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## The Authorship of the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und NeuEngland vom J[ahre] 1777 und 1778*

During the American Revolution, *August Ludwig Schlözer's Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts*,<sup>1</sup> probably the most widely read periodical of the German Enlightenment, featured contributions by several soldiers serving with the German contingents on the British side. A partial listing for the purpose of this paper includes the following eight communications, in the order of their publication by Schlözer:

Ref. No.	Schlözer's Briefwechsel Year	Theil	Heft	No.	Pages	Letter(s) Sent from	Dated
1	1778	III	13	5	35-42	Duer House (NY)	Aug. 31, 1777
2	1778	III	17	36	275-282	Castleton (NH)	July 20, 1777
3	1778	III	18	42	320-340	Bastiscan (Canada)	Nov. 2, 1776
4	1779	IV	22	46	278-279	Cambridge (MA)	Oct. 10, 1778
5	1779	IV	23	49	288-323	Ste. Anne (Canada)	March 9, 1777 to Apr. 20, 1777
6	1779	IV	24	51	341-387	Cambridge (MA)	Nov. 15, 1777 to Oct. 10, 1778 [sic]
7	1779	V	29	38	267-279	Bastiscan (Canada)	Nov. 2, 1776
8	1779	V	30	59	413-417	Staunton (VA)	June 1, 1779

Two of these items, by one and the same writer whose identity Schlözer chose not to reveal, evidently were so well received that he had them immediately reissued as a separate publication under the title-page imprint *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und NeuEngland vom J[ahre] 1777. und 1778. Aus Hrn. Prof. Schlözers Briefwechsel, Heft XXIII und XXIV. Göttingen im Verlag der Wittwe Vandenhoeck 1779.*<sup>2</sup> The *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada* consist of an unnamed Brunswick officer's eight letters written between 9 March and 20

April 1777 from his winter quarters in the parish of Ste. Anne (on the northern shore of the St. Lawrence River and about 70 km southwest from the city of Quebec), to his family and friends in Germany. These letters offer engaging descriptions of the army's living conditions; the geography, climate, flora and fauna of Canada; and the lifestyles and characteristics of the French, English, and Indian population. Written at Cambridge near Boston between 15 November 1777 and 12 June 1778, the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus NeuEngland* relate the Brunswickers' participation in Burgoyne's ill-fated campaign that ended with his surrender at Saratoga (under the terms of a convention signed by both sides on 16 October 1777) and the British-German army's subsequent march into *de facto* captivity. Also included are accounts of the prisoners' experiences in Cambridge and keen-eyed observations on the life, manners, and customs of New Englanders. Abandoning his usual editorial detachment, Schlözer praised the anonymous author as an eyewitness, "der überdies die seltene Gabe hat, so zu erzählen, daß seine Leser selbst sich dünken Augenzeugen zu seyn."<sup>3</sup> While admitting that these letters had not been intended for publication, Schlözer judged them more informative than anything similar that had hitherto been published, and he declared:

Stolz muß Deutschland auf einen solchen ReiseBeobachter seyn! Er lebt jetzo in Virginien. Hilft ihm einst der Himmel glücklich ins Vaterland zurück: so läßt er sich vielleicht zur Bekanntmachung mererer Nachrichten bewegen. Nur bis dahin mache sich keine litterarische Klatsche ein Geschäftte daraus, seinen Namen auszuspähen, und solchen in monatlichen oder wochentlichen Nachrichten zu verraten. Dies dürfte sonst, einem Manne von des Hrn. Verfassers Stand und Alter, eine hinlängliche Ursache werden, auf immer zu schweigen.<sup>4</sup>

Along with other Americana from Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*, these letters were translated by Stone in 1891<sup>5</sup> and Pettingill in 1924<sup>6</sup> and have frequently been cited by historians of the American Revolution as the vivid and authentic accounts of an unidentified Brunswick officer.<sup>7</sup>

Two years ago I set out to positively establish the identity of this author, whose anonymity has been protected long enough by Schlözer's caveat, and who thanks to his remarkable narrative talent and historical value surely deserves to be known to posterity. Emil Meynen, in his 1937 bibliography, attributed the *Vertrauliche Briefe* to August Wilhelm Du Roi,<sup>8</sup> an adjutant and lieutenant in the infantry regiment Prinz Friedrich. But, since Du Roi and his regiment never advanced further than Ticonderoga before returning to Quebec,<sup>9</sup> he could not have been an eyewitness at Saratoga and Cambridge. Contrariwise, the *Vertrauliche Briefe* and the letter entitled "Erster Feldzug der Braunschweiger in Kanada im J[ahre] 1776," which Schlözer subsequently



published (Ref. No. 7) and ascribed to the same anonymous author,<sup>10</sup> allow us to conclude that the latter

was a proud, witty, and gregarious Brunswicker with good connections to influential circles in the Dukedom;

was well-educated, had an exceptional knowledge of Latin, classical mythology, and French, displayed uncommon familiarity with agriculture, and delighted in outdoor activities;

took part in the 1759 defense of Krofdorf (near Gießen) by an allied army of British, Brunswick, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops under Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick (Du Roi did not enter the Brunswick army until 1762);

landed in Quebec on 24 September 1776, with the second Brunswick division commanded by Colonel Johann Heinrich Specht (whereas Du Roi arrived there on 1 June with the first division under Major General Friedrich Adolf von Riedesel);

in an official capacity accompanied Specht (who was named Brigadier on 28 October 1776) in Canada and the U.S.

All this internal evidence supports that Schlözer's author is Heinrich Urban Cleve,<sup>11</sup> who was born on 17 August 1733 in Wolfenbüttel as the son of the *Hofcommissarius* Justus Heinrich Daniel Cleve and died on 2 January 1808 in Salzgitter. He belonged to a prominent family who owned estates at Riede (near Bremen) and Scheppau (near Königslutter) and whose sons held important appointments in the army and the government of the Dukes of Brunswick. His military career is circumscribed by the following dates:

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1757    | 21 March – Ensign in the infantry regiment von Imhoff, which was named <i>von Koppelow</i> in 1768 and <i>von Rhetz</i> in 1773   |
| 1757-63 | Served with this regiment during the Seven Years War  |
| 1758    | 19 May – Lieutenant   |
| 1759    | 13 April – Wounded in the battle of Bergen, near Frankfurt am Main  |
| 1765    | 15 May – Captain  |
| 1776    | Staff Captain in the infantry regiment von Rhetz<br>September – Arrived with his regiment in Quebec and was subsequently appointed Brigade Major under Brigadier Specht |
| 1777    | 17 October – Captured at Saratoga with the Convention Army  |

- 13 December – Signed the Cambridge Parole List as "H U Cleve Maj[or] of Brig[ade]"
- 1778-79 December to January – Accompanied the Convention Army on its march from Cambridge to Charlottesville, Virginia<sup>12</sup>
- 1781 January – Exchanged, together with Specht, and sent to New York City. (For health reasons, Specht returned to Brunswick that spring, where he was ennobled in 1785 and died in 1787.)
- 1782 In charge of Brunswick recruits sent to Penobscot, Maine
- 1783 16 September – Arrived at Stade with a detachment of returning Brunswick soldiers
- 29 September – Appointed *Kriegsrath*.

Cleve served under Specht's regimental command from 1767 until 10 January 1776, when the second battalion of von Rhetz became the regiment Specht. Both regiments were among the seven, totalling 4,300 men, sent to Canada under the 1776 treaty between the Duke of Brunswick and the British crown. Together with one infantry regiment and one artillery company from Hessen-Hanau, these German troops accounted for almost half of Burgoyne's 1777 invasion army, if one discounts a fluctuating number of largely ineffectual Loyalist and Indian irregulars. After returning to Brunswick in 1783, most soldiers and officers were dismissed as the duke reduced his army for fiscal reasons to less than one half of its former strength. Cleve left the army because of impaired health, and his appointment in the ducal *Kriegscollegium* (war office), at a time when many other officers were also available, is a measure of his ability and his good connections. The military diary which Cleve kept during the Seven Years War, the only known one by a Brunswick officer of that period, has provided essential documentation for studies on Duke Ferdinand's campaigns against the French.<sup>13</sup>

This was the extent of my determinations until I discovered that the Library of Congress owns two different sets of letters by Heinrich Urban Cleve, both of which have hitherto been overlooked by scholars.

One set is in the library's collection of papers purchased in 1867 from the eminent American historian Peter Force (1790-1868) after the federal government suddenly ceased to subsidize the publication of his monumental series *American Archives*.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately the listings in the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*<sup>15</sup> and in the volume *Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution*<sup>16</sup> misidentify Heinrich Urban Cleve as "aide-de-camp to Major General Friedrich Riedesel," thus confusing him with his younger brother Friedrich Christian Cleve (7



October 1738–6 January 1826). Since this confusion persistently occurs elsewhere,<sup>17</sup> I offer this brief outline of Friedrich Christian Cleve's career:<sup>18</sup>

- 1759      *Gefreiter-Corporal* in the regiment von Imhoff, with which he took part in the Seven Years War  
2 May – Ensign
- 1760      18 September – Lieutenant
- 1768      On half-pay. Entered Dutch service as Aide-de-camp of the Acting Stadholder and Field Marshal, Duke Ludwig Ernst of Brunswick
- 1776      Returned to Brunswick service as Aide-de-camp in the General Staff of Major General von Riedesel, whom he accompanied to North America  
1 June – Arrived at Quebec
- 1777      17 October – Captured at Saratoga with the Convention Army  
13 December – Signed the Cambridge Parole List as "Cleve aide de Camp"
- 1779      November – With Riedesel paroled to New York City
- 1780      March to September – Sent to Brunswick by Riedesel to convey confidential information to Duke Ferdinand  
2 April – Captain  
September – Exchanged together with Riedesel
- 1782      Returned from New York City to Quebec
- 1783      Returned to Brunswick and joined the newly established infantry regiment von Riedesel
- 1784      Re-entered the service of Duke Ludwig Ernst at Aachen
- 1786      Accompanied him to Eisenach where the Duke until his death in 1788 remained in close touch with the court at Weimar (Duchess Anna Amalia was his niece.)
- 1788-94   Aide-de-camp of Riedesel, who commanded a Brunswick contingent sent to Holland
- 1788      23 December – Major
- 1798      22 December – Lieutenant Colonel
- 1801      1 April – Colonel
- 1815      17 January – Major General.

Although he had a more illustrious career than his brother Heinrich Urban, Friedrich Christian Cleve was not nearly as good a writer. As Riedesel's aide he maintained the official diary of the Brunswick contingent.<sup>19</sup> Marred by solecisms, its style is often wooden and pedantic, as is that of a letter dated 23 June 1776 at Montreal, in which he tells his families that he is overburdened with his official duties and wishes Urban a safe ocean voyage.<sup>20</sup> A possible connection between the younger Cleve and Schlözer is suggested by the fact that Schlözer was commissioned to write the seven-hundred-page tome *Ludwig Ernst, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg, kaiserl. königl. und H. Römischen Reichs FeldMarschall etc. Ein actenmäßiger Bericht von dem Verfahren gegen Dessen Person so lange HöchstDerselbe die erhabenen Posten als FeldMarschall, Vormund und Repräsentant des Herrn ErbStatthalters, Fürst Wilhelms V von Oranien, in der Republik der Vereinten Niederlande, bekleidet hat* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1786), to defend the former acting stadholder against Dutch charges of misgovernment.

The letters of Heinrich Urban Cleve in the Peter Force Papers consist of 113 handwritten quarto pages (each measuring 23.5 x 33.5 cm) numbered 1 to 114, without any page numbered 48. Page 1 includes the superscriptions "pr[aesentatum] den 1. Aug. 1777" and "Briefe von Cleve aus Amerika. N[o]. 20," while page 49 is superscribed "N[o]. 21" (although logically that designation should be on the previous page), which is repeated at the bottom of page 114. No. 20 consists of eight letters, dated and addressed as follows:

1. St. [sic] Anne den 9ten März 1777.  
Hochgeehrtester Herr Hofgerichts Assessor! (1-9)
2. St. Anne den 10ten März 1777.  
Hochgeehrteste Frau Mutter! (9-14)
3. St. Anne den 11ten Merz [sic] 1777.  
Mein Herr Bruder Hartwig Cleve. (14-23)
4. den 4ten Merz 1777.  
Hochgeehrtester Herr Cammer Rath Schaper! (23-30)
5. den 20ten Merz 1777.  
Mein liebster Freund Herr Doctor Schrader! (30-34)
6. St. Anne den 24ten Merz.  
Mein lieber alter Freund Herr Hauptmann Bähge. (34-37)
7. den 26ten Merz.  
Mein liebster Freund Herr Ober Kriegs Commissaire. (37-43)
8. den 29ten Merz.  
Mein lieber Bruder George Cleve! (43-47)



Whereas the first seven letters are unsigned, the eighth is followed by a postscript dated "den 20ten April" that concludes with "Dein treuer Bruder H U Cleve" (47). Combined with the facts that the texts run on continuously and that all eight letters were received on August 1, 1777, this indicates that they were actually written and sent as one serial letter to be read by all eight recipients. The texts correspond substantially to the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada* published by Schlözer, who made the orthography conform to his own idiosyncratic standards<sup>21</sup> and purged all references that might reveal the identity of the author and the addressees.

No. 21 is addressed to "Vielgeliebte Freunde" and consists of seventeen successive instalments dated "Cambridge den 15ten Nov. 1777" (49) up to "Den 2ten Aprill," and it is signed "Ihr aufrichtigster Freund C." (113). This is followed by a postscript of 12 June 1778 and a list of eight addressees (114) whose titles and names have been abbreviated but can be shown to coincide essentially with the addressees of No. 20. Undoubtedly No. 21 was likewise intended as a serial letter to be shared by the eight recipients. The text is largely identical with the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus NeuEngland* published by Schlözer with his customary discretion and editorial license, although there are some major transpositions and deletions. One such omission is that of an entire page concerning the landscape and the young ladies of New England (50). This can, however, be explained by the fact that Schlözer had previously published a letter with some of the same formulations, entitled "Aus Cambridge, bei Boston in NeuEngland, den 10 Oktob. 1778. Von einem Braunschweiger Officier" (Ref. No. 4). That officer was none other than Heinrich Urban Cleve, and Schlözer simply wanted to avoid unnecessary verbatim repetition. This letter's date, incidentally, may also explain how the subtitle of the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus NeuEngland* came to include the misleading 10 October terminus, when the final date is actually 12 June 1778.<sup>22</sup>

According to contemporary usage, all the German texts in No. 20 and No. 21 are written, with capricious fluctuations in spelling, in Gothic script (*Kurrentschrift*), while Latin characters are used for names and non-German words. If one discounts the sequential page numbering (which was probably inserted at the Library of Congress) and the superscriptions on pages 1 and 49,<sup>23</sup> there is only one handwriting manifest in all the letters. Although Sellers et al. refer to the entire manuscript as a contemporary transcript, it is actually an original autograph by Cleve, since the handwriting matches that of his letter, dated 6 May 1783 at Penobscot in Maine, to Duke Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand of Brunswick.<sup>24</sup> Whereas the careful calligraphy of pages 1 to 47 is indicative of the leisure and relative comfort of the long winter months in Ste. Anne, the appearance of the remainder reflects the precarious and constrained circumstances of Cleve's Cambridge captivity. The ink is of exceptionally poor quality, and many pages are disfigured by deletions and



insertions since, as he reports, paper was outrageously expensive and his primitive living quarters were unbearably cold.

Another set of Cleve letters is found among the Library of Congress's photostatic copies of militaria belonging to the *Kriegs-Archiv des Großen Generalstabes* of the former *Preußisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv* in Potsdam, which was destroyed in the spring of 1945. Originally owned by Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick (1721-92), who held the rank of a Prussian field marshal and declined George III's offer to lead the British forces in the American Revolution, these documents (known as Rep. 15A, Kap. XXXIV, No. 853) were photocopied for the Library of Congress in 1929.<sup>25</sup> The German inventory of that manuscript volume refers to the letters as "Briefe des Generalstabsadjutanten u. Kapitäns Cleve," thus also failing to properly distinguish between the two brothers. The documents under consideration are exact contemporary copies, clearly designated as such and made in duplicate by two different scribes, of the eight letters Heinrich Urban Cleve sent from Ste. Anne. In addition there are duplicate transcripts of two hitherto unpublished letters addressed to "Vielgeliebte Freunde," signed only "Cleve," and dated "Lager bei Crown-Point [New York] den 29ten Jun. 1777" and "Lager bei Cassel-Town [Castleton, which before the existence of Vermont as a state was in New Hampshire] den 11ten Jul. 1777," respectively. Internal evidence confirms that both letters are indeed by Heinrich Urban Cleve. In the first he states that he is writing part of this letter near the Bouquet River (where Burgoyne issued his bombastic and counterproductive proclamation of 20 June 1777), in the luxurious bateau recently provided for the exclusive use of Brigadier Specht. The second letter shows that he continues to accompany Specht in Burgoyne's southerly advance from Lake Champlain towards the Hudson and Albany.

The Brunswick militaria copied for the Library of Congress in 1929 also include a 287-page manuscript referred to as the "Journal of Colonel von [sic] Specht, commander of the 2d Brunswick division, Feb. 1776-Nov. 1777."<sup>26</sup> Strictly speaking, that designation applies only to the first eighty-one pages.<sup>27</sup> Since Specht was appointed Brigadier on 28 October 1776, the remainder (82-287) is actually the journal of his brigade, one of three formed in the fall of 1776 by the Brunswick and Hessen-Hanau troops. Several letters by Specht to Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, which are interspersed, show that the latter was sent the successive installments of this journal. In the section entitled "Zweite Fortsetzung des Journals bei der Brigade des Obristen Specht, vom 16.ten Junii bis den 28.ten Junii 1777," (123-32) much of the phraseology is identical with that in Cleve's above-mentioned letter from Crown Point of 29 June 1777. Similarly, the installment "Dritte Fortsetzung des Journals bey der Brigade Specht des Obristen Specht[,] vom 29ten Junii bis den 10ten Julii 1777" (133-43) evinces many textual agreements with Cleve's letter from Castletown dated 11 July 1777. In addition, numerous verbatim correspondencies exist between the following:



## Specht Brigade Journal

"Vierte Fortsetzung [etc.]" (145-48)

"Sechste Fortsetzung [etc.]" (161-72)

"Siebente Fortsetzung [etc.]" (183-267)

## Letters

"Castle-Town in New Hampshire, 20 Jul. 1777" (Ref. No. 2)

"Aus dem Lager bei Duar House,<sup>28</sup> den 31 Aug. 1777, von einem Braunschweigischen . . . in der Burgoyne'schen Armee" (Ref. No. 1)

"Vertrauliche Briefe aus NeuEngland" (Ref. No. 6).

The explanation for all these textual congruities is quite simple. As Specht's brigade major, Heinrich Urban Cleve was in charge of the brigade's records, including its journal.<sup>29</sup> The various handwritings in it are those of several different clerks assigned to regimental and brigade staff officers. For the factual basis of his private letters to his family and friends in Brunswick, Cleve routinely used the brigade's journal that he conscientiously maintained as part of his regular duties, and enriched it with personal notes not found in the official version.

The style and the chronology of all the letters identified above as Heinrich Urban Cleve's make it very likely that he was also the author of two others for which, unfortunately, no known manuscript versions exist:

"Von Kanada, aus den Briefen eines deutschen StabsOfficiers, dat. Batiscamp [*sic*] (einer Paroisse in Kanada) den 2 Novemb. 1776" (Ref. No. 3);<sup>30</sup>

"Staunton in Virginien, 1 Jun. 1779" (Ref. No. 8).

To recapitulate: Heinrich Urban Cleve is demonstrably the author of the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und NeuEngland* (largely identical with the autographs of Ref. Nos. 5 and 6) as well as of the four letters listed above as Ref. Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 7. It is highly probable that he also wrote the ones designated Ref. Nos. 3 and 8. Two previously unpublished letters by him should also be included in a necessary future critical edition of all these documents which I hope to publish soon.<sup>31</sup>

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hans Krauss, "Nachwort," *Deutsche Chronik auf das Jahr 1777*, by Christian Daniel Schubart (rpt., Heidelberg: Schneider, 1975), xxvii. The *Briefwechsel* reached a maximum distribution of 4,400 copies, according to Ferdinand Frensdorff, "August Ludwig Schlözer," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 31:584. The ten volumes published 1776-82 are available in only a few North American libraries. I have consulted the set owned by the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from this, Schlözer also had entire volumes reprinted 1780-82, including Theil 3 (third ed.), Theil 4 (second ed.), and Theil 5 (second ed.).

<sup>3</sup> Translation: "Who, moreover, has the rare gift of narrating in such a way that his readers imagine themselves to be eyewitnesses." — In an editorial footnote to the first page of Ref. No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Translation: "Germany must be proud of such an observant traveller. At present he lives in Virginia. If Heaven helps him to return safely to his native land, he may be prevailed upon to publish more such reports. But until then no literary busybody should ferret out his name and tattle about it in monthly or weekly periodicals. For a man of the author's position and age, that would be sufficient cause to silence him forever." — "Inhalt," *Schlözer's Briefwechsel* Theil IV, Heft 24 (1779): 419-20.

<sup>5</sup> *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers During the American Revolution*, tr. William L. Stone (1891; rpt., New York: Da Capo, 1970).

<sup>6</sup> *Letters from America 1776-1779: Being Letters of Brunswick, Hessian, and Waldeck Officers with the British Armies During the Revolution*, tr. Ray W. Pettingill (1924; rpt. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1964). This includes a complete list (267-70) of all the Americana published in Schlözer's *Briefwechsel* 1776-82.

<sup>7</sup> Max von Eelking, *Die deutschen Hülfsstruppen im nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege 1776 bis 1783*, 2 vols. (1863; rpt. Kassel: Hamecher, 1976), 1:286-87, 313, 328-29; Edward J. Lowell, *The Hessians and the Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War* (New York: Harper, 1884) passim; Hoffman Nickerson, *The Turning Point of the Revolution, Or Burgoyne in America*, 2 vols. (1928; rpt. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1967), 2:485; Walter Hart Blumenthal, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution* (1952; rpt. New York: Arno, 1974), 100; Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 2:538-39, 901; William M. Dabney, *After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1954) passim; Yorck Alexander Haase and Harold Jantz, *Die Neue Welt in den Schätzen einer alten europäischen Bibliothek. The New World in the Treasures of an Old European Library. Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek 17* (Braunschweig: Waisenhausdruckerei, 1976), 146-47; Karl J. R. Arndt, "New Hampshire and the Battle of Bennington: Colonel Baum's Mission and Bennington Defeat as Reported by a German Officer under General Burgoyne's Command," *Historical New Hampshire* 32 (1977): 198-227; John R. Elting, *The Battles of Saratoga* (Monmouth Beach, NJ: Philip Freneau, 1977), 73; Ida H. and Paul A. Washington, *Carleton's Raid* (Canaan, NH: Phoenix, 1977), 81; Jean-Pierre Wilhelmy, *German Mercenaries in Canada*, tr. Honey Thomas (Beloeil, Can.: Maison des Mots, 1985), 125-37; Max M. Mintz, *The Generals of Saratoga: John Burgoyne and Horatio Gates* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 261, 263-64, 267, 269.

<sup>8</sup> Emil Meynen, *Bibliographie des Deutschthums der kolonialzeitlichen Einwanderung in Nordamerika* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1937), 272. See also Philipp Losch, *Soldatenhandel. Mit einem Verzeichnis der Hessen-Kasselischen Subsidienverträge und einer Bibliographie* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1933), 103.

<sup>9</sup> See my article "Who Wrote the *Journal of Du Roi the Elder*?" *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 29 (1994): 59-67.

<sup>10</sup> In an editorial footnote to the first page of Ref. No. 7.

<sup>11</sup> For his life and career I have obtained information from these sources: Johanne Sophie Friderike v. Unger, geborene Cleve, and Friedrich Bodo v. Unger [untitled announcement of Heinrich Urban Cleve's death], *Braunschweigische Anzeigen*, 3tes Stück (Jan. 1808): 109; Ernst Schüler von Senden, "Denkwürdigkeiten aus den hinterlassenen Papieren," *Zeitschrift für Kunst*,



Wissenschaft und Geschichte des Krieges 8 (1839): 137-89; Max von Eelking, *Leben und Wirken des Herzoglich Braunschweig'schen General-Lieutenants Friedrich Adolph Riedesel, Freiherrn zu Eisenach*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1856), 3:238, 244, 393, 411; Alfred von Unger, *Geschichte der Familie von Unger im Umriss dargestellt* (Hameln, 1895), 12; Otto Elster, *Geschichte der stehenden Truppen im Herzogthum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel*, 2 vols. (1899-1901; rpt., Bad Honnef: LTR-Verlag, 1982), 2: passim; Paul Zimmermann, "Eine Berichtigung," *Sonderabdruck aus der Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen*, (1910); Hermann Kleinau, *Geschichtliches Ortsverzeichnis des Landes Braunschweig*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: August Lax, 1967-68), 2:538-39; Karl J. R. Arndt, "The 1777 Saratoga Surrender of German Mercenaries and Its Importance for German-American Genealogical Research," *Genealogical Journal* 6 (1977): 194; Peter Düsterdieck, ed., *Die Matrikel des Collegium Carolinum und der Technischen Hochschule Carolo-Wilhelmina zu Braunschweig 1745-1900* (Hildesheim: August Lax, 1983), passim; Georg Ortenburg, *Braunschweigisches Militär* (Cremlingen: Elm, 1987), 24; Letters of 19 July 1993, 7 March and 12 April 1994 from the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel; Letter of 18 July 1994 from Diplom-Bibliothekarin Renate Köhler of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.

<sup>12</sup> In the so-called *Diary of Du Roi the Elder*, in a segment which I have identified elsewhere (see n. 9) as the work of August Wilhelm Du Roi's younger brother Anton Adolf, the latter relates that he acted as interpreter when George Washington met Brigadier Specht and Brigade Major Cleve at Fishkill, NY, on 29 November 1778.

<sup>13</sup> Elster, 2: V, 226; Reginald Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany during the Seven Years War* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 515.

<sup>14</sup> Ralph V. Harlow, "Peter Force," *DAB* 6: 512-13.

<sup>15</sup> (Washington: Library of Congress, 1979), 202, MS 78-1702.

<sup>16</sup> John R. Sellers et al., comps., *Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress on the American Revolution* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1975), 43, no. 196.

<sup>17</sup> Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Orderly Book of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, from His Entry into the State of New York until His Surrender at Saratoga, 16th Oct., 1777* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1860), 165; Eelking, *Hilfsstruppen*, 2: 209; Wilhelmy, 260; *An Eyewitness Account of the American Revolution and New England Life. The Journal of J. F. Wasmus, Germany Company Surgeon, 1776-1783*, tr. Helga Doblin, Contributions to Military Studies 106 (New York: Greenwood, 1990), 268, 300. See also my description of the documents referred to in n. 25.

<sup>18</sup> For information on his life and career, I have relied on the following: Eelking, *Riedesel*, 2: 23, 30, 331-33; 3: passim. A biographical sketch appended (3: 398-400) is replete with errors; Friederike Charlotte Louise von Riedesel, *Letters and Journals Relating to the War of the American Revolution* [etc.], tr. William L. Stone (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867), 22; August Hirsch, "Johann Friedrich Cleve [sic]," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 4:332. This article is as unreliable as Eelking's sketch; Elster 2: passim; Arndt (see n. 11) 194; Letters of 19 July 1993 and 7 March 1994 from the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel.

<sup>19</sup> The original, running from 29 Aug. 1777 to 15 Jan. 1779, is owned by the Stadtarchiv in Braunschweig under *Bestandssignatur* H VI 6: 78. The Library of Congress has a partial copy among the militia cited in n. 25.

<sup>20</sup> A copy erroneously ascribed to "Captain Cleve" (Friedrich Christian was not promoted to that rank until 1780) is at the Library of Congress among the militia referred to in n. 25.

<sup>21</sup> Frensdorff 594.

<sup>22</sup> The table of contents in *Schlözer's Briefwechsel*, Theil IV, Heft 24 (1779):419 lists them correctly as "Vertrauliche Briefe aus NeuEngland, bis zum Jun. 1778."

<sup>23</sup> The entries "Briefe von Cleve aus Amerika. N[o]. 20" and "N[o]. 21" are in the same handwriting as several additions made around 1854 to the manuscript of the so-called *Diary of Du Roi the Elder*, as described on page 61 of my article (see n. 9).

<sup>24</sup> No. 32 B Alt 248 in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel. I am grateful to Ms. Christina Schröder for sending me a copy of this item.

<sup>25</sup> Sellers et al., 219, no. 1234.

<sup>26</sup> Sellers et al., 219, no. 1234. Specht was not ennobled to *von* Specht until 1785.

<sup>27</sup> Entitled "Diarium Von dem Marche der 2.ten Division Herzogl. Braunschweig. Lüneburg. Troupen, bestehend aus den Regimentern von Rhetz, Specht und dem Bataillon von Baerner," this section was written by Anton Adolf Heinrich Du Roi (1746-1823), Adjutant in the regiment Specht, and is essentially identical with the anonymously published *Tagebuch der Seereise von Stade nach Quebec in Amerika durch die zweyte Division Herzoglich Braunschweigischer Hülfsvölker* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: n.p., 1776).

<sup>28</sup> Belonging to William Duer (1747-99), a Member of Congress.

<sup>29</sup> The segment covering the events from 29 June to 10 July 1777 is identical with the part designated "No. 7" in the so-called *Journal of Du Roi the Elder*; see n. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Brigadier Specht's headquarters were in Batiscan from 29 October until early December 1776, when they were moved to Ste. Anne. Cf. Schüler von Senden, 157-58; "Journal of the Brunswick Corps in America under General von Riedesel," tr. V[alentine] C[hables] Hubbs, *Sources of American Independence. Selected Manuscripts from the Collection of the William L. Clements Library*, ed. Howard H. Peckham, 2 vols. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1978), 1:231-32. Hubbs fails to identify Friedrich Christian Cleve as the author of this journal, which runs from 6 Nov. 1776 to 10 July 1777.

<sup>31</sup> Several months after completing this paper, I finally obtained a copy of Hermann Handlow and Carl Kämpe, *Braunschweigische Offiziere als Freimaurer in Nordamerika und Holland*, Sonderdruck aus dem *Freimaurer-Museum*, vol. 6 (Zeulenroda: Sporn [1931]). It shows (19) that the description of a masonic funeral in Montreal, in Heinrich Urban Cleve's letter dated Batiscan, 2 Nov. 1776 (Ref. No. 7) and sent to his friend, Cammer-Rath Johann Heinrich von Schrader, was read to the lodge *Carl zur gekrönten Säule* in Braunschweig on 16 Jan. 1777. The essay also documents (18,43) that on 14 June 1780 Cleve was received into the German branch, organized by Brunswick officers, of an English military lodge in Charlottesville, VA. He became a member of the Braunschweig lodge on 19 Jan. 1784.