrymple commented:

The first and most eligible by volunteers, the last and worst by a press. By the first method, numbers of good men are enrolled, but the army is greatly obliged to levity, accident, and the dexterity of recruiting officers for them; by the second plan, the country gets clear of their banditti, and the ranks are filled up with the scum of every county, the refuse of mankind. They are marched loaded with vice, villainy, and chains, to their

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<sup>96</sup> Peter Way, "Class and the Common Soldier in the Seven Years' War" *Labor History* 44, No. 4 (2003): 461. Stephen Conway, *War, State, and Society in Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 46. Peter Way, "Scum of every country," 292. Stephen Conway, "The Eighteenth-Century British Army as a European Institution," in *Britain's Soldiers*, eds. Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack (Liverpool University Press, 2014), 25.

<sup>97</sup> H.V. Bowen, *War and British Society, 1688-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 15-6.

destined corp, where, when they arrive, they corrupt all they approach, and are whippy out, or desert in a month.<sup>98</sup>

Criminals often did not volunteer for the army, instead, press-gangs forced them into joining. Besides press-gangs, criminals could face impressment from the justice system. Judges gave convicts a choice: either take the sentence of prison or enlistment into the military.<sup>99</sup> The stereotype of soldiers coming from the bottom dregs of society, consisting mostly of criminals and homeless men, came from the perception of the top ranks of the military and remained so until the early twentieth century. Officers feared that conscripts and pressed men would be more susceptible to desertion and discipline infractions, and would create frustration and trouble among the ranks. To combat and lessen the chances of desertion, the regiments would be stationed overseas such as the West Indies or Africa where the remoteness deterred large numbers of men from leaving the regiment.<sup>100</sup>

Recruits treated their new position as soldier as a new lifestyle and profession to assume and after rigorous training and disciplining they left their civilian life behind. Recruits trained and drilled for their new job as a soldier almost immediately once they arrived at the army barracks.<sup>101</sup> As with any profession, recruits would have to adjust to a new life and learn the skills to proficiency as any lackluster performance could either end with harsh punishment from the sergeant or death in the battlefield. Treated as a lower form of employment, enlisted soldiers became part of the working classes as a laborer for

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<sup>98</sup> Campbell Dalrymple, *A Military Essay Containing the Reflections on the Raising, Arming, Cloathing, and Discipline of British Infantry and Cavalry with Proposals for the Improvement of the Same* (London, 1761), 8.

<sup>99</sup> Conway, *War, State, and Society*, 69.

<sup>100</sup> Hagist, *British Soldiers American War*, 151.

<sup>101</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 14.

the military.<sup>102</sup> The service and product of a soldier of course differed to those of a field laborer or merchant, and the “profits” of a soldier’s service had a larger impact on Great Britain’s world power and market than a tenant farmer working the fields of rural Britain. The other difference lay in who the laborers worked for, i.e. civilian laborers worked for tenants or business owners while soldiers worked for the military leaders directly and the King indirectly.<sup>103</sup> All regiments and ships belonged to the King as all units started with “His Majesty’s” and the distinction of “Royal” onto certain regiments further cemented the ownership. The slogan “For King and Country” remained in association with the patriotic duty of enlisting into the army to this day but with “Queen” instead. While the recruits changed from civilians to soldiers in their training, their reasons for enlisting drew from personal reasons and included both push and pull factors. Without evidence of disproving otherwise, patriotism must be included along with socio-economic reasons.

The British government did take an active role in the expansion of the armed forces with legislation such as Press and Recruiting Acts, but also the offering of Royal pardons to criminals with a condition to either serve in the army or navy. The Press Acts conscripted those eligible to join the navy with press-gangs used to gather men and press them into service. The Recruiting Act helped augment the army in a similar fashion with men conscripted into the army. Conscription did not work like that of the twentieth century when drafted men made a large portion of the army. While the navy did see some success in press-gangs and conscription, the army struggled with obtaining recruits by force but gained more volunteers.<sup>104</sup> The Press Act of 1778 saw little success and by May

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<sup>102</sup> Peter Way, “Class and the Common Soldier in the Seven Years’ War” *Labor History* 44, no 4 (2003): 466-9.

<sup>103</sup> Conway, *War, State, Society*, 45.

<sup>104</sup> Conway, *War, State, and Society*, 46.

of 1780, the government ended the act to focus the resources to increase the enlistment bounty instead.

Conscripted soldiers could still be compared with those that volunteered.

Conscripted men usually came from men presented with the choice of going to prison for a convicted crime or joining the military.<sup>105</sup> However, the judicial system only gave the royal pardon to criminals during times of war and not at peacetime, and very few in comparison to the amount of volunteers in the army.<sup>106</sup> Not all convicted criminals chose the army but those that did joined in the hopes that the army would provide a better quality life or a chance to desert and escape into freedom. Convicted criminals that thought of enlisting had to weigh the benefits against the negative aspects of the army life. Between 1775-1781 only 764 convicted criminals received a royal pardon and choice of enlistment instead of prison.<sup>107</sup>

A change in careers also motivated some men to join the military. Single men that found themselves unsatisfied with working in textile mills or farms, and saw the army as glamorous and adventurous would enlist for the change. John Robert Shaw often got into trouble with his friends in his youth, enough to anger his father. Two friends of his, Thomas Fields and Jack, had the idea “to enlist, get clear of work, and become gentlemen at once“ to avoid the wrath of Shaw’s father.<sup>108</sup> Shaw worked in the textile mills in Bradford, Yorkshire, England with his father as a stuff-weaver and did not find it to his liking. By enlisting, Shaw thought he could escape hard work and live a life of honor in

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<sup>105</sup> Conway, *War, State, and Society*, 46.

<sup>106</sup> Hagist, *British Soldiers American War*, 151.

<sup>107</sup> Hagist, *British Soldiers American War*, 10.

<sup>108</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 7.

the army.<sup>109</sup> While he and his friends ran to Leeds to enlist, Shaw ended up returning home to his father for another two years before running away again in 1777. He had similar motives for his second attempt but additional ones as well.

In 1777 I ran away a second time ; being, as I fancied, ill treated by my step mother; though the true motive for my elopement was this : early on Monday morning my father went to Bailden mill, he told me before he set off that ‘if I did not finish my last week's work, when he came back he would give me a trimming.’ This being too hard a task, I put on my best apparel, and directed my course...<sup>110</sup>

This time Shaw committed himself to enlisting in the army and headed to Coverly where he knew a recruiting party stationed itself. He dreaded “paternal chastisement, and the ridicule of acquaintances” should he return home and so he “banished all thoughts of domestic concerns,” and firmly fixed his “resolution of enlisting as a king's soldier.” In Coverly, he found the recruiting party of the 33rd Regiment of Foot in a local tavern. Shaw’s description of the recruiting party matches with the popular image as he mentioned the recruiting sergeant, the officer, a drummer, and other enlisted soldiers. The sergeant, a James Shackleton, gave Shaw a shilling for his willingness to join and promptly brought him to the captain. Unfortunately, his attempt to enlist hit a snag when he measured too short at 5’1” and would not be taken in immediately.<sup>111</sup>

Shaw proved himself a persistent volunteer and negotiated for his enlistment. He gave an ultimatum, that if the party did not enlist him he would “go and enlist for a drummer in the 59th regiment.” Recruits often negotiated at the initial stages of enlistment for an increase in bounty money or a higher rank. On top of the shilling, the

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<sup>109</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 7-8.

<sup>110</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 7.

<sup>111</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 8-9. Quotes from p. 8.

captain gave Shaw three guineas and a crown.<sup>112</sup> Both regiments sought to fill the ranks, as the 59th Regiment had taken heavy casualties at the battle of Bunker Hill and returned to England to recruit and the 33rd Regiment established recruiting parties for additional companies to replace possible casualties.

Another man, John MacDonald, left his teaching position to be in the army in 1778. As stated in the introduction, MacDonald came from a well off middling class family. He stated no notion of distress against his job but that he had heard that a friend of his obtained a commission as captain in a newly formed regiment, which further encouraged him to join.<sup>113</sup>

I was determined to go with him let the consequence be what it would, and that contrary to the advice of all the gentlemen of the country, and particularly the captain, who expostulated [sic] with me as much as he could to deter me from enlisting, but all availed nothing. So on the 4th of June 1778 I enlisted with Captain Mackay as pipe-major of the regiment and to have a shilling per day.<sup>114</sup>

An educated and skilled man, MacDonald joined the North Fencibles who he spent the next several months with. He did not enlist for a need in occupation as he had a stable livelihood with teaching in the Highlands. His background and connections offered him a chance to have a better position in the army. The familial connections to the Duke of Argyll through his father's gardener position allowed MacDonald to receive an education and likely the ability to network with the upper class. Prior to enlistment, MacDonald lived with the MacKay family in the Sutherland county in northern Scotland. This included both the Lord Reay and George Mackay of Bighouse, respectively, the

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<sup>112</sup> Shaw, *Narrative*, 9. Dziennik, *The Fatal Land*, 49.

<sup>113</sup> John MacDonald, *Autobiographical Journal of John MacDonald, Schoolmaster and Soldier 1770-1830* (Edinburgh: The Darien Press, 1906), 31-33.

<sup>114</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 33.

chieftain of the MacKay clan and prominent land owner.<sup>115</sup> The Fencibles did not have orders to leave the country, MacDonald spent the time either assisting with the recruiting efforts or as a personal piper for the Duke of Gordon at his house. MacDonald received two guineas for the ten weeks of residing at the Duke's house and piping, on top of his army pay of one shilling a day.

However, he desired more from the army. Not in wealth but in service and with those thoughts in mind MacDonald became an active soldier by joining the newly raised 73rd Highland Regiment.<sup>116</sup> Again as the position of pipe-major and in the Colonel's own company, both respectable as soldier of only one year. His wish for overseas service soon became reality as by late January 1780 the 73rd Regiment arrived at Gibraltar.<sup>117</sup> The war ended in 1783 and when the army disbanded the 73rd regiment, MacDonald joined the 25th Regiment and set up a school for the regiment. However, his time in the 25th proved short as the army planned to discharge him since he enlisted for a three year service.<sup>118</sup> By 1786, he became a pensioner in Gibraltar and signed as butler for the Governor of Gibraltar, George Augustus Eliott, until 1790. He continued his occupation of servant and occasional piper for several years, including time in the East Indies, China, and South America.<sup>119</sup>

With his travels, MacDonald could not attend the yearly Chelsea re-application and lost his pension. The Chelsea board dismissed all of his appeals and stated that his pension would return if he "re-enlisted into any young regiment then raising" he would

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<sup>115</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 32-3.

<sup>116</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 36.

<sup>117</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 47.

<sup>118</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 63.

<sup>119</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 71-79.

have his pension again after discharge. Once again MacDonald used his connections with the MacKay family and enlisted into the Reay Fencibles in late 1794 as pipe-major and again in the recruiting services around Scotland.<sup>120</sup> The Reay Fencibles came from a period of an increase of Fencibles in the establishment with the French Revolution leading to another war between France and Great Britain. Britain feared an invading force from France with the French army already moving across Europe. A short while after the regiment's stationing in Ireland, the army ordered all fencibles in Ireland to reduce to 500 which included MacDonald due to his "lameness" and the army soon discharged him.<sup>121</sup> Afterwards, he settled down in the Sutherland district as a teacher and started a family.

Some soldiers joined from the need of supporting their family including wife and children. While the army preferred single men and discouraged married men, it did not dissuade some married men from enlisting. Men joined the army with the hope to provide for the family they would leave behind as a means of survival. British men with families saw the military as means of stable employment and financial security. Much like their bachelor counterparts, married men saw the benefits of the military's consistent wage, promise of shelter, clothing, and pension as an incentive for enlistment. While separation from family did occur if the regiment embarked overseas for wartime service or foreign garrison, men did have a chance of staying home in Britain and near their families. The army, or at least the fencibles, did as much as possible to support family men. The Duke of Buccleuch's South Fencibles gave extra jobs to soldiers with families in addition to

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<sup>120</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 88.

<sup>121</sup> MacDonald, *Journal*, 89. MacDonald suffered a wound in the Siege of Gibraltar on the 14th of September 1782, which occurred from dodging artillery fire. He considerably wounded his left side, thigh, and knee which he never fully recovered from. He accounted it on page 56. Admission and considerations for the Royal Chelsea Hospital pension will be discussed in a later section.

their usual daily wages. Family men could work as gardeners, wood-cutters, tailors, shoemakers, or even as a servant for the extra pay.<sup>122</sup>

Unlike David Kent's thesis which stated that men enlisted to escape dissatisfied marriages, many men saw enlisting into the army as another means of survival for the family. Recruits may have joined from the influence of a recruiting soldier who exaggerated the benefits and opportunities the army can give.<sup>123</sup> False promises of quick promotions and increase pay brought married men into the army with hope of providing financial security. Promises of promotions to sergeant or even officer after short time enticed family men to join.<sup>124</sup>

During peace times, men had a chance of staying in the British Isles with an enlistment into the regular army, but more so with the militia and Guards units. As explained in an earlier section, militias stayed within the isles as a means of home defense against foreign invasions. Guard regiments often stayed in London as the King's household units and bodyguards and rarely left for deployment in the eighteenth century.<sup>125</sup> The reformed militia in the 1750s gave incentives to married men to enlist in their local militias as part of a move to bolster national defense and create an image of a responsible husband or father. Married men in the militia could receive an extra day of pay at the end of each week and the number of children could possibly further augment

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<sup>122</sup> David Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience of D. Love. Written by Himself. Third Edition* (Nottingham: Printed by Sutton and Son for the Author), 43.

<sup>123</sup> Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army*, 182. See also David Kent, "'Gone for a Soldier': Family Breakdown and the Demography of Desertion in a London Parish, 1750–1791", *Local Population Studies* 45 (1990), 27–42.

<sup>124</sup> Jennine Hurl-Eamon, "Did Soldiers Really Enlist to Desert Their Wives? Revisiting the Martial Character of Marital Desertion in Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of British Studies* 53 (April 2014): 362.

<sup>125</sup> Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century: 'The Girl I Left Behind Me'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 187.

his income to a more comfortable wage.<sup>126</sup> The monetary incentive towards married men likely did not come from a conscious effort in recruiting married but from a need of volunteers in the local militia.

However, not all men joined the army during a peaceful time and with Britain's constant state of war, the likelihood of enlisting into a regiment ordered for foreign service increased further into the eighteenth century. Joining a marching regiment ordered for foreign service would mean separation from family for the duration of the soldier's service or war. The army had regulations on disallowing most wives from following the army throughout the campaign. Rules differed with each regiment about the amount of wives allowed per company. Some regiments allowed six women per company, others more or fewer.<sup>127</sup> The lucky few women who did get permission to follow the regiment could earn a wage by offering their services as seamstresses or launderers.

Some of the motivations for enlistment have been described as "wanderlust where men found no satisfaction in their lives and joined the service."<sup>128</sup> Recruits held jobs before enlistment but felt a compelling pull to the army. Either their perception of the army or the recruiting party's propaganda shaped their decision. Men such as Shaw held a positive perception of the army that it drew him towards enlistment and away from the civilian life in the textile industry. Duncan Cameron also could not live as a civilian after his first discharge from the army and enlisted again. The army discharged Cameron soon after the battle of Culloden and he moved back to Scotland to be with family. Cameron's

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<sup>126</sup> Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century: 'The Girl I Left Behind Me'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 39.

<sup>127</sup> Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army*, 30.

<sup>128</sup> Hagist, *British Soldiers American War*, 73-97.

mother and sister died within the three years of his stay in Scotland. He “grew very solitary and lonesome, almost melancholy” and decided to travel to help his spirits. Cameron made his way to Ireland found himself employed in hard labor. He did not describe what kind of labor but hard enough to drive Cameron back to his “old Employ of a Soldier for a livelihood.”<sup>129</sup>

Other soldiers fit this description of wanderlust and need for satisfaction in life as motivation for enlistment. William Crawford of Ireland joined the 12th Light Dragoons in 1775 at the age of 27 before transferring to the 20th Regiment of Foot which had orders to embark to Canada in 1776.<sup>130</sup> While Crawford originated from Ireland, he had a comparable situation with other soldiers who came from Britain. Crawford sought after adventure and satisfaction, and lived a life of pleasure with constant involvement of gambling and chasing women. Not satisfied enough and with the army’s dazzling uniform, he joined the army as another means of pleasure for a young, spirited man.<sup>131</sup> Thomas Cranfield also “wandered” into the army after leaving his apprenticeship with a brutal master. He realized he could not subsist with small jobs and had reluctantly decided to return to his master in London when on the way in Worcester he found a recruiting party for the 39th Regiment of Foot. Likely half-starved and desperate to not return to the tyrannical master, he enlisted into the army.<sup>132</sup> Cranfield did not seem to have thought his enlistment through when he joined. While he did not write about his state of mind, whether sober or not, he had some regret of enlisting in that he had not said

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<sup>129</sup> Duncan Cameron, *The Life, Adventures, and Surprising Deliverances, of Duncan Cameron, Private Soldier in the Regiment of Foot, late Sir Peter Halket’s* (Philladelphia: James Chattin, 1756), 9.

<sup>130</sup> Hagist, *British Soldiers American War*, 60.

<sup>131</sup> Hagist, *British Soldier American War*, 61.

<sup>132</sup> Thomas Cranfield, *The Useful Christian: A Useful Memoir of Thomas Cranfield, For About Fifty Years a Devoted Sunday-School Teacher* (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 18--), 11.

proper goodbyes to his family before the regiment sailed to Gibraltar.<sup>133</sup> Cranfield certainly did not want to rejoin the apprenticeship and hardly found employment afterward, which may have pushed his decision into enlisting into the army when he encountered the recruiting party. The bounty money given to him by the recruiting officer also would have incentivized him.

David Love enlisted into the South Fencibles after his career of shopkeeper failed. Love had a wife to support at the time and while in Edinburgh he saw “recruiting parties traversing the streets.”<sup>134</sup> He asked if the recruiting sergeant would have him and after showing the sergeant he could march to the drum, the sergeant took him in. Love received a shilling on enlistment and a bonus of five guineas for drinks. Love came from a laboring class family, and worked as a collier in his early life. However, his upbringings did not stop him from having some amount of education and literacy as he grew an appreciation for books before joining the military and sold them at his shop. Love also had a talent for song and poetry, which earned him some income even while in the army.

Few accounts of enlisted soldiers exist and most published their journals or narratives long after the war. The time away from the war and point of enlistment may tint their glasses differently in comparison to a published work within the same time frame. Shaw published his narrative in the early nineteenth century and MacDonald’s became published towards the first quarter of the nineteenth century after his death. The authors had no reasons to write false accounts of their lives and any possible exaggeration of their tale should not discount the truthfulness within each story. The soldiers wrote to a

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<sup>133</sup> Cranfield, *Useful Christian*, 12.

<sup>134</sup> David Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience of D. Love. Written by Himself. Third Edition* (Nottingham: Printed by Sutton and Son for the Author), 40.

willing audience that bought their books by subscription, meaning by individual sale, rather than a mass production sold to a wide and national audience. Authors such as Shaw, MacDonald, Cranfield, and Cameron had enough literary education to contribute to their own narratives without much outside influence. The few accounts that exist reveal a different perspective and voice not often analyzed by military historians.

Each account told a different story and rarely if at all did a recruit mention a lack of employment as motivation for enlistment. Cranfield fell into the category of unemployed when he enlisted as he had left his apprenticeship months before and worked sparingly as a self-employed man. While the Industrial Revolution affected employment in some regards, most sectors remained stable enough to lose only a small amount of workers. The wanderlust and perception of soldiering, according to the available accounts, pulled men into the army. Recruits had varying reasons and motivations, which may or may not have been affected by the economy.

#### SURVEY FROM ROYAL CHELSEA HOSPITAL PENSION RECORDS SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND

The economy and society of Scotland differed from that of England, especially in the rural areas such as the Highlands and Hebrides. Geography and culture divided Scotland with the Highlands north of the mountain range and the lowlands south, each with their own cultures. With the lowlands laying closer to the English border, the region had a significant influence of English culture and markets. The remoteness of the Highlands and islands slowed down any influences towards the culture with the native language Gaelic and familial hierarchies remaining intact well into the later parts of the century. The agrarian and home industry dominated the Highland economy while the

lowland towns had a head start on commercial economies from their closer proximity to England. While the population in England grew, especially in the Yorkshire region, Scotland's population remained stagnant in comparison with only a 0.6 percent increase in the last half of the century.<sup>135</sup> Inverness did not see much of an increase in population in the eighteenth century.

The Treaty of Union in 1707 allowed Scotland to join in the expanding markets in the colonies of both the western and eastern parts of the Empire.<sup>136</sup> The Union also cancelled out the effects of the Navigation Acts formerly imposed by England, which had restricted trade with its colonies from foreign traders. With the Navigation Acts no longer impeding trade to some of the most lucrative colonies both lowland and Highland elites could participate in commerce. The slow influence from trade and the Union shaped the Highland society as cosmopolitan but rooted in archaic traditions towards the middle of the century. Commercialization of Scotland took off after the end of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. The Highland elite had no choice but to enter the markets as their clan system fell into decline and wage labor replaced the older system of payment in kind for tenancy. The quasi-feudalism of the old tenant system ended after the rebellion, and landowners could no longer rely on subsistence farming to survive the years.<sup>137</sup> The agrarian economy of the Highlands required improvements to increase production but with elites reluctant to give out long-term leases, many tenants did not wish to spend their own money on the improvements if they would see no reward.

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<sup>135</sup> Way, "Scum of every county," 304.

<sup>136</sup> Dzennik, *The Fatal Land*, 6.

<sup>137</sup> Neil Davidson, "Scottish Path to Capitalist Agriculture 2," pp. 419-422.

The British army received a boost in volunteers from the Scottish Highlands in the 1750s during the Seven Years' War. The Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 influenced the policies implemented by the British Parliament onto Scotland such as the Vesting Act, the Dress Act, and the Act of Proscription in 1746. The Dress Act, a part of the Act of Proscription banned the wearing of Highland garb in Great Britain, unless employed as an officer or soldier in the British military.<sup>138</sup> Parliament hoped to assimilate the Scottish Highlands into British culture and identity by changing Highland culture. However, with the attempt to diminish the Highland identity, the irony lay in the fact that the British saw an increase in not only Highland recruitment but Highland regiments as well. The British army used these Highland regiments in almost every theatre of war in the eighteenth century and non-Scottish regiments also had a noticeable percentage of Scottish soldiers. With the Jacobite sentiments put to rest, Scotland could finally be involved in British imperialism while providing the military with a reservoir for recruitment.<sup>139</sup> After the downfall of Jacobitism as a legitimate threat to the British Crown, distrust in Scotland as a whole grew, even if the rebellion largely took place in the Highlands. Scottish upper class families saw the military as a means for improving reputation with Parliament and assimilating into British nationhood.

Factories and industry in Scotland focused in the southern regions where they had a closer proximity to England. The agricultural revolution changed the economy of Scotland as a whole with prominent families scrambling to catch up with not only England but the rest of Europe. As part of the British Empire, their domestic and foreign

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<sup>138</sup> "Act of Proscription 1746," *Act of the Parliament of Great Britain*, 19 Geo. II (c.39).

<sup>139</sup> Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful than the soil: army, empire, and the Scottish Highlands 1715-1815* (Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 40.

commercial ventures depended upon the security of colonies and markets available for trade. Scottish elites transformed themselves from archaic feudal lords to capitalist entrepreneurs by the mid-eighteenth century. The economy in Scotland connected to agriculture no matter the industry including cattle and weaving. Weaving depended on the flax grown and harvested while livestock needed the feed that grew in the region. With the main economy in agriculture, without much of a doubt the most common occupation would be laborer as shown below.

After the 1745 Jacobite Uprising, both the Highland gentry and commoners had to adjust to the new economy introduced in Scotland. The agrarian economy that dominated the Highland economy shifted away from small-scale farming and entered the British commercial market. Landlords could no longer rely on a quasi-feudal system to sustain themselves or their tenants and changed to commercial agriculture that gave elites and landlords an opportunity of profit. The House of Argyll became one of the forerunners of the transformation in Scotland by turning towards a more capitalist landowning and farming system.<sup>140</sup> The elite changed their holdings from having multiple tenants to a single tenant. The social hierarchy of the Scottish Highlands remained untouched until the early decades of the eighteenth century when it began to decay along with the archaic clan system. Lairds owned the lands and often let a tacksman, a middle-man of sorts, run the lands and rent to subtenants. Tenants could work the lands at the will of the landlord.<sup>141</sup> The holdings and farms under multiple tenancies proved to be unrealistic in the commercial world. A move to single tenant holdings would force the other tenants or

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<sup>140</sup> Davidson, "The Scottish Path to Capitalist Agriculture 2," 419-20.

<sup>141</sup> John Walker, *An economical history of the Hebrides and Highlands of Scotland* Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press, 1808), 51-52.

subtenants onto different holdings to lease instead. Holdings increased in size as landlords came to realize that they could collect a greater rent from a single tenant rather than multiple ones.<sup>142</sup>

The elite still held power over their tenants including the length of the lease the tenants could work the lands. A short lease of less than ten years discouraged any improvement on the lands while upwards of thirty in fact encouraged improvements. These improvements could benefit the yield of crops from the farm and allow tenants to pay the annual rent along with surplus for themselves.<sup>143</sup>

The gentry also looked at the military for employment opportunities. With the shift to commercial agriculture and single tenancy, some gentry had to find other means of income. The eldest son would inherit the family lands, and the second son would receive any additional lands. However, towards the middle of the century the younger sons diversified their occupations and means of employment. This included occupations that had been previously classified as ungentlemanly such as lawyer or doctor. After the Jacobite Rising of 1745, the younger sons of the gentry saw the military as another avenue of employment, much like the lower classes beneath them. Sons of upper class gentlemen would not settle for anything less than a commissioned officer position such as captain or lieutenant depending on age. A young man at the age of about 16 would be likely ideal for an ensign position.

The military enticed the younger sons that could not rely on land ownership for income. In the eighteenth century, officer positions in the army did not require formal

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<sup>142</sup> Davidson, "The Scottish Path to Capitalist Agriculture 2," 428.

<sup>143</sup> Davidson, "The Scottish Path to Capitalist Agriculture 2," 436.

training with the exceptions of the Royal Artillery and regiments of horse.<sup>144</sup> The only other training an officer would need would be horsemanship. Otherwise, as long as one could afford to purchase the commission one could become an officer. Just as lower classes saw the military as an alternative means of income in the new economy so did the gentry. The flock to the military did impact the Highland families as the younger sons would either end up with a gentleman profession such as lawyer or purchase an officer commission. Unfortunately, an officer commission did not always mean a successful financial life and may have brought ruin to the family instead of support. Besides the cost of the commission, the officer had to supply his own uniform, equipment, and horse - an expensive venture for even the wealthiest of families in the Highlands of Scotland. The lavish lifestyle drained money without a balanced compensation from annual pay. Many Highland officers found themselves in debt during and after their tenure in the army.

Once the British army allowed the official formation of Highland regiments, Scottish gentry found a new reservoir of men to pull from for recruiting. As mentioned before with recruiting parties and raising for rank, Highland gentry used the later for gaining their commissions. Out of the 68,000 soldiers in the establishment during the Seven Years' War, Highland soldiers made up around a third of the total and an eighth of the officers.<sup>145</sup> At times, a whole generation of sons could be involved such as the sons of Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine who joined the military in the 1740s and 50s.<sup>146</sup> The commercialization of Scotland's economy affected the means of income for the younger sons and the raising of regiments in the Highlands paved way for more military

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<sup>144</sup> Nenadic, "Highland Gentry," 78

<sup>145</sup> Brumwell, *Redcoats*, 266. Nenadic, "Highland Gentry," 76.

<sup>146</sup> Nenadic, "Highland Gentry," 80-2.

opportunities for the young sons of the families. Much like gentry mentioned earlier, these new officers could pull from their family lands for soldiers in a new regiment or company to be raised for an officer commission. The sons of Highland gentry that looked to the military for income and subtenants that lost their leases went in tandem with recruitment.

Entering the army became more socially acceptable for gentlemen, but not always for the lower classes. The stigma of the common British soldier being a criminal or other person of ill repute still survived.<sup>147</sup> For the officer, the idea of adventure and grandeur attracted them to the service along with the stable annual pay. The reasons for the gentry to the army mirrored the lower classes that enlisted. Only social status and wealth separated them from their motivations. Lower class men did not have the wealth to acquire a new education or skill such as law or medicine. They had fewer options than the upper class for new employment. Lower class Highlanders could either move to the cities further south, emigrate to the colonies, or join the military.

The English economy differed from Scotland's, especially before the Industrial Revolution. England's economy split into two with the rural economy and the metropolitan economy based around London. The rural contained various industries with textile and manufacturing the most common in the northern counties and farming towards the south. Commerce reigned at the top in the cities with London as a major hub for trade and business.

The Industrial Revolution influenced the textile industry of West Riding Yorkshire and other rural areas such as Leeds and Manchester. The putting-out system

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<sup>147</sup> Brumwell, *Redcoats*, 3-6.

had replaced independent clothiers in the parish of Halifax in Yorkshire as the region's commercial viability depended on the demand of woolen textiles from merchants exporting into Europe.<sup>148</sup> Markets had diversified more than just domestic production but for sale to the European continent that ranged from Holland to the Mediterranean Sea. The textile industry took the county of Yorkshire over by the middle of the eighteenth century and became one of the top providers of employment for both men and women as production increased. The industry's increased production meant manufacturers needed more workers and several positions such as woolcomber proved to be a skilled occupation with a high wage.<sup>149</sup>

However, not all positions proved enticing for the youth as John Robert Shaw noticed at the age of 14 that the military appeared to be a better source of income and adventure in life than working at the nearby mill with his father. From a parish near Leeds, Shaw had been surrounded by the textile industry all his life and with his father as a weave-stuffer, he saw no enjoyment would come from that occupation. At the young age of 14 he found a recruiting party of the 33rd Regiment of Foot and requested that he be allowed in. He took the shilling but the captain almost turned him away for his shortness in height. Rather than go back home, Shaw demanded to be let in or he would find another regiment that would take him. That changed the officer's mind and welcomed the boy to the regiment. Shaw's insistence not only showed his own perspective on the military but the officer's reasons for gaining recruits as well. A loss of a potential recruit to another regiment could hamper an officer's possible promotion or

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<sup>148</sup> John Smail, *Markets, Merchants, and Manufacture: the English Wool textile industry in the eighteenth century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 68-69.

<sup>149</sup> John Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 59.

the strengthening of a regiment. If a regiment could not meet numbers of a functioning one then it could possibly face disbandment - an end to an officer's career. However, even the years before the American War of Independence the 33rd did not face any trouble with the numbers of soldiers.

A study from Yorkshire showed that the soldiers from the region came from a diverse background similar to those of Inverness. While a large number came from skilled occupations, the largest percentage of soldiers came from a laborer position. This could point towards unskilled work such as employment on a farm and low tier positions at a factory. The high percentage of laborers pointed towards that the Industrial Revolution did affect the younger population of Britain and formed the idea that the employment ratings only affected the lower skilled workers. While the Yorkshire soldiers contained a large number of skilled and specialized labor, unskilled laborers and weavers formed the two largest occupations.

Not all soldiers left behind a journal of their experiences and accounts in the military. Official military records did not cover more than basic biographical information such as date of birth, place of origin, and previous occupation. While muster rolls contained the numbers of soldiers enlisted into a regiment at a certain time most lacked biographical information. Muster rolls occurred every few months in the army and kept track of the number of soldiers in each regiment. However, the Royal Chelsea Hospital pension records did contain such information and formed the basis for part of this research. The Royal Chelsea Hospital records do not reflect the amount of Highlanders that enlisted from the Inverness county but those that applied for an out-pension due to their wounds or service terms. The discharge papers from the hospital gave a much

clearer picture of each soldier's life with the inclusion of origins, years of service, and previous occupation.

Two surveys from the Royal Chelsea Hospital records, accessed through the National Archives, displayed the biographical information for over 1500 soldiers from Yorkshire and Inverness counties. The county of Inverness covered the city as well as the Hebrides to the west and some of the lands to the southwest such as Fort William. These surveys came from the War Office 121 records of discharged soldiers awarded as an out-pensioner by the hospital. Hundreds of soldiers from the years 1760-1799 applied, which encompassed the Seven Years' War, the American War of Independence, the Siege of Gibraltar, the Holland campaign, and service in the East Indies.

Men of the ages between early twenties and mid-thirties make up a majority of enlistment ages of these pension applicants. The table below shows a sampling of recruits that came from Inverness and their occupations. Soldiers of Inverness born between 1730-1760 came from a diverse occupational background, but leaned toward laborer instead of a specified trade. The agrarian economy of the rural Highlands would need workers or laborers to tend to the fields and with land improvements starting in the mid-century, these soldiers may have been either surplus or unnecessary laborers.<sup>150</sup> Two soldier accounts by David Love of Edinburgh and Thomas Watson described military enlistment from a laboring class.<sup>151</sup> Both came from a collier, or coal mining, background and later joined the British army as a means of improvement on their lives and adventure. Coincidentally, both lost their parents at a younger age

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<sup>150</sup> Dziennik, *Fatal Land*,

<sup>151</sup> David Love; Thomas Watson, *Some Account of the Life, Convincement, and Religious Experience of Thomas Watson* (New York: Daniel Cooleage, 1836); See also Don Hagist, "Literacy and Education," in *British Soldiers American War*, 98-124.

*Table 3 Discharged Soldiers of Inverness<sup>152</sup>*

<b>Sector of Labor</b>	<b>Job Type</b>	<b>Number of recruits</b>
Textile		
	Weaver	21
	Woolcomber	1
	Sail Cloth Weaver	1
	Dyer	1
	Flax Dresser	1
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>25</b>
Skilled Labor – “Makers”		
	Blacksmith	4
	Printer	1
	Shoemaker	9
	Stocking maker	1
	Stay maker	1
	Breeches maker	1
	Shuttle maker	1
	Cord wainer	3
	nailer	1
	Cooper	2
	Hosier	1
	Hatter	1
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>26</b>
Skilled Labor		
	Hair dresser	1

<sup>152</sup> Royal Chelsea Hospital Pension records. War Office 121. Series 1-174.

	baker	2
	Carpenter	3
	Bricklayer	1
	Musician	1
	Gardener	3
	Slater	1
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>12</b>
Unspecified or Unskilled		
Laborer		328
	<b>Total</b>	<b>371</b>

Three hundred and twenty-eight had a previous occupation of laborer. A laborer in Inverness meant one without a specific trade and more than likely one on a farm due to Inverness' agricultural economy. The rest of the same showed a more diverse occupation listing including weaver, tailor, blacksmith, gardener, woolcomber, musician, etc.<sup>153</sup> With the majority of occupations leaning towards laborer, a shortage of labor demand would coincide with the commercialization and improvement of lands. However, one should consider the other choices that men had for occupations other than the military. Some poorhouses did exist, and the government did establish some amount of welfare for the poor to survive on in between employment.

Only a few of the occupations relate to one another within an industry. The few textile workers in comparison to laborer suggests the types of industries in Inverness and

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<sup>153</sup> National Archives, War Office 121, Royal Chelsea Hospital pension records, 0001-0174.

the Highlands. All occupations except for laborers consisted of a skilled work of a specific type. The agrarian transformation in the middle of the century may have affected the number of former field hands joining the army. With land enclosures and change of livestock, the number of tenants needed on hand decreased, which created a surplus of labor.<sup>154</sup> The clearances pushed families off their lands, giving them incentives to emigrate to the colonies. Families could not join the military but sons and single men could. Scottish men left their homes behind in hope for a new life in the military.

The trend of occupations leaning toward laborers and weavers continued well into the 1790s. In 1794, Major Murdoch MacLaine of Lochbuie raised 100 men for the newly established 98th Argyleshire Highlanders. Out of the 100, weavers and laborers made up 30 each.<sup>155</sup> The weavers may have joined out of a low point in the weaving industry. In 1793, both the linen and cotton industry had a decline in employment, especially in the Lowlands where the textile industry of Scotland had developed.<sup>156</sup> About half of the soldiers came from the Argyll region and other counties such as Ross and Caithness, but the rest came from the Lowlands of Scotland and a few from Ireland and England. Even ethnic and regional regiments such as the Argyleshire regiment contained a diversity in people and occupations.<sup>157</sup>

*Table 4 Discharged Soldiers from Yorkshire*

<b>Sector of Labor</b>	<b>Job Type</b>	<b>Number of recruits</b>
Textile		

<sup>154</sup> Davidson, *Scottish Path to Capitalist Agriculture* 2

<sup>155</sup> Bruce Seton, "Recruiting in Scotland. 1793-4" *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 11, No. 41 (January, 1932): 42.

<sup>156</sup> Anthony Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland 1750-1960* (London: Rutledge, 1975), 102.

<sup>157</sup> Seton, "Recruiting in Scotland," 43.

	Weaver	197
	Master weaver	1
	Clothmaker	1
	Woolcomber	74
	Tailor	35
	Cloth dresser	24
	Staymaker	6
	Dyer	2
	Flax dresser	2
	Woolen manufacturer	1
	Linen weaver	1
	Cloth dryer	3
	Frame work knitter	1
	stuff-weaver	3
	Carpet weaver	1
	Cloth draper	1
	Clothier	40
	Scribbler	1
	Shearman	3
	Cloth drawer	1
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>398</b>
Skilled Labor – “Maker”		
	Shoemaker/Cordwainer	60
	Cutler	92
	Silver cutler	1
	Scissor maker	5
	Scissor grinder	1
	Smith	4

	File Smith	6
	Black smith	12
	whitesmith	5
	Tinner	1
	silversmith	2
	razorsmith	2
	locksmith	2
	gunsmith	2
	Shearsmith	1
	farrier	3
	Brazier	2
	Tallow Chandler	3
	Chandler	2
	Pipemaker	1
	Harnessmaker	1
	Ropemaker	2
	Basketmaker	2
	cabinet maker	3
	cooper	3
	Chairmaker	2
	Sadler	3
	planemaker	1
	Distiller	1
	casemaker	1
	potter	4
	Hatter	1
	Nailer	5
	Buttonmaker	9

	Coach maker	1
	Tanner	1
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>247</b>
Skilled Labor		
	Carpenter	11
	Ship Carpenter	1
	pavior	1
	gardener	8
	Stone cutter	1
	Stone Mason	3
	Joiner	4
	Musicians	5
	Painter	1
	Miller	6
	Upholsterer	1
	Bookbinder	1
	Barber	1
	Bricklayer	13
	Sugarbaker	1
	Riding master	1
	Wheelwright	2
	Sawyer	6
	Tilecutter	1
	Filecutter	6
	Grinder	4
	Hair Dresser	5
	Glazier	1
	Butcher	11

	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>95</b>
Unskilled or Unspecified Labor		
	Laborer	196
	Miner	8
	Collier	2
	Farmer	4
	Charcoal Burner	1
	Courier	1
	husbandman	10
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>222</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>962</b>

The above table displays the soldiers originating from Yorkshire with the various occupations they came from. Out of 1,094 soldiers recorded in the Royal Chelsea Hospital pension records, less than a third came from the textile industry. The small difference of the 1,094 recorded soldiers and the 962 of the table came from the fact that not all soldiers listed their occupation when they applied for the pension. Weavers, woolcombers, and clothiers made up the top three former occupations with tailor and cloth dresser following behind. With textile as the biggest industry in Yorkshire, employment centered around cloth production in all its steps. Labor markets considered these occupations as skilled and specialized and often in demand. The numbers would suggest that the textile industry, especially the skilled workers, did not lose many

employees and remained stable in employment. The few conscription acts that the government passed also saw that few skilled workers became part of the army.<sup>158</sup>

The skilled work of tailoring, woolcombing, and clothier would suggest a falling of employment at an individual level rather than at a regional scale. The army found skilled workers such as tailors useful for the purpose of fitting and mending regimental clothes, which would allow the soldiers to earn a larger wage.<sup>159</sup> Thomas Cranfield earned additional income as a tailor for the regiment once settled into Gibraltar. He stopped “his regular duties as a private” and became “employed in making clothes for the regiment.”<sup>160</sup> Tailors seemed to have constant work, both in relatively peaceful times and in the middle of the campaign. The orderly books and journal of Murdoch MacLaine and John Peebles, respectively, noted the payment of regimental tailors for the work of making clothes.<sup>161</sup> The 115<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot’s standing orders in 1795 noted the payment of tailors per article of clothing sewn (See Table 4). A tailor could earn twelve shillings for creating an officer’s suit of clothes which consisted of the regimental coat, waistcoat, and breeches. Every soldier and officer had 4 pence deducted each year for the repair and tailoring of clothing.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Patrick K. O’Brien, “Political preconditions for the Industrial Revolution,” eds. Patrick O’Brien and Roland Quinault, *The Industrial Revolution and British Society* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1993), 140.

<sup>159</sup> Hagist, *British Soldiers American War*, 127.

<sup>160</sup> Cranfield, *Useful Christian*, 14.

<sup>161</sup> John Peebles. *John Peebles’ American War: The Diary of a Scottish Grenadier, 1776-1782*, ed. Ira D. Gruber (Sutton Publishing, 1997), 313. Captain Murdoch MacLaine’s orderly book. GD174/2106/4, Account book Dec 1780-April 1781 “Feb 18, Donald McDonald...to making one coat and vest,” p. 17. MacLaine noted the charge that McDonald needed to pay for the making of his clothing.

<sup>162</sup> Great Britain. Regiment of Foot, 115<sup>th</sup>, *Standing orders for Prince William’s regiment of Gloucester* (Gloucester, 1795), 68-9.

*Table 5 Established Prices of the 115<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot's Tailors*

Ranks	Coats	Waistcoats	Breeches	Suits	Long Gaiters	Cotton or Linen Waistcoats	Nankeen, Tick, or Plush Breeches
Shilling/Pence	S.D.	S.D.	S.D.	S.D.	S.D.	S.D.	S.D.
Officer	6 0	3 0	3 0	12 0	1 8	2 0	2 0
Sergeants or Musicians	2 4	0 8	0 10	3 10	0 10 ½	0 0	
Drummers or Fifers	2 2	0 6	0 9	3 5	0 10 ½	0 0	0 8 ½
Rank and File	1 2	0 5 ½	0 8 ½	2 4	0 10 ½	0 0	

The percentage of skilled workers in a “maker” category also showed the diversity of occupations that soldiers came from. While numerous in category, each occupation often had no more than a few for each. While no studies of Yorkshire have shown a decline in shoemaking (cordwainer) or cutlery, the two prominent “makers” came from those two categories. The military had need for shoemakers in the regiments as shoes would often wear out in the middle of a campaign and either needed mending or replacement. The shoemaker-soldier would earn extra on his wage for the work employed during his service and could amount to sizeable nest egg if the soldier stayed financially savvy.

Dragoon and horse regiments needed blacksmiths for farriers, who took care of the shoeing of horses and their hooves.<sup>163</sup> Farrier masters oversaw the farriers in the

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<sup>163</sup> James Allenson of the 18th Light Dragoons, John Rounds of the 1st Dragoons WO 121/0044. George Crowthers of the 14th Dragoons, WO 121/0046. Francis Ryan of the 15th Dragoons, WO 121/0031 & 121/0158. James Sutcliff of the 1st Dragoons WO 121/0043. William Cardwell of 2nd Dragoon Guard,

regiment, had the rank of sergeant and earned an additional allowance of eight guinea a year.<sup>164</sup> The army also needed armorers and employed soldiers skilled in blacksmithing for the tasks. Soldiers such as John Haddick and William Kitson had jobs as armorers in the regiments they served under. Haddick's blacksmithing occupation led him to the armorer position, likewise with Kitson's gun-smithing experience.<sup>165</sup> Horse regiments would also need leather works, specifically for saddles and harnesses, which the 1st Troop of Horse Guards had with John Nicholson.<sup>166</sup> However, even regiments of foot needed leatherworkers for the various leather accoutrements the soldiers carried including the slings for muskets and bayonets.

Other occupations may not have fared well with earning extra money while in service. Unless the regiment had duty to construct fortifications or housing, then soldiers often did not have hard labor to look forward to daily. Much like Inverness' sample, Yorkshire did have a sizeable amount of laborers. The Press acts and recruiting parties looked for itinerant workers to take in, and left men in gainful employment alone for the most part. On an offseason or end of harvest, more agricultural laborers had time to spend in either leisure or looking for intermittent work.

The military also used soldiers with previous occupations such as carpenters, sawyers, gardeners, joiners, and masons when regiments garrisoned or housed themselves in forts. With the threat of invasion at Gibraltar becoming a reality in 1779, the army

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WO 121/00895. John Scott of the Royal Horse Guards, WO 121/0011. Allenson, Crowthers, Scott held official positions as farrier in their discharge applications for the Chelsea pension.

<sup>164</sup> Great Britain. Army. Light Dragoons, 11<sup>th</sup>, *Standing Orders, for the eleventh regiment of Light Dragoons* (Dorchester: printed by M. Virtue, 1799), 58.

<sup>165</sup> Sergeant John Haddick of the 102nd Regiment of Foot, formerly of the 2nd Grenadier Horse Guards, had an armorer position noted in the discharge application. WO 121/0118. William Kitson of the Coldstream Guards, WO 121/0164. Robert Wainwright of the 60th Regiment of Foot also had listed gun smith as occupation, WO 121/0012.

<sup>166</sup> John Nicholson of the 2nd Troop Horse Guards, WO 121/0004.

needed workers to construct fortifications against the Spanish army. Under the “King’s Work” soldiers used their skills to build fortifications for an addition to their wage.

Musicians had options in the army to join as either a drummer or fifer or a musician of the Band of Music that most regiments had. The 1768 regulations authorized for every company in a regiment to have up to two drummers and for the grenadier companies to have two fifers instead. Drummers and fifers earned a slightly higher pay than privates and had other duties on the field than the line infantry such as communications and even assistance with surgeons on and off the field.<sup>167</sup> Armies often recruited very young men, as early as 11 years of age, for drummers until either they grew enough to carry the musket or stayed as drummer.<sup>168</sup> Alexander Cameron of Inverness enlisted at the age of 14 into the 42nd Regiment of Foot as a drummer and remained as a drummer throughout his military career and various other regiments he served under.<sup>169</sup> Highland regiments often had bagpipers, often recruited from the officer’s own lands, and received a higher pay than privates. John MacDonald received a higher bounty and wage as pipe-major for the 73rd Highland Regiment of Foot. Neil MacLaine of the 84th Regiment of Foot had a similar experience as piper for the second battalion’s grenadier company.<sup>170</sup>

While drummers, fifers, and pipers of the regiments had official roles in the army, musicians did not. Musicians often mustered as privates with expenses paid for by the

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<sup>167</sup> Steven M. Baule, “Drummers in the British Army during the American Revolution,” *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research* 86, No. 345 (Spring 2008), 21-3.

<sup>168</sup> TNA, The army enlisted Robert Shortreed at the age of 11 as drummer into the 14th Regiment of Foot. WO 121/0165.

<sup>169</sup> TNA, Alexander Cameron of the 42nd, WO 121/0014

<sup>170</sup> NAS GD 174/2106, Murdoch MacLaine papers.

officers.<sup>171</sup> Musicians did not play on the field but rather on parade or in garrison.

Bandsmen of the military likely came from professional backgrounds with talents in multiple instruments who had experiences in concerts or orchestras. British regiments stationed in America, particularly in the New England area, hosted concerts with multiple acts and a full band with a variety of instruments. Bands also took part in funerals and other ceremonies.<sup>172</sup>

Some occupations such as bookbinder or cabinetmaker may not have had the same utility in the army as others, but the soldiers found a place in the army. The army did not seem to discriminate much, other than the physical health of soldiers, during recruitment and would take anyone willing and able to perform as a soldier. The survey showed the diversity of soldiers' previous occupations and possibilities that some soldiers may have had with earning an extra wage such as those with tailoring, gardening, and blacksmithing backgrounds.

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<sup>171</sup> John Williamson, *The Elements of Military Arrangements, Comprehending the Tactick, Exercise, Manoeuvres, and Discipline of the British Infantry, with an appendix, containing the substance of the principal standing Orders and Regulations of the Army* (London: Printed for the Author, 1781), 7.

<sup>172</sup> Ronald F. Kingsley and Michael R. Edson, "The Military Musician in Eighteenth-Century America: A View from Fort Ticonderoga," *New York History* 82, No. 3 (Summer 2001): 219. See also Raul Camus, *Military Music of the Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976).

## CONCLUSION

British men enlisted into the army for various reasons and motivations. The economy, personal situations, boredom, and sense of duty motivated men to join the army. The surveys from the Chelsea pension records may suggest something of occupation stability but without soldier accounts specifically stating that reason it would be misleading in some fashion. The few accounts that exist stated some reasons for enlistment. Some reasons resembled each other, such as the “wanderlust” described by Don N. Hagist. While the economy began to change with the Industrial Revolution, employment and living standards stabilized after a few years, and Britons could use the military as temporary means if needed. The several men that left accounts behind did not explicitly state the economy as the reason for enlistment but the several cannot speak for the thousands that joined in the eighteenth century.

British men looked to the army as a means of stable employment, civic duty, adventure, and social improvement. The Highlands of Scotland, and to some extent the Lowlands, changed economically and socially after the Rebellion of 1745. For the upper class gentlemen of Scotland, the military became a possible avenue to regain the trust of Parliament and protect their social statuses as landowners or upper-classmen. The lower classes could use the booming growth of Scottish and Highland regiments in the British army as a means of employment and survival strategy as well.

Soldiers like John MacDonald, John Robert Shaw, Thomas Cranfield, and Donald Cameron joined during a heightened time of war, with the army needing constant recruits and raised regiments to take new recruits in. British men had an almost certain chance of joining the army during a wartime or near the breakout of war than joining in a long era

of peace. The recruitment of the army took both the willingness of volunteers and forced enlistment with conscriptions or Press acts to fill the ranks at a sufficient level. However, most military leaders disliked the use of forced enlistment as often the recruits came from the dregs of society and did not become great soldiers for the army's use. Instead, the military preferred volunteers and rarely used forceful means except in dire need of soldiers. The recruiting parties proved useful as noted in the accounts of Shaw, Cranfield, and MacDonald, who all volunteered for the army.

Army recruitment posters promised an improved life for any man willing to join. A life of honor, adventure, and grandeur, all the while gallantly clothed in the redcoat and fighting for the British nation's defense. Shaw and Cranfield thought highly of the British soldier's image and status as "gentlemanly" and better than their current station. Whether enlistment came from financial necessity or youthful yearn of adventure, the army provided men a solution for their troubles and a possible new career to employ as a livelihood. Men could join the army for a short term, often three years or the duration of the war, but also join as a career. For the soldiers that created a career of at least twenty years, the army promised a pension after the soldier's discharge, if the soldier lived long enough, or sustained a wound that disabled them during the service. With the promise of pay, shelter, and clothing, British recruits saw the army as another wage-earning job which had a low entry requirement pertaining to skills and education. In the eighteenth century, recruits enlisted with a variety of motivations which ranged from socio-economic to personal ideology. For some, the army life became another source of leisure and adventure, a means of familial stability, civic duty, and for others the life of military arms became employment.

This thesis emphasized the agency each soldier account displayed and the possibility of the agency extending to the other soldiers not heard in history by lack of record. With exceptions to the of the conscripted soldier, each account described a willing attitude toward enlisting in the British army with individual motivations and incentives. In thought of previous scholarship, my work promoted the individuality of the enlisted British soldier and their ability to navigate through the changing world around them.

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## APPENDIX

### PUBLIC HISTORY PROJECT ASSESSMENT OF STORY MAPS: “18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BRITISH SOLDIERS”

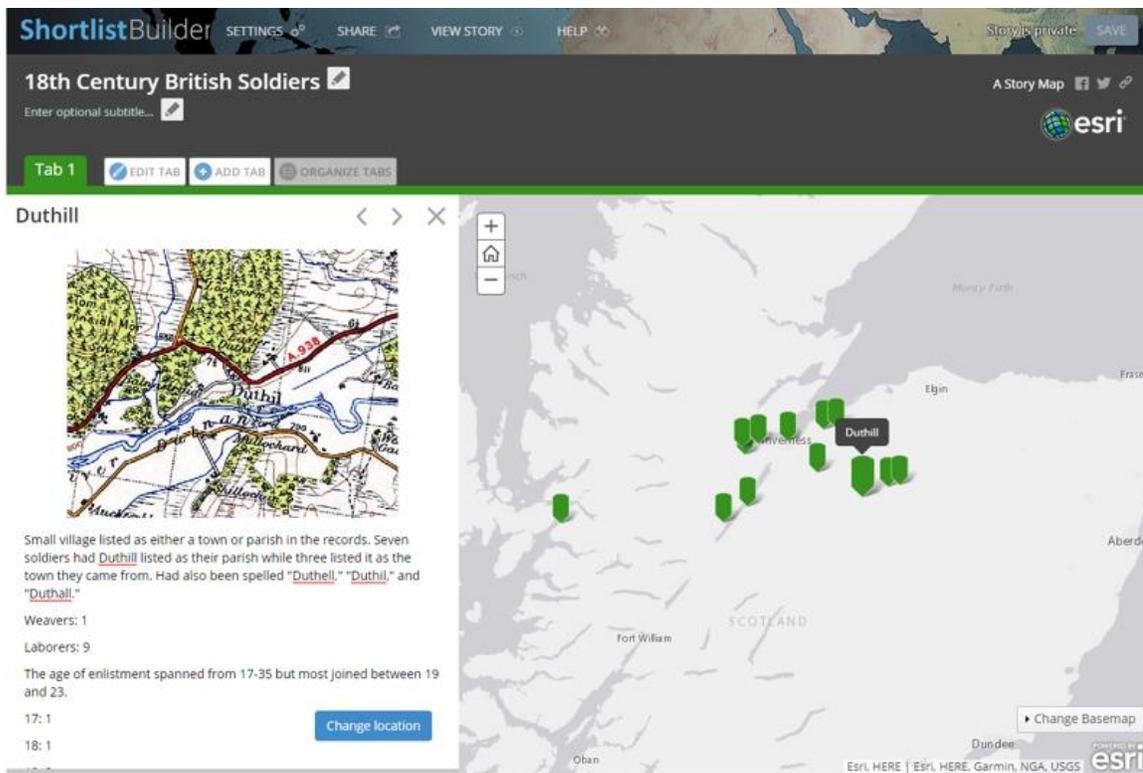
For the public history portion of the thesis I have chosen to use Story Maps as the platform to present a segment of my work.<sup>173</sup> I decided that a map would help visualize the impact and numbers of recruitment in Britain during the eighteenth century. The data gathered from the War Office records of the National Archives provided the basis of this project, specifically the War Office 121 records that pertain to the Royal Chelsea Hospital out-pension applicants.

The program has features for the maps such as pinpoints and tabs. The pins open a section on the screen where a thumbnail picture and information can be placed. From biographical information I gathered from the pension records I could find the locations of where soldiers came from and place pins in the areas to a certain accuracy. I placed the information from the records into the pinpoint information blocks. Each pinpoint on each town will either contain a list of soldiers or a link to a website. The website will contain the list if the number of soldiers seem too long for the information to handle. Some towns only had several applicants while others have a few dozen, which could overwhelm a reader. Instead, the website will provide an easier means of reading the list and likely more comprehensible.<sup>174</sup> The pins reflected the information gathered retrieved from soldiers that originated from the counties of Inverness, Scotland and Yorkshire, England.

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<sup>173</sup> The Story Map can be found here: <https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Shortlist/index.html?appid=69f38663f28447c7bb691422a303bdec>.

<sup>174</sup> The website can be found here: <https://nkane12.wixsite.com/website>.



I placed the pins on the parishes and towns that soldiers came from using both modern and older maps to accurately place the pins. Story Maps' interface has an up-to-date map of the United Kingdom and did contain most of the towns that soldiers came from, but often could not be easily found unless one "zoomed" closer into an area. However, parishes are not represented in the map provided by Story Maps with borders or the ilk. Instead, I placed pins at where the parish is named from. For instance, the Kirkhill parish of Inverness county can be seen as a town but not a parish, therefore in the information block I mentioned that the town is also the parish seat. Some of the spelling has changed over the centuries and has been mentioned within the pin's information block. Most are close to the current name or exact. I found that genealogical sites contained some contextual information about the towns and parishes, such as history, the meaning of the name if in Gaelic, or a notable feature. Contextual information could help

readers better understand the physical places that soldiers came from and the lives they left behind, even if the background information is superficial at best. The genealogical sites assisted in the verification of the towns mentioned in the pension application. One shortfall discovered with the pins is that without a picture included in the thumbnail portion, the pin will not show up in the published version of the story and only in the editing version. Until one either creates or imports a picture it remains in limbo. Some pins have not been published because of the lack of picture uploaded for each town or parish. Either I have not found a suitable picture for the thumbnail or one needs to be created.

I have not found a way to overlay a period map over the platform that Story Maps provides. It may be a limitation of the program or requires a more technically proficient mind to do. A period map would make the presentation more authentic to look at for the audience. The current map contains modern day highways and roads, when the 18<sup>th</sup> century maps would not have them. Details such as modern neighborhoods and town layouts also detract away from bringing the audience into a more authentic 18<sup>th</sup> century experience. It may not matter too much since the purpose of the map is to visualize the data gathered from the archives. Finding a usable map to place into the interface may prove difficult as well since most maps would either be in a not yet digitalized archive or private collection. In addition, not all maps may have the detail of including every small town or village. With more time and resources warranted, a custom creation would have been commissioned to fit that need.

To help combat some of the limitations on the appearance of the map, I have used clippings of a period map within the thumbnail to give some authentic presentation. They

do not contain explicit detail of the town itself but rather the locations within the county. The National Library of Scotland provided a number of thumbnail pictures for some of the places but not all. It seems that due to the remoteness of the Scottish Highlands in comparison to England that most of the maps revolved around either roads that travelled through or military posts. However, that could help the audience understand how the remoteness of the Highlands influenced military policies and recruitment throughout the century.

The pins do not seem to have a limit of characters that can be included but with the number of pins that will end up on the map, it would be difficult to provide background information for the audience to comprehend the presentation. With the pins representing soldiers of the eighteenth century, a small amount of background information would prove useful such as the various wars that occurred between 1750 and 1800 and national events that influenced British military policies. Since the Story Maps does not provide much in the way of presenting the needed context information, I decided that the project will need a website to host the program. Last year I attempted to use WordPress but quickly found the shortcomings of the platform with the lack of supporting outside programs or widgets unless one pays for one of the plans WordPress offers. The website would need to have pages dedicated to separate sections and eras of history. Pages include: overall history of the eighteenth-century British army; historic events from late seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century; the wars that involved the country; recruiting process; the men that enlisted. My thesis provides most of the needed background information and would only need a slight modification to fit into smaller sections. In addition, the blocks would also contain excerpts from soldier

accounts that originated from the attributed parish or town. The excerpts give a voice and character for the audience to relate to for the specific town, which assists in the presentation of the project as more than a display of statistics and pinpoints.

The project reaches out to a wider audience than initially thought. While the information has a greater use with people looking for research and history of the eighteenth-century British soldier, it can also attract people with genealogical interests or how the eighteenth-century British army worked. I did take note that a project from the University of Michigan created a site that explained how the recruitment processed worked in a narrative fashion.<sup>175</sup> The site contains in depth information of the recruiting process and a well-developed bibliography. However, since the site has not had updates from either students or professors after 2002, the resources are old and not up to date with the current scholarship. My website may reference the University of Michigan's project but also with updated scholarship.

The website will also have the history and contextual information of the two counties, which my thesis provides. An audience would be able to see statistics and place, but also understand what happened in terms of events and situations for the soldiers. A bibliography will be provided and when possible, the references to have hyperlinks for an available online source. Since access to the Royal Chelsea Hospital Records require a paid subscription, the hyperlink will take the viewer to the correct website to access the records. Some other resources may also need a paid subscription to JSTOR or another similar database. Fortunately, the Internet Archive has several of the contemporary

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<sup>175</sup> Adi Neuman and Yoni Brenner, 2001. [http://umich.edu/~ece/student\\_projects/soldier/](http://umich.edu/~ece/student_projects/soldier/). Accessed May 1, 2019.

soldier accounts on their database for free and as a downloadable pdf. The addition of a bibliography that viewers can search and follow for sources allows my project to be used as guide or resource for researchers curious about the topic.