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"The Hessians and Who?" A Look at the Other Germans in the American War of Independence

Some say Columbus discovered the New World with the help of German-made navigational instruments. Perhaps this was a nationalistic way of laying claim to at least some of the fame of this discovery, if only vicariously. The fact is that when the major European powers established their colonial empires in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, Germany, because of her geographic location in the middle of the continent and due to political division and inner turmoil, was in no position to participate directly in securing for herself a share in the newly discovered parts of the world. This does not mean, however, as we well know, that the Germans were not every bit as curious in and intrigued by what the discoverers had found across the oceans, as the rest of the western world was. Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1494), a bestseller in its time, was the first literary work to mention the New World, its gold "vnd nacket lüt." In 1507 the German humanist and cartographer Martin Waldseemüller (ca. 1475-1520) used the name America for the first time in his *Cosmographiae introductio* wrongly assuming that Amerigo Vespucci had discovered the continent. As we gather from Harold Jantz's English translation of the passage in question Waldseemüller may have used the name in somewhat tongue-in-cheek fashion:

> I do not see why anyone should rightly forbid naming it Amerige, land of Americus as it were, after its discoverer Americus [Vespucci], a man of acute genius, or America, inasmuch as both Europe and Asia have received their names from women.[1]

There were also contemporary German translations of the first accounts of the New World given by Columbus, Vespucci, Pizzaro, and Cortés, and many maps, atlas-like nautical charts and globes produced by German artisans during the first half of the sixteenth century.[2] It should be remembered as well that Germans often were also involved in

early colonization efforts, although usually in the service of other countries. The brothers Ehinger, Nicolaus Federmann, and Philipp von Hutten attempted to conquer and colonize Venezuela for the Welsers of Augsburg who had contracted the rights for that territory with the Spanish Crown in 1528. Hutten's accounts were the first to be published (Augsburg, 1550),[3] followed by Federmann's *Indianische Historia* (1557). In the same year there appeared Hans Staden's *Wahrhafftig Historia* relating his American adventures (1547-1554) among which was one year spent as a prisoner of "cannibalistic Indians,"[4] and the year 1567 saw the publication of Ulrich Schmidel's *Neuwe Welt,* reporting on his twenty years (1534-1554) in Brazil.[5]

It was Peter Minnewit (Minuit) of the German city of Wesel who, as governor of the Dutch possessions in North America, purchased the island of Manhattan from the Indians in 1626 for sixty guilders. Few Germans settled in England's North American colonies during the first half of the seventeenth century, since the Thirty Years' War made such a venture next to impossible. The few who did come went to New York, Maryland and Virginia, but when William Penn established Pennsylvania the situation quickly changed. Germany and the United States of America this year commemorate the tercentenary of the founding (1683) of Germantown outside of Philadelphia when thirteen Mennonite families from the town of Krefeld under the guidance of their first mayor, Franz Daniel Pastorius, established their new community, the first entirely German settlement in the British colonies.

From that moment on there is a clearly recognizable intensification of interest among Germans in the New World. But retracing that development is neither the purpose nor the intent of this study.[6] Rather, it wants to recall a fact which has been widely neglected by historians here and abroad. Every American schoolchild learns the fact that German soldiers, collectively known as "Hessians," fought on the British side against the colonists during the War of Independence. This fact is also known to Germans particularly those who have read Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* (cf. the "Kammerdienerszene," II, ii), or know, which is somewhat less likely, Schubart's poems, Wieland's farsighted reports on America in *Der Teutsche Merkur,* or the writings of Seume and Forster, to name only the more significant ones. Those "white slaves" whose lives and services were leased to the British Crown by their own money-hungry German sovereigns generally do not enjoy the best reputation among Americans. On the other hand, a rather down-in-the-mouth Prussian captain by the name of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben became a hero of the Revolution by molding Washington's rag-tag army into an effective military force. But Steuben was not the only German to fight on the side of the colonists, there were at least two thousand more, and they are the ones who interest us here because the history books do not mention them. Information regarding them can be found in only a few highly specialized studies which apparently have not been able to amend the generally accepted historical picture. Just like their "Hessian" counterparts they did not fight under a flag of their own, and the irony of history even willed them to fight their German countrymen.

This kind of German military involvement on opposing sides is as good an indicator as any of the political, social, and economic situation prevailing in Germany in the eighteenth century but particularly during and after the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). We have to remember that the modern concept of nationalism was—perhaps fortunately—not known then. Many a young second- or third-born nobleman, whether Austrian, English, French, German or even Swiss who was not to inherit all or part of his family's estate or who came from a family where miltary service was a tradition would seek service as an officer in the army of a monarch who would have him. Should the fortunes of war or political circumstances change he might also change his allegiance and look for employment in the army or government of another sovereign.

Many of the German princes at that time were deeply in debt or bankrupt, in part as the result of the Seven Years' War, in part because they kept extravagant courts trying to imitate the splendor of Versailles. When the British war efforts against the rebellious colonies in North America began and it became obvious that the British forces for various reasons could not succeed, London sent emissaries to some of the impoverished German princes to propose the "rental" of their subjects as soldiers to help fight the war in America. (It is interesting to note that Russia and the Netherlands had declined such a proposal.) Between 1776 and 1783 six German sovereigns, those of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Hessen-Kassel, Hessen-Hanau, Waldeck, Ansbach-Bayreuth, and Anhalt-Zerbst agreed to lease some 30,000 soldiers and officers to England for the then exorbitant sum of ca. 1.8 million pounds sterling. Since Hessen-Kassel provided the largest contingent of about 17,000 men all German soldiers were soon known in the American colonies as the "Hessians." Historians assume that of those 30,000 only about 17,000 returned to Germany; approximately 8,000 are believed to have been killed in action, and that some 5,000 deserted and settled in the newly established United States.

These are generally well-known facts about the German involvement in the War of Independence. There is, however, another aspect of German participation which is hardly known at all. When Lieutenant General Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur Comte de Rochambeau and his son, Vicomte Donatien Marie-Joseph, left the French port city of Brest on May 2, 1780, for Newport, Rhode Island, where they arrived on July 11, they were in charge of an expeditionary force of about 5,700 soldiers and officers in four infantry regiments, the Bourbonnais, Royal Deux-Ponts, Saintongue, and Soissonais (1,150 men each), plus the Duc de Lauzun's proprietary legion of 300 infantrymen and 300 hussars, as well as a battalion of artillery from the Auxonne regiment.[7] Rochambeau wanted to take along two more regiments, Anhalt and Neustrie, but there were not enough ships available to transport them (Closen, p. 5, n. 11).

Prior to the French Revolution the French army included a number of foreign proprietary regiments such as German, Irish, and Swiss. One of those foreign infantry regiments going to America was owned and commanded by Colonel Christian Comte des Deux-Ponts and his

younger brother, Lieutenant Colonel Guillaume Vicomte des Deux-Ponts. The regiment had been established in 1756 and assigned by Duke Christian IV des Deux-Ponts to the King of France who promptly put it at the disposal of the Elector of Saxony to fight against Frederick II of Prussia. The territory of Deux-Ponts (Zweibrücken) was in the possession of the Counts Palatine of the Rhine (Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein) as early as the fourteenth century. In the early eighteenth century it became Swedish until 1731 when it reverted back to Germany. Only after the French Revolution did it pass to France for a few years before becoming part of Bavaria in 1799.[8] The Deux-Ponts regiment, or as it was also known by its German name at the time, ''Deutsches Königlich-Französisches Infanterie-Regiment von Zweybrücken, oder Royal Deux-Ponts,'' was entirely German-speaking including most of its officers. Among the non-French officers of this regiment who left written accounts of the American campaign were Baron Ludwig von Closen (German), Hans Axel Comte de Fersen (Swedish), Baron Gabriel-Gaspard de Gallatin (Swiss), Guillaume Comte de Schwerin (German), Baron Jean-Baptiste de Verger (Swiss), and Guillaume Vicomte des Deux-Ponts (German). The most extensive and detailed of those documents known today are the journals of Baron von Closen and Baron de Verger, both of whom remained personal friends and in the service of Zweibrücken even after it became Bavarian. At that time the Swiss de Verger became Johann Baptist Anton von Verger.

According to Closen's accounting of the expeditionary force it numbered ca. 5,700 men. With the Royal Deux-Ponts consisting of 1,150 German-speaking soldiers, most of Duc de Lauzun's legion being German mercenaries, and the second battalion of the Auxonne artillery regiment being made up mostly of Swiss draftees, it is safe to say that almost 2,000 of the 5,700 members of Rochambeau's army, i.e., 30-35%, were German or German-speaking. However, considering these foreign contingents within the French army as ''Germans'' or ''Swiss'' in the modern sense would be to disregard entirely eighteenth-century political and historical conditions. Ethnically these soldiers belonged to their respective groups but they also considered themselves as something like adopted sons of France, according to the German proverb ''Weß' Brot ich eß', deß' Lied ich sing'.'' The language spoken in the German units was German, the journals left by the various officers were written in French, the official language at most European courts as well as the language used in much of private correspondence among the educated of all European countries.

The ''Biographical Directory'' appended by E. M. Acomb to her edition of Closen's journal (pp. 339-65) provides interesting information as to the international makeup of the Deux-Ponts regiment's officers' corps (names already mentioned above will not be listed again with the exception of Fersen's):

> Joseph De Staack or Destaack (b. 1737), had entered the regiment d'Alsace, and in 1779 transferred to the Deux-Ponts as captain-commandant;

Baron Louis Eberhard d'Esebeck (b. 1740), captain, later lieutenant colonel, brother-in-law of Baron Christian Karl Wilh. von Closen, who had been colonel of the Deux-Ponts during the Seven Years' War, and was a relative of Ludwig's;

Hans Axel Comte de Fersen (1755-1810), son of a Swedish general and statesman, joined the French army in 1770 and became colonel of the Royal Suédois regiment; after Yorktown he was appointed second-colonel of the Deux-Ponts; he was devoted to Marie-Antoinette and assisted the French royal family in their flight to Varennes in 1791;

Charles Louis de Fladen or Flad (b. 1738), cadet in the service of the Palatinate, in 1777 appointed captain in the Deux-Ponts;

Baron Johan Henric von Fock (Swedish), aide to Rochambeau and de Lauzun;

Baron Karl Leopold von Fürstenwärther (1741-1802), Closen's uncle through his mother's second marriage, joined the Deux-Ponts in 1758 and became a captain in 1776;[9]

Baron Charles Ernest de Haacke (b. 1752), second-captain of the Deux-Ponts in 1779;

Bernard-Antoine de Klocker or Klock (b. 1736), captain-commander in 1778;

Guillaume Frédéric Bernard de Lützow (b. 1758), joined the Deux-Ponts in 1775;

Charles Adam de Mühlenfels (b. 1748), second-captain in 1779;

Guillaume Charles Rühle de Lilienstern (b. 1740), captain-commandant;

Chrétien Louis Philippe de Sundahl or Sunnahl (b. 1734), entered the service of Waldeck in 1754 and in 1779 became captain-commandant in the Deux-Ponts (he could just as well have served in the Waldeck unit on the British side);

Baron George Félix de Wimpffen (b. 1741), joined the Deux-Ponts in 1757;

Baron Jean Christoph de Wisch (b. 1739), captain in 1777.

The Musée Historique de Strasbourg owns one of the more remarkable documents attesting to the internationalism or cosmopolitanism in the eighteenth century. It is a handbill printed in Strasbourg in 1775, advertising in German and French that the "Deutsches Königlich-Französisches Infanterie-Regiment von Zweybrücken, oder Royal Deux-Ponts" welcomes recruits to its ranks:

> Auf Befehl des Königs.
>
> Kund und zu wissen seye hiemit jedermänniglich, daß wer Lust hat, unter obgemeltem Regiment für 4 oder 8 Jahre Dienste zu nehmen, der kann sich bey Herrn Von Latuch in Sunthaim [M. de La Touche] melden, welcher ihm gutes Handgeld und richtige Capitulation ertheilen wird. Es genießen solche bey diesem Regiment den Vortheil, daß sie gratis sowol im Tanzen und Fechten, als Schreiben unterrichtet werden. Junge Leute in deutsch- und französischer Sprache erfahren, dabey von guter Aufführung, werden bald avanciret werden. Wer einen schönen Mann zuweisen wird, soll wohl belohnet werden.[10]

Hans Christoph Friedrich Ignatz Ludwig Baron von Closen-Haydenburg, the author of *The Revolutionary Journal*, descendant of one of Bavaria's oldest families through its Rhenish line, was born in "Monsheim near Worms, in territory of the House of Leiningen attached to

Pfalz-Zweibrücken'' (Closen, p. xxii). His birth date is uncertain, inasmuch as Closen gave it as 1755, the church records at Monsheim state August 14, 1752, and credentials at the War Ministry in Paris list it as 1754 (Closen, p. xxii). His father was a military man serving for a while as captain in the regiment of Baden-Durlach and at the time of his death (1765) as lieutenant colonel for the Dutch Netherlands. His mother was a Baroness von La Roche-Starkenfels who ''was re-married in 1768 to Baron Ernst Ferdinand Ludwig von Fürstenwärther (1737-1821), a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment'' (Closen, p. xxiii), who, however, did not go to America as did his brother Karl Leopold, young Closen's step-uncle. Closen ''entered military service as a sub-lieutenant on September 10, 1769, at the age of fourteen or seventeen'' (Closen, p. xxiii), advancing very fast due to being ''pleasing, very industrious, extremely intelligent, [and] especially well-informed'' (Closen, p. xxiii). He left for America as a second-captain and was picked by Rochambeau as one of his aides-de-camp in which position he had not only access to first-hand intelligence information but also frequently met George Washington and other leaders of the American forces as Rochambeau's special envoy (Closen, p. xxvi). His direct knowledge of operational plans and acquaintance with leading personalities are reflected in his journal and make it one of the most valuable sources for the French involvement in the Revolutionary War.

Prior to his departure for America Closen had become engaged to his step-father's daughter, Baroness Dorothea Friederike Karoline von Fürstenwärther, whose mother (d. 1765) had been Juliana Mariana Karoline von Günderrode. Closen married Dorothea upon his return in 1783 and they had one son and four daughters, as had his own parents. Dorothea died in Munich in 1800 leaving an inconsolable husband and their five young children (Closen, p. xxxii). The Closens' lives had not been easy. Although his military career advanced him to major-general in 1792, the French Revolution forced him to resign and leave France for Zweibrücken,

> because his native sovereign, the Duc des Deux-Ponts, had threatened repeatedly to forbid him to return to his estates in the Duchy, or had proposed to confiscate them, if he continued to serve in France. He also claimed that he felt the French would think ill of him if he bore arms against his own fatherland. (Closen, p. xxxi)

Times obviously were no longer the same as only thirty-five years earlier when the French Royal Deux-Ponts regiment fought the King of Prussia in the service of Saxony! When French forces occupied the Palatinate in 1793 the Closens' wanderings began and severe financial and material losses ensued. In 1801 Closen was able to return to Zweibrücken, and in 1803 started writing a series of letters to Napoleon whom he asked for a position, but to no avail. Finally, in 1806, he was appointed sub-prefect of Simmern (Hunsrück), one of three arrondissements in the department Rhin-et-Moselle. After the defeat of Napoleon Closen retired from service (1813) and moved to Mannheim where he died on August 9, 1830 (Closen, pp. xxxii-xxxv).

As Macomb states in her introduction it "was for the entertainment of his family and friends that [Closen] began keeping his Journal" (Closen, p. xxiv). It provides fascinating and often highly entertaining reading reflecting the author's intelligence, curiosity, perceptiveness, compassion and sense of humor. The journal with its 338 printed pages takes the reader from the city of Brest across the Atlantic, giving the exact course of the ships with daily readings of latitude and longitude, to the arrival in Newport. On June 18 they captured an English ship and learned of the surrender of Charleston (May, 1780). On June 20 the French fleet had a short encounter with the British under Capt. Cornwallis west-southwest of the Bermudas. In the evening of July 11 the French ships entered the harbor of Newport, Rhode Island, and the last of the troops who were severely weakened by seasickness and the usual scurvey were disembarked on July 15. Almost to the day two years prior to that another French fleet, under the command of Count d'Estaing, had done considerable damage to British warships and land forces at Newport among whom were Hessian and Ansbach regiments.[11]

Closen's journal reports on life in Newport, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Virginia as well as his various special missions which gave him many opportunities to meet the most important persons leading the revolutionary effort. A list of their names including not only the Washington family and Thomas Jefferson, but John Paul Jones, Heath, Lafayette, John Hancock, Samuel Cooper, et al., reads like a "Who's Who" of the time. Visits to Mt. Vernon and Monticello with private chats with their owners add substantially to the fascination emanating from this well-written document. Closen describes in detail the march from Newport to Yorktown, the siege, battle, and victory on October 19, 1781. After staying in winter quarters in Virginia, mainly in Williamsburg, until July 1, 1782, the French forces marched back to New England. While in New York State, Closen is dispatched by Rochambeau to Boston to negotiate embarkation for the West Indies. He then goes from Boston to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, returns to the troops in New York, sometimes covering as much as one hundred miles on horseback in one day, marches back to Providence with them and eventually returns to Boston. Here the army embarks on December 23, 1782, for the West Indies and Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, whence it returned to France, landing at Brest on June 17, 1783, a little over three years after its departure.

It is not the purpose of this study to provide a comprehensive picture of Closen's journal nor would it be possible to do so in view of the mass of information contained in the diary. In this tricentennial year of the founding of Germantown, emphasis should be placed on what a man like Closen, who saw that first German settlement in North America one hundred years after it had been established, knew and thought about the German element in the young United States as well as its people. Although his allegiance is clearly to "his" army, Closen does indicate more than casual interest in things German in this country without chasing after them in an obvious manner.

On September 2, 1781, on the way to Yorktown, Closen together "with the generals" whom he does not identify paid a visit to Germantown

> to see the battlefield . . . , where there was a very hot fight, October 4, 1777. We reached it after travelling 6 miles [from Philadelphia] through very beautiful but almost completely sandy country. The village consists of a single street, more than 2 miles in length; only two small streets intersect it. There are some fine residences, but that is all. (Closen, p. 119)

Returning in August of 1782 Closen mentions that on the right bank of the Susquehanna a "city is to be built . . . , quite near the mouth, to be called *Frenchtown* [Havre de Grace]," since many French wanted to settle there in order to carry on commerce. Somewhat sarcastically he draws a parallel to "*Germantown* near Philadelphia," where such plans "would be ill advised" (Closen, p. 228). But he was clearly delighted to meet some of his German countrymen in and around Philadelphia. The people, their language and customs, the countryside, the climate, and the layout of Philadelphia with its "very wide, and well built streets, which form squares (as in Mannheim)" (Closen, p. 117) recalled to him his "dear native land; and although I was pursuing adventure more than 1800 leagues from there, I felt, I declare, as if I had been transplanted suddenly to the center of the beautiful Palatinate," but, alas, without the "good Rhine wine" (Closen, p. 116)! Frankfort, now part of Philadelphia, he calls "a large and charming village that German emigrés *from the Rhineland* have built. . . . There I found two former subjects of the Günderrode family:[12] a *Frick* and a *Geil*, natives of *Duchroth* [on the Nahe], who left Germany in 1763" (Closen, p. 116).[13] A man named Euler, from the same village, "one of our former subjects," and "the man on my right" on the battlefield at Yorktown, "was wounded in a rather peculiar way. As he was marching along, a bomb splinter took off the thick skin from the heel of his foot, just as if it had been cut off with a razor" (Closen, p. 151). Closen commiserated with the unfortunate victim who was hospitalized for quite a while and "finally could walk only with a crutch" (Closen, p. 151).

There is no evidence that Closen looked at Hessians and other German soldiers in the British army with any particular favor or prejudice. In describing the city of Trenton he mentions "the ravages of the Hessians (who made themselves hated by their lack of discipline and of consideration for the peaceful inhabitants during their winter quarters in the Jerseys) . . . " (Closen, p. 115). This statement, although seemingly condemning of his countrymen, has to be seen in the light of his general attitude toward the British—mostly negative—and the Americans—usually positive. How "peaceful" inhabitants of enemy occupied territory normally are is a matter of perspective. After the battle of Yorktown when the British forces filed past the Americans to put down their arms Closen thought the English looked more tired "and much less heroic than the Anspach regiments, who were very handsome and very neatly dressed, better even than the Hessians" (Closen, p. 153).

This is confirmed by Verger who describes the British soldiers as well dressed and then states that the "Hessian regiments, and especially those of Anspach, are as handsome troops as one could see anywhere" (Rice/Brown, p. 151). Verger further indicates that after the surrender "tokens of sympathy" were shown by the French army towards the English and Hessians, an attempt at fraternizing which aroused "much jealousy" among the American officers. The French forces also "tried in every way to soften the lot of the defeated officers by offering to do for them whatever was in our power as individuals. We amused ourselves with the Hessians and Anspachers as far as their situation would permit" (Rice/Brown, p. 151). There thus seems to have been at least some feeling of solidarity among the European enemies from which the Americans were excluded.

Closen singles out the Hessian regiment of Bose[14] as having "served throughout this war with the greatest distinction, and during the entire siege not a man deserted from it, whereas we received many Anspach deserters and two English nationals" (Closen, p. 154). He also mentions the "bravery and *high spirits of the Hessians*" under the command of Colonel Karl von Donop during the fighting at Fort Mercer, New Jersey, on October 22, 1777 (Closen, pp. 121-22).

On the subject of desertion of which both sides of Germans were very much aware during the conflict Closen makes some pertinent observations highlighting the problem. Philadelphia and all of Pennsylvania harbored more Germans from the Palatinate than from Hesse or any other German state that had leased their subjects to England. Closen remarks that the "soldiers of the Deux-Ponts regiment found many relatives in Philadelphia, who came to see them in camp. That necessitated our redoubling our efforts to prevent desertion, for there are many of them who would prefer to seek their fortune in this country" (Closen, p. 120). By the time the French had reached Hartford from Providence on their way south, the Deux-Ponts had lost three men because of desertion, and the Soissonais nine, and Closen hopes the numbers will not increase "since all Germans find it attractive in the interior of the country to become farmers or *field-servants*" (Closen, p. 86). Desertions continued in winter quarters in Virginia (Closen, p. 191) and were reported shortly before embarkation in Boston for the West Indies (Closen, p. 269). Closen learned later that several deserters from the Deux-Ponts regiment settled in the "very prosperous town" of Frankfort near Philadelphia (Closen, p. 116). Others, less fortunate, were captured "by some Americans, *good Whigs,* and were flogged" (Closen, p. 91). This clearly suggests that the Germans in Rochambeau's army serving the French Crown were not any happier or more willing regarding their military service in America than their countrymen on the other side.

Both Verger and Closen comment on the large number of German immigrants living in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Verger marvels at the large population of Baltimore and the fact that "more than two-thirds are Germans who came to America under various auspices" (Rice/Brown, p. 160).[15] He assigns the same percentage of Germans to

Philadelphia (Rice/Brown, p. 162), whereas Closen "was assured that one-tenth of the city was German and that in the county of Lancaster, which is forty miles from here, especially in *Bethlehem,* all the inhabitants were Germans" (Closen, p. 120). Verger's journal echoes this information but with another exaggeration: "The whole of Pennsylvania is populated with nothing but Germans," a fact to which he attributes the countryside as being "extremely well cultivated" (Rice/Brown, p. 163). The Swiss Verger seemed to identify more strongly with the German element than did Closen. "There are many of *our* Moravians living in communities that share their possessions in common," we read in Verger (Rice/Brown, p. 163). Closen is somewhat more objective when he refers to the Pennsylvania Germans, most of whom "are reputed to be Moravians (or Herrnhuter). They have a magnificent establishment [in Bethlehem]. They, as well as those in Newport [Closen, p. 53], still correspond with members of their faith in Germany, reported to be in Zinzendorf, in Moravia, and along the Rhine, in Neuwied, etc." (Closen, p. 120).

The existence of the many religious groups for obvious reasons amazed both Closen and Verger. The former noted "that there is no country on the globe where there is so much tolerance as in America" (Closen, p. 250). He often encountered six to eight denominations in the same town, such as Anglicans, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, New Lights and Methodists.[16] He once heard a Presbyterian minister during a sermon "after dinner" find much fault with the "New Lights" who were moved by religious revival and believed in justification by faith and in an austere morality.[17] Verger states for Baltimore that all "religions are sanctioned here: the Catholics have a church . . . , as well as the Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Herrnhuter . . . , and Anabaptists" (Rice/Brown, p. 160).

Closen does not allow himself the time to dwell on the individual rites and dogmas of these various groups, but he does go into considerable detail regarding the "peculiarities of one sect, distinguished by the surname of Dunker, nearest to the Moravian brothers (or Herrnhuter) in principles" (Closen, p. 250).[18] He had obtained very particular information regarding the Dunker establishment in both Lancaster and Bethlehem from "reliable and precisely informed travellers" (Closen, p. 252). In Bethlehem they have two large and spacious buildings, one housing young girls, the other young boys. A vow of chastity is demanded for admission to the group. Only by special dispensation may permission be obtained from the elders to marry later on. Their statutes require that two general assemblies must be held each year, those days being their greatest holidays, when "they renew their confession of faith, . . . and pledge mutual *charity, fidelity, friendship,* and *protection against their enemies*" (Closen, p. 251). Both sexes own their property in common and are economically self-sufficient in order to protect themselves from neighbors and outsiders of different faiths. They believe in the Trinity, but do not regard baptism or communion as sacraments. Baptism at age fourteen is followed immediately by communion and confession of faith. If two young people fall in love they

inform their supervisors who inquire whether there are any moral blemishes to be found in either person. After this examination and without any more ceremony each has to appear before his/her own assembly. Then the girl, accompanied by two eldresses, is taken to the men's chamber where both repeat before the entire assembly their wish to marry, to live together in peace and friendship, ''and their willingness to follow the precepts of their respective sexes, which are read to them separately'' (Closen, p. 252). They are then given a little cottage, furniture, cattle and a piece of land, where in ''general, they live very peacefully and do not know the luxury or the vanities of this world'' (Closen, p. 252). It is obvious that for some reason the Dunkers had made an especially strong impression on Closen.

Verger's and Closen's journals are characterized by close observations of customs, flora and fauna, climate and countryside all of which are compared to what they were used to in their homelands. Both had a keen eye for female beauty which, in their opinion, excelled that of their European sisters. Surprisingly, perhaps, neither comments on having met any influential people among the German-Americans, except for a fleeting reference by Verger to Dr. Wiesenthal—a Prussian—and Mr. Zollikhoffer—of Zürich—both living in Baltimore and being among the founders of the German Society of that city (Rice/Brown, p. 161, n. 130).

There is quite frequent and occasionally significant mention made of Blacks and Indians which, on the whole, does not differ substantially from other contemporary accounts. Some references deserve being presented here. On July 4, 1781, Closen went to see General Washington at White Plains where he had the chance to observe, obviously at a parade, ''the American army, man for man. . . . It was really painful to see these brave men, almost naked, with only some trousers and little linen jackets, most of them without stockings, but, would you believe it? very cheerful and healthy in appearance. A quarter of them were negroes, merry, confident and sturdy'' (Closen, p. 89). Of the Rhode Island regiment he says in a highly complimentary fashion that three quarters of it consist of ''negroes and that [this] regiment is the most neatly dressed, the best under arms, and the most precise in its maneuvers'' (Closen, p. 92). In winter quarters in Virginia Closen, alone and lost, once came upon ''a pitiful little negro cabin'' and asked one of its ''inmates'' to help him find his way (Closen, p. 179). In a concise manner he describes Virginia's high society, ''the aristocracy of the country,'' who live most elegantly and comfortably while their slaves are treated most inhumanely. The description of Blacks given here, although rather detached but very much to the point and in agreement with most contemporary European accounts of slavery and the character of Blacks, deserves to be cited in full:

> The large number of negroe slaves that they hold are often treated very harshly and even cruelly, are left to run around almost naked, and are not considered to be much better than animals. The whites believe that they debase themselves if they engage in the work they say is fit only for these wretched beings. I should observe that in New England there are almost no negro *slaves* any longer, whereas in the *southern* provinces all

> the negroes are still enslaved. In general, despotism and aristocracy are the rule in Virginia more than elsewhere. A beagle, a *lap-dog*, very often leads a happier life and is much better fed than the poor negroes or mulattoes, who have only their allowance of corn daily with which to do as they please. They have salt meat only once a week. That is the way these miserable beings live. It is true that they recoup themselves often with their light-fingered hands and pilfer some victuals, even money, with incredible dexterity. They are thievish as magpies or faithful as gold: my good Peter, born of *free* parents in Connecticut, belonged to the latter class. (Closen, p. 187)[19]

Apparently, Closen makes a connection here between the Blacks' behavior and the way they are treated by their white masters, and seems to indicate that if they are born free they are also decent human beings, although there is no indication that he believed in equality between Black and White.

Closen's abhorrence of the slave trade is stated clearly when the French fleet came upon a slave ship under Austrian flag bound for Haiti from the coast of Guinea:

> The commerce (or better, the trade) in negroes is an abominable and cruel thing, in my opinion. On board these ships they are treated worse than beasts; men are on one side, and women on the other, in the forepart of the ship. There is an iron chain which crosses from one side to the other, to which they are all attached, 2 by two, except for the few who are necessary for assistance in the maneuvers. All these unfortunate beings are naked, and at the least movement that does not suit the Captain, they are beaten to a pulp. Their diet consists only of *biscuits* (often moldy or full of maggots) and *rice*, sometimes of salted meat, and rarely, even of some brandy. The loss of a fifth of them, from sickness or despair during a voyage of 2 or 3 months, is expected. (Closen, pp. 286-87)

Closen correctly saw the differences between Blacks and their treatment in North and South America where part of the French fleet was stationed for a while in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, before heading back to France. The Blacks there had better bearing and were more handsome than the ones in the North, leading Closen to assume that they were brought over from "the most advanced districts in Africa" (Closen, p. 304). Conversely, the South American Indians are worse off than their Northern counterparts since the government keeps all colonists, but particularly the Indians, "stupid and ignorant (through priests)" in order "to prevent them from thinking of throwing off their yoke, as the North Americans have done" (Closen, p. 304).

A close look is also taken at Blacks in the French part of the island of Santo Domingo where Closen learns that there are "34,650 whites, 6,036 free blacks or mulattoes, and 300,000 slaves," the latter obviously more or less! Yet there is a distinct difference in the treatment of slaves from that in North America. Blacks gather in the market place to barter small commodities they possess for some furnishings, trinkets, etc. (Closen, p. 318). On the plantations they are no longer treated quite as cruelly as in earlier years although Closen is quick to add that this is not due to a

more humane way of thinking but due to self-interest on the part of their owners. The terrible treatment even of pregnant slaves used to cost too many lives. Replacing slaves at the rate of 6% a year because of death, infirmity or desertion had become too expensive for the owners and/or their managers, a Black costing from 3,000 to 4,000 francs (Closen, p. 318).

Of Indians there is not much mention with one notable exception, and that is the detailed description of the visit at Newport from August 29—Closen writes 28—to September 2, 1780, "of 19 *savages*,[20] members of some Indian tribes that still remain attached to France after the loss of Canada" (Closen, p. 37).[21] During their visit they were "treated with much distinction," as Closen puts it (p. 39), obviously for political reasons. They were thirteen Oneidas and Tuscaroras and five Caughnawagas (Rice/Brown, p. xx) from the Sault of St. Louis, a village of Iroquois Indians south of Montréal which had long been under French and Jesuit influence before 1763. Governor Philip Schuyler of New York had sent the delegation along with interpreters to strengthen relations between the branches of the Six Nations and the United States, detach them from the British, and convince them of the existence of an alliance between the United States and France. All the accounts of this visit reflect varying degrees of bewilderment, prejudice and ignorance on the part of the authors when they were confronted with these "savages." There is no indication whether our reporters had ever heard or read about the "noble savage" who was made so much of by leaders of French and European thought at the time. But those philosophers and writers had never met an Indian in person, their noble ideas had been exercises in philosophy. The reader may be assured that none of the comments made by the members of Rochambeau's army betray any understanding of or even attempt at comprehending the Indians' different looks, language, behavior, customs, dress, etc., thus placing the Indians in a category quite different from the Blacks who were generally looked upon more sympathetically.

The Comte de Charlus (cf. n. 21 above) concentrated his views of the Indians on their behavior and reactions to the unfamiliar French officers and soldiers. He describes their "embarrassement" when seated at the table with Rochambeau and his staff, their obvious amazement, delight and amusement when the army maneuvered before them, their terror when cannons were fired, the pleasure with which they went to Mass as if they were going to the theater.[22] Their cries of amazement "resembled rather the howls of animals"; when they did one of their dances "one would think they were wild animals," "their war whoops are at least . . . as terrifying" as their dances, but Charlus nevertheless came to the conclusion that "these people [were] very civilized for savages."[23] How he was able to judge them "not a very honest people" he does not say.

Closen and Verger both were interested primarily in the Indians' physical appearance, but also their manners and behavior. One does not detect any tolerance or understanding of the "savages" here either, they obviously appeared to be anything but "noble" to them. Verger sketched two of the Indians, and Closen, according to Rice/Brown (p.

xx), copied these drawings for his own journal.[24] Closen begins his description by stating that "one cannot imagine the horrible and singular faces and bizarre manners of these people" (Closen, p. 37). He speaks of their "brownish, almost bronze" complexion and their hair which "was fastened in shining black braids and attached to the top of the head by a string or a bit of hide" (Closen, p. 37). While almost all had pierced ears and noses "some of them had slashed their ears in several places"; ornaments fastened to their pierced noses seemed to indicate the bearer's trade such as "bow, chisel, horseshoe, etc., etc." (Closen, p. 38). The blankets which they wore over their pearl shell- or glass bead-decorated loin cloths are described as exactly as the chiefs' sandals and other pieces of clothing. The Indians' language was only so much gibberish to Closen's and Verger's ears, but they never asked themselves what their French or German must have sounded like to the "savages." Everything Closen heard was pronounced like prattling, and "in a monotonous and singing tone, with the last syllables heavily accented" (Closen, p. 38). He was not exactly fond of their battle cries, their dancing and music because it began with humming and increased to a "piercing and disgusting" pitch, accompanying their "gestures, grimaces, and contortions of the eyes, body, feet, etc.," all of which was "distasteful" (Closen, p. 38). But the most repulsive aspect of the red men's appearance seems to have been their body paint which was "lubricated with a reddish oil." Through the exertion of dancing all the colors gradually blended and appeared "only as a shining, slimy mass, . . . with the oil running down the body, forming some irregular features, as on maps" (Closen, p. 38). Closen remarks that most of the Indians were tall and well shaped, "*very* MUSCULAR in *build*" and yet very supple. "All of them seemed to us to be very carnivorous," which he attributed to the fact that at home they lived mostly on game and fish! In return for blankets, knives, and other hardware they left "their *sandals, belts,* and . . . also some *scalps.* That is enough for these *savages,*" Closen finally notes (Closen, p. 39).

There are some interesting marginal remarks made by Closen and Verger regarding one of the interpreters, a German, whom the Comte de Charlus also mentions in his report. Closen calls him "a person named Frey, a German (native of Schwetzingen)"—Verger says "from near Mannheim" (Rice/Brown, p. 121)—"who had lived among them since the year 1758, and who . . . had learned their language." The Indians seemed to like him very much, and he assured the French officers "that he would end his days among them" (Closen, p. 39). Verger corroborates this statement be remarking that the German, according to his own account, would not "leave a country where he was his own master and . . . part from these good people to return to a place where he would be a slave" (Rice/Brown, p. 123).[25]

A quick look should perhaps be taken at Closen's and Verger's remarks about the colleges they saw and the fact that they were somewhat interested in them at all. Having praised the "cheerful and pleasant disposition" of the citizens of Providence that is also "apparent in their houses and streets," Closen has this to say about the College of

Rhode Island (since 1804 Brown University): "The most noteworthy building [in town] is the college,[26] which is very spacious and very well constructed; it is located high on a height behind the city, whence there is a very fine view. There the army hospital was established, even while we were still in Newport, as much because of the healthful air as because of the ease with which the employees could be brought together here" (Closen, p. 83). At least under the French this now venerable building served people; earlier, during the British occupation, it was used as a stable for horses.

The College of William and Mary in Williamsburg was affected similarly during the time the French forces occupied it. Closen saw the college as one of "three large, very well constructed buildings" in Williamsburg, the others being the Capitol and the Governor's Palace. Like Brown, William and Mary was "*without professors* and *students*" and "about to be used for the establishment of hospitals and for the army depot." One of the wings of the College burned down on November 23, 1781, four days after the arrival of the French, and the French King, according to Closen, "got off for £12,000 in damages, in a settlement that M. de Rochambeau negotiated with the President, Mr. Madison, who had lost a large part of his library and several very fine physics instruments" (Closen, p. 166; Verger gives a less detailed account [Rice/Brown, p. 153 and n. 108]).

During his first visit to Boston on one of his frequent special missions Closen took time out on the afternoon of March 18, 1781, to visit Cambridge where the "college is the most remarkable object, as much for the size of the building as for the establishment in general. There are 10 professors, paid by the state; 250 scholars, who pay only a very moderate fee, attend the college. There are 15,000 volumes in the library, which is very well selected" (Closen, p. 72). The whole structure, as he puts it, which included five "wings," i.e., halls, "is so clean and orderly that the foreigner can only be charmed by it" (Closen, p. 72). What fascinated him most at Harvard was, however—"the very well stuffed skin of a rattle snake. It is 12 feet long and 16 inches in circumference" (Closen, p. 72). About this reptile, which must have been one of the biggest rattlers of all times, he discoursed at length with "the Professor of Physics" in his "natural history museum."

In Philadelphia "there is a very famous College with the title of *University*" (Closen, p. 117). No further description of the University of Pennsylvania is given. Maybe Closen did not have much time to look at that institution more closely during his first visit to Philadelphia—late August, early September, 1781, on the way to Yorktown—although his vivid accounts of various social activities there and a visit to M. Du Simitière's *Kuriositätenkabinett* (Closen, p. 118) would indicate otherwise. On the return from Virginia to New England, exactly one year later, Closen visited the same establishment again, but this time actually also "went to the College to see the *orrery*," which he found very curious and "extremely well made." He admired this "*Sea Clock*" because of its usefulness to navigators whom it helps calculate a ship's position. Closen also knows that this orrery "was made by the same

man [David Rittenhouse]'' who built the unassembled one at Princeton (Closen, p. 230). So much for education and its institutions in America where ''nature is very beautiful, but art and education have not yet attained the degree of perfection to be found in Europe'' (Closen, p. 209). In a note added later Closen does concede, however, that ''since 1783 the arts, sciences, and taste have made astonishing progress there'' (Closen, p. 209, n. 7).

In concluding this view of the ''other Germans'' during the War of Independence it may be fitting to point out what these visitors thought of their hosts. Verger does not give us much of an idea as to his opinion of Americans in general. This kind of information is much more abundant in Closen's journal. His greatest admiration goes to the American troops, Whites and Blacks, men of every age, ''even children of fifteen,'' who, ''almost naked, unpaid, and rather poorly fed, can march so well and withstand fire so steadfastly'' (Closen, p. 102). Closen does give credit for precision, bearing and discipline of the American army ''to the labors and zeal of General *Steuben,* a German baron by birth, . . . and to his subordinate, Colonel *Stewart,* an excellent officer, who has learned M. de Steuben's style perfectly'' (Closen, p. 242). Whether Closen or Verger ever had any personal contact with Steuben could not be ascertained. Closen was, however, also aware of the demoralizing effect which lack of pay, food and clothing had on the American troops. He mentions the mutiny of the ''Pennsylvania line [regiment], quartered near Morristown in the Jerseys,'' that had been instigated by a German and an Irishman who were both hanged. Closen assures his readers that in Europe armies would mutiny for less cause (Closen, p. 54).

As has been mentioned before, Closen and Verger were quite taken by the charm, ''modesty and sweetness of demeanor'' of the women, especially those of Rhode Island, whom ''nature has endowed . . . with very fine features'' (Closen, pp. 50-51). The Quakers, women and men, called forth his admiration for their seriousness, love of their neighbors, their horror of anything destructive and their love of peace. Closen seems to have been enamored of all women, but particularly the witty, charming, beautiful and young. He usually found the women of any town he happened to be visiting the most beautiful of all, whether it was Newport, Williamsburg, Baltimore, Philadelphia or Boston. He drew silhouettes of twelve of them, two in Newport and ten in Virginia, the two places where he had the most time to indulge in this pastime. The silhouettes and the names of those depicted are to be found facing pages 137 and 164 respectively.

In general, Closen was struck again and again by how easy and free the Americans' manners were, that people did things such as leaning ''on your neighbor without ceremony,'' or putting ''your elbows on the table during dinner,'' which would have been considered evidence of poor breeding in France. He is amazed at how often and at every opportunity Americans shake hands, something he attributes to English manners and compares unfavorably to the French custom of embracing and kissing (Closen, pp. 47, 171). The many toasts that had to be drunk

on various occasions he found very tiring, perhaps because scarcely any wine "*but dry Madeira* is drunk in this country," and a good Bordeaux, which is called "*French claret,*" is rarely found. He is also amazed that the Americans whose outward appearance suggests "carelessness, and almost thoughtlessness," make such good, brave, and disciplined soldiers (Closen, p. 49)! Related to this easy-going attitude of Americans is what to Closen "appears to be the American principle *to work only on threatened places,*" a remark made in connection with the construction of Fort Mifflin on the Delaware. The Americans "are really trying to finish this fortification, but God only knows when it will be done" (Closen, p. 121).

There is another characteristic which he observed on numerous occasions in the affluent circles in which he and his colleagues moved for the most part. He cannot find enough words of praise for American hospitality and sociability he encountered wherever he went. However, he draws the line when socializing became an end in itself, was practiced to excess, i.e., when people, such as Virginia's high society, "the *Carter, Randolph, Harrison, Byrd,* etc., families . . . abandon themselves to it, perhaps with too much relish, thinking only of amusing themselves and scarcely concerning themselves with their estates" (Closen, p. 187).

The other side of the coin, so to speak, is the Americans' hunger for money. When cash started running out for the French army in May of 1781, shortly before the march to Yorktown, loans had to be arranged—it is not said through whom—"for as much as 25, 30, and 33 per cent" (Closen, p. 78). When traveling alone on some of his frequent special missions Closen often had to find overnight accommodations at one of the many roadside inns of questionable reputation and cleanliness. "[The] Americans occasionally do scruple to bleed us as much as they can, and when one arrives at a tavern *at night,* they are even more demanding. The next day they present the bill, and many times I have had to pay, in addition to the charge for food and forage, *'for the trouble,'* 2-4-6 crowns" (Closen, p. 128). On the other hand, not only did the American army pay for neither wood nor forage, or anything else for that matter, "*the soldiers plunder a great deal* (and almost by turns)" (Closen, p. 259). After the battle of Yorktown American "deputy quartermasters acted shamefully" by taking *gratis* "surely half" of the merchandise left in some merchants' shops (Closen, p. 156). Closen sees one reason for this unsoldierlike behavior in the fact that the soldiers and some officers were not paid on time, and claimed that they had not been paid for two or three years. He blames contractors who "are trying to make too large profits" for sometimes not delivering rations punctually (Closen, p. 259). The most frequent complaints were "claims for damages from the proprietors" (Closen, p. 257). When Rochambeau broke camp at Crompond (Yorktown), New York, on his way to Boston on October 22, 1782, his landlord, "among others, demanded 1,800 livres damages for something that was worth at most 400," although the French had built a 1½ mile aqueduct which not only provided water for the troops but also turned the landlord's mill. Upon the General's

refusal to pay, the owner summoned the sheriff who declared Rochambeau his prisoner. Uproarious laughter followed, but the General kept his composure and directed the sheriff to address himself to General Washington, whereupon "this fine Monsieur went off like a naughty boy" (Closen, p. 258). In order to save the French army's reputation three impartial experts were employed who estimated the damages at only six hundred francs that were paid immediately. Governor Clinton dismissed the sheriff, "and the good miller was out of his money, since he had to pay all the expenses" (Closen, pp. 258-59). Such are the ways of war.

There is one aspect of the purpose of the American Revolution, for the success of which the French contingent had come across the Atlantic Ocean at immense financial expense and personal hardship, that is entirely absent in the journals of these military men whether French, German, or Swiss, and that is the political significance of the struggle. It was obviously seen by these professional soldiers as a military exercise like any other. If they harbored different ideas about the American Revolution they did not express them. The French government, an absolutistic monarchy, was not interested in the thirteen colonies' political independence or their inhabitants' freedom per se; that would have been quite paradoxical. France had lost Canada to the British and had been defeated by the Prussians and British in Europe during the Seven Years' War. Russia, Prussia and Austria had strengthened their respective positions by dividing Poland among themselves. The opportunity of weakening England, her greatest threat in Europe and abroad, was the strongest incentive that helped push France into the American War. But England was the real winner nevertheless. She no longer had to bear the financial burden of governing the American colonies but continued enjoying trade relations with her former subjects. The exorbitant expense of the French mission in North America and in the Caribbean, on the other hand, led that country deeper into debt and a significant step closer to the Revolution of 1789. There were no freedom fighters among the French, they were good soldiers and loyal subjects *de Sa Majesté très-Chrétienne*. One could only say that the deserters were the ones who demonstrated a love for independence and freedom—for themselves, and doing the same as their Hessian countrymen against whom they had fought. The Indians at Newport were the ones who showed political acumen or at least dared come out with it. During their visit one of them asked General Rochambeau:

> "Father," he said to me, "it is very astonishing that the King of France, our father, sends his fighters to protect the Americans in an insurrection against the King of England, their father."—"Your father, the King of France," I told him, "protects the natural liberty that God has given to man. The Americans have been burdened with loads which they could no longer bear. He found their complaints to be just: we shall be everywhere the friends of their friends and the enemies of their enemies. . . ."[27]

Rochambeau concludes with a rather revealing afterthought: "It was in that way that I got out of, well or poorly, a situation which I could not help finding embarrassing."[28]

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Notes

[1] Harold Jantz, "Images of America in the German Renaissance," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. F. Chiapelli (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976), p. 98.

[2] Cf. Albert R. Schmitt, "The Elusive Philipp von Hutten: Colonizer in Venezuela," *Journal of German-American Studies*, 13, No. 3 (1978), 64.

[3] Cf. Schmitt, n. 2 above.

[4] On the question of cannibalism in general and on Hans Staden's accounts of that alleged practice in particular see the eminently readable study by W. Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979); on Staden see pp. 22-30, 35, 176. Of general interest is the comprehensive anthropological, social, and cultural study by Urs Bitterli, *Die "Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten": Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung* (München: Beck, 1976).

[5] On Federmann, Schmidel, and Staden see Duncan Smith, ". . . 'beschreibung einer Landtschafft der Wilden / Nacketen / Grimmigen Menschenfresser Leuthen': The German Image of America in the Sixteenth Century," in *The German Contribution to the Building of the Americas: Studies in Honor of Karl J. R. Arndt*, ed. Gerhard Friesen and Walter Schatzberg (Worcester, MA: Clark Univ. Press, 1977), pp. 1-19.—A recently published voluminous collection of essays, 876 pages in all, provides a comprehensive survey of German involvement in South and Central America from the beginning to the present. The individual articles cover those parts of the New World alphabetically by countries and regions from Argentina to Venezuela: Hartmut Fröschle, ed., *Die Deutschen in Lateinamerika: Schicksal und Leistung*, Buchreihe Deutsch-ausländische Beziehungen des Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen Stuttgart, Vol. 15 (Tübingen/Basel: Horst Erdmann, 1979).

[6] For the most comprehensive and still indispensable investigation of that subject see Harold Jantz, "Amerika im deutschen Dichten und Denken," in *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß*, ed. Wolfgang Stammler, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1967), III, col. 309-72; in addition see also for example *Studies in Honor of Karl J. R. Arndt* (n. 5 above), *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt—Nordamerika—USA*, Wolfgang Paulsen zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Sigrid Bauschinger, Horst Denkler, Wilfried Malsch (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1975), *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild: Neuere Forschungen zur Amerikarezeption der deutschen Literatur*, ed. Alexander Ritter, Germanistische Texte und Studien, Vol. 4 (Hildesheim/New York: Olms, 1977), and, for the period close to this paper, Horst Dippel, *Americana Germanica (1770-1800): Bibliographie deutscher Amerikaliteratur*, Amerikastudien/American Studies, Eine Schriftenreihe, Vol. 42 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976).

[7] The most comprehensive presentation of the French campaign is provided in the monumental two-volume documentary with numerous facsimiles, illustrations, maps, and bibliographical references including a list of diaries, *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, trans., ed. Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S. K. Brown (Princeton/Providence: Princeton Univ. Press/Brown Univ. Press, 1972). Vol. I contains the complete journals of Jean-François-Louis Comte de Clermont-Crèvecoeur, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine de Verger (von Verger), and Louis-Alexandre Berthier. This work will be cited in the text as Rice/Brown followed by page number.—Among other important monographs and journals, which also include excellent bibliographical material, mention should be made of the following: Jean-Edmond Weelen, *Rochambeau Father and Son . . . and the Journal of the Vicomte de Rochambeau (hitherto unpublished)*, trans. Lawrence Lee, with a Preface by Gilbert Chinard (New York: Holt & Co., 1936); Arnold Whitridge, *Rochambeau*

(New York/ London: Macmillan, 1965); of special significance for this paper, Evelyn M. Acomb, trans., ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, NC: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1958). References to this work will be given in the text as Closen followed by page number. For the lists of the individual units and their commanding officers as well as the names of the ships and their captains, see Closen, pp. 4-6.

[8] Closen, pp. xxiv; for other information on Zweibrücken and the two brothers Deux-Ponts see, e.g., Samuel Abbott Green, trans., ed., *My Campaigns in America: A Journal Kept by Count William des Deux-Ponts, 1780-1781* (Boston: Wiggin & Lunt, 1868).

[9] On Moritz von Fürstenwärther, a cousin of Closen's, see Gerhard Friesen, "Moritz von Fürstenwärther and America," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 16 (1981), 73-78.

[10] A. Ulrich Koch, "Le Régiment Royal Deux-Ponts (Régiment de Deux-Ponts en Palatinat) en Amérique du Nord et du Sud 1780-1783," in *Le Carnet de la Sabretache*, NS 23 (1974), Supplément, Pl. No. 188. Koch also provides illustrations of the Deux-Ponts colors ("Drapeau Colonel" and "Drapeau d' Ordonnance"), Pl. No. 182, of "Von Closen quitte Brest [in 1783 after the return from South America] gréé comme un marchand de Smyrne," entering a coach aided by his black servant Peter, the coach carrying on its roof a chained parrot, monkeys, a bird cage and luggage, Pl. No. 189. Closen's own description reads: ". . . after purchasing a good carriage, where I could place—before, behind, and on top—my servants (one white and my superb and faithful negro, Peter), 3 monkeys, 4 parrots and 6 parakeets, I left with post horses in the evening of the 21st [of June, 1783], with this noisy and unruly display, difficult to keep clean, like a merchant arriving from Smyrna. . . ." (Closen, p. 337)—Another illustration in Koch depicts four "Tenues de Royal Deux-Ponts en Amérique," Pl. No. 188.

[11] Cf. Charles Warren Lippitt, *The Battle of Rhode Island* (Newport, RI: Mercury Publ. Co., 1915).

[12] As has been mentioned before, Closen was related to the Günderrode family through his mother-in-law. His daughter Charlotte later married into it (Closen, p. 116, n. 20).

[13] Acomb mentions that "Guillaume de Schwerin, a young officer in the Royal Deux-Ponts," had a similar experience, recounting "that the last day of his stay in Philadelphia he dined with people from Dierdorff who had served at his château" (Closen, p. 120, n. 31). Dierdorf may be a hamlet in the Westerwald, some twenty km NE of Neuwied, since Schwerin's papers are kept in that town in the Fürstlich Wiedisches Archiv.

[14] Describing the order in which the British forces marched out of Yorktown at the surrender, Verger places the Germans last: "the Erbprinz and von Bose regiments of Hesse; the Anspach and von Seybothen regiments of Anspach" (Rice/Brown, p. 148).

[15] Rice/Brown refer to Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans, A History* (Princeton, 1948), who concludes "that about ten percent of the 3,000 names in the directory [of Baltimore, 1796] are undoubtedly German" (Rice/Brown, p. 160, n. 127).

[16] While in Newport Closen remarks at length about Quakers, mentions Anabaptists, Presbyterians and Moravians, but, strangely does not say anything about the remarkable Touro-Synagogue which was completed in 1763. Verger refers to this synagogue as the only house of worship built of stone, while the others are of wood and "not especially notable," apparently including the famous Trinity Church (Rice/Brown, p. 124).

[17] On his first visit to Boston, March 17-20, 1781, Closen attended various religious services that were, however, not very inspiring to him, nor, so it seemed, to the congregations. But the Anglican preacher he heard attracted much better attention since he "frisked about in the pulpit like the Devil in a fount of holy water" (Closen, p. 73).

[18] Acomb provides some basic background information on the Dunkers, or Church of the Brethren, who "were first organized in 1708 by Alexander Mack in Germany." Having been driven out by persecution "they settled in 1719 in Germantown . . . and elsewhere." According to their belief men, after the coming of Christ, were born without sin. Their baptism consisted in "triune immersion in recognition of the Trinity" (Closen, p. 251, n. 74).

[19] Closen took Peter back to Europe with him (cf. n. 10 above).—Acomb mentions a letter by Rochambeau to Governor Harrison of Virginia, June 28, 1782, in which he states "that several of the French army officers, including himself, owned some Negroes, purchased from those captured by the French fleet in Rhode Island [and] from the British

in New York. Some of these Negroes were free and some were not. He would cooperate in returning to the Virginians their slaves, but French rights must be recognized'' (Closen, pp. 187-88, n. 37).

[20] That number varies; Verger speaks of ''about 20 savages'' (Rice/Brown, p. 121), Charlus (s. n. 21 below) mentions 19, others 18.

[21] For one of the various French accounts of the Indians' visit see Durand Echeverria, ''The Iroquois Visit Rochambeau at Newport in 1780. Excerpts from the Unpublished Journal of the Comte de Charlus,'' *Rhode Island History* 11, No. 3 (July, 1952), 73-81; others in Vicomte de Rochambeau, *The War in America: An Unpublished Journal (1780-1783)*, pp. 210-11 (cf. n. 7 above), the journal of Clermont-Crèvecoeur in Rice/Brown, pp. 19-20, and that of Verger in Rice/Brown, pp. 121-23, with copious notes and further references by the editors.

[22] Charlus' journal (cf. n. 21 above), pp. 77-79.

[23] Ibid.

[24] The illustrations are reproduced in Verger, Rice/Brown, between pp. 126 and 127, and in Closen, facing p. 264.

[25] In a recent article Eberhard Schmitt sheds a great deal of new light on persons of Frey's kind. He counts them among the ''coureurs de bois'' or ''Waldläufer.'' Such a person ''entzog sich so ganz der Sozial- und Herrschaftsordnung des . . . Absolutismus: Er profitierte auf diese Weise von den Vorteilen der weißen und indianischen Kultur, aber wesentlich mehr von letzterer'' (''Nordamerika im Spiegel französischer Reiseberichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts,'' in *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Antoni Mączak, Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Vol. 21 [Wolfenbüttel, 1982], p. 266). It is interesting to note, says Schmitt, that the ''Waldläufer'' were ''jener Sozialtypus, der von der indianischen Kultur fast völlig aufgesogen wurde,'' while on the other hand there were among the white colonists ''so gut wie keine Indianer, die von der französischen Kultur assimiliert wurden. . . . Das ist eine der erstaunlichsten Erscheinungen, . . . daß es den Franzosen in keiner Weise gelang, die Indianer zu 'französisieren' '' (ibid., p. 268).

[26] University Hall, the foundation of which was laid in 1770.

[27] Quoted from Jean-Edmond Weelen (cf. n. 7 above), p. 94.

[28] Ibid.