

THE
GERMAN
SOLDIER



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THE
GERMAN SOLDIER

IN THE
WARS OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY
J. G. ROSENGARTEN.



SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY.

1890.

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In Memory
OF
ADOLPH G. ROSENGARTEN,
Major Fifteenth Pennsylvania (Anderson) Cavalry.

BORN IN PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 29, 1838; KILLED IN BATTLE AT STONE
RIVER, TENNESSEE, DECEMBER 29, 1862.

215601

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE substance of the following pages was read before the Pionier Verein at the hall of the German Society, in Philadelphia, April 21, 1885. It was printed with some changes in the *United Service Magazine* of New York, in the numbers for June, July, and August, 1885, and it was translated and printed in German in full in the *Nebraska Tribune*, in successive issues, between June 20 and October 27, 1885,—the last number being a supplementary article by the translator, Fr. Schnake, on the German Soldiers of the Border States. It was subsequently published in a pamphlet of forty-nine pages by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, for the Pionier Verein. That edition is exhausted, and in reply to numerous applications, showing interest in the subject, it is now reprinted with many corrections and considerable additions. For these the author is indebted most of all to the *Deutsche Pionier* of Cincinnati and to the editor, H. A. Ratterman, the best authority on all subjects concerning the Germans

of the United States,—and among others to Mr. F. Melchers, of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, Charleston, South Carolina; Mr. Herman Dieck, of the *German Demokrat*, Philadelphia; General Lewis Merrill, U.S.A.; Colonel John P. Nicholson; Dr. J. de B. W. Gardiner, U.S.A.; Prof. O. Seidensticker, of the University of Pennsylvania; and Mr. George M. Abbot, of the Philadelphia Library,—his “Bibliography of the Civil War in the United States” is indispensable for a student of our military history. Whatever there is of merit or interest in these pages is largely due to the assistance thus liberally given. With further aid in the way either of corrections or additions, which will be gladly received and gratefully acknowledged, the author of this sketch hopes that he may hereafter be enabled to make it better worth the interest of the reader and the importance of the subject.

J. G. R.

PHILADELPHIA, April 21, 1886,
532 WALNUT STREET.

NOTE TO SECOND EDITION.

Much additional matter has been added. A translation into German by C. Grosse was published in Cassel, Germany, in 1890.

September 1, 1890.

THE GERMAN SOLDIER

IN THE

WARS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE share of the Germans in the wars of the United States is by no means limited to that of the Rebellion. From the very outset of their settlement in this country they always stood ready to take their place in its defence. On the borders of what was then the West, the early German immigrants were steady in their support of the British flag against their hereditary enemies, the French. This was natural enough, for many of the Germans who first came to this country did so in order to seek refuge from the French invaders, who rode rough-shod over their humble homes in the districts of Germany devastated by French soldiers. Even among those who came here to find a new home in which they could worship God in their own way, while

they sympathized with the Quakers in their doctrine of not bearing arms voluntarily, the German blood did not easily accommodate itself to the doctrine of non-resistance, and when they could not make friends of the Indians by peaceful means, the German settlers did not hesitate to take up arms in defence of their homes. The Germans of Pennsylvania and New York responded freely to the summons to defend their new country against the French and their allies, the Indians. They gave freely of their men and their means to the cause of liberty in the war of the Revolution. They took a full share in the war of 1812, and in the Mexican war. Finally, wherever the Germans were strongest in number, they were represented in even more than proportionate strength in the forces raised for the defence of the Union. From New York and Pennsylvania they went forth in great strength in regiments and individually. They saved Missouri to the Union, and Ohio and Illinois and Indiana and Wisconsin and Kansas may well point with pride to their German citizens as foremost in doing their duty in war and in peace. The story of their achievements in war is a subject on which little has hitherto been said.

The Germans from the Palatinate had been scattered on the frontier, facing the Indians and the

French in New York and Pennsylvania. The early settlers in South and North Carolina and Georgia were also largely recruited from the Germans, and they, too, had still another hostile force to meet, that of the Spanish troops and Indians, whose masters were unwilling to see their territory threatened and diminished. The good Moravians gave up their settlements in Georgia rather than fight, and thus lost the fruits of some years of labor in their schools and churches. The sturdy Protestants from the Palatinate were not afraid to take up arms in defence of their own homes, and in a very short time the British government, which had brought them here as an act of benevolence, found a good return in the services rendered by the German settlers as peace-makers with the Indians, and when necessary, as soldiers against the French and the Spanish and their native allies.

Jacob Leisler, the first American rebel, was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and came to New York as a soldier in the pay of the West India Company. He engaged in trade and took sea-ventures, on one of which, in 1678, he was captured by the Turks, and compelled to secure his freedom by a large ransom. He was a rebel, but he did not act without the hearty support of the mass of the people, nor did he use his power corruptly or basely. He had the support of

a large and growing majority of the people, and both by political and social alliances with the best men of the colony, he took his place at their head. He was led into violence by his passionate fear and hatred of the Catholics, and although he was hanged on May 15, 1691, the victim of a counter-revolution, Parliament in 1695 passed an act reversing the attainder of Leisler and his associates and annulling all the convictions. The act not only recognized his appointment by the Assembly, but treats it as confirmed by letters royal. The record of New York is indelibly stained by the cruelty and sacrifice through political malice of two brave and active lives, and Leisler is another instance of the German soldier serving and falling for his adopted country and in assertion and defence of principles now of universal acceptance.

In 1711, Governor Hunter entered upon a large scheme for introducing laborers into the province of New York. He found them in the German districts known as the Palatinate, where the French had ravaged the country and impoverished the people. He secured from the British government a grant of ten thousand pounds for the project, and entered into a contract to transport the immigrants, and to maintain them for a while, in return for their labor. The number is commonly stated at three thousand persons, but

authorities differ on the subject. At a hearing in London in 1720, a committee of the Palatines, as they were called, placed the original migration at between three and four thousand; statistics show that two thousand two hundred and twenty-seven went upon the lands provided upon the banks of the Hudson, while three hundred and fifty-seven remained in New York. A third immigration occurred in 1722. Their coming was a marked event, for it added nearly ten per cent. to the total population. Governor Hunter declared that the enterprise involved a loss of twenty thousand pounds. They found homes in the Mohawk Valley, where Palatine Bridge and the town of German Flats preserve their memory.*

John Peter Zenger established the *New York Weekly Journal* on November 5, 1733. He came over when a boy in the Palatine migration, and was an apprentice to Bradford in Philadelphia. Zenger was arrested and imprisoned by Governor Cosby for his attacks, the papers containing them burned by the hangman, and the matter was then transferred to the courts. Zenger was reproached as an emigrant, daring to touch on the royal representative and his prerogatives. Arrested in 1734, he was at first denied pen, ink, and paper, yet

* Hendrich Frey, a native of Zurich, Switzerland, settled west of Palatine Bridge in the Mohawk Valley before 1700.

he contrived to edit the *Journal* from his prison. The grand jury refused to find a bill for libel, and proceedings were instituted by information by the Attorney-General. Defended by Andrew Hamilton, a Quaker, who came from Philadelphia specially, Zenger's case became a turning-point on the great question of the truth justifying a libel. Hamilton attacked the claim of the governor, denounced the practice of information for libel, and asserted that this was not the cause of a poor printer, but of liberty and of every American. The triumphant result secured by Hamilton has made his name famous in the judicial history of America. Zenger's trial overthrew the effort of arbitrary power to suppress free speech, to control courts of justice, to rule by royal prerogative. The jury turned the judge out of court, and Zenger was sustained in the right to criticise the administration, and his criticisms were declared to be true and just. Zenger therefore gained for the people the freedom of the press, and through it their right to deliberate and act so as best to secure their rights.

There was, indeed, quite a characteristic jealousy of the Germans on the part of their unwarlike neighbors in Pennsylvania, and not a little of the hostility which marked the treatment of the early German settlers in New York was due to their sturdy indifference to

those, both Dutch and English, the great land-owners, who would have controlled them and used them as feudal serfs. They acknowledged their allegiance to the crown, and gladly served it. They refused to submit to the tyranny of great landlords, and on that account soon left New York to find permanent homes under the kindlier sway of the Penns. Pennsylvania made Conrad Weiser colonel of a regiment of volunteers from the county of Berks, and Governor Morris, in 1755, gave him command over the second battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment, consisting of nine companies. In the defence of the borders against the Indians and the French, forts were built by the German settlers above Harrisburg, at the forks of the Schuylkill, on the Lehigh, and on the Upper Delaware. The Hon. Daniel Ermentrout, in his address at the German Centennial Jubilee in Reading, in June, 1876, describes the Tulpehocken massacre in 1755, just after Braddock's defeat, the barbarities perpetrated in Northampton County in 1756, and the attack on the settlements near Reading in 1763. Against these forays the Germans under Schneider and Hiester made a stout resistance. As early as 1711, it is said, a German battalion, mainly natives of the Palatinate, was part of the force, a thousand strong, which was to take part in the expedition to Quebec.

While the Quakers of Pennsylvania kept the government from exerting its full strength, the Germans, in spite of their peace principles, stood up stoutly for their own homesteads. Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, York, and Northampton were then the frontier counties, and from them came the men who filled the German regiments and battalions of the Revolutionary war. The sufferings inflicted on the German settlers were not without their influence in inspiring their descendants with the patriotism which made them good soldiers both in the Revolution and in the war of the Rebellion.

In Ratterman's "*Geschichte des Grossen Amerikanischen Westens*," Cincinnati, 1875, are many interesting references to the early German settlers and their military services. Law's Mississippi scheme brought more than seventeen thousand Germans from the Palatinate, who made settlements throughout what was then the French colony, into the country now included in Louisiana and the adjoining States as far north as Illinois. Theirs was a life of hardship and constant border warfare with the Indians. The country through which they settled adjoined that in which, in 1669, John Lederer, once a Franciscan monk, had in vain striven to bring his German countrymen. In 1773, Frankfort and Louisville were settled by Germans, the former by emigrants from North

Carolina, and it led to "Lord Dunmore's War," in which they fought the Indians and gained a foothold.

In 1777, Colonel Shepherd (Schaefer), a Pennsylvania German, successfully defended Wheeling from a large Indian force. In the operations under General Irvine to avenge the massacre of the Moravian settlers in Ohio, his adjutant, Colonel Rose, was a German, Baron Gustave von Rosenthal. Among the best of the Indian fighters in the valley of the Ohio, there were Germans,—Peter Nieswanger, Jacob Weiser, Carl Bilderbach, Johann Warth, George Rufner, and, foremost among them, Ludwig Witzel. His father, born in the Palatinate, came to Pennsylvania, but was one of the early settlers in Ohio; his four sons distinguished themselves by their heroism, but Ludwig's name is still kept alive by the story of his achievements. He died in Texas and was buried on the shores of the Brazos, but he is not yet forgotten.

At the outbreak of the old French war, the British government, under an act of Parliament passed for the purpose, organized the Royal American Regiment for service in the colonies.

The Old French War is the familiar American title of what is known in Europe as The Seven Years' War, which raged both in Europe and America from 1756 to 1763. In America it gave the colonists a sense of their own strength and power, for the

mother-country appealed to them for help, and it was freely given in expeditions to Canada, ending in its capture by Wolfe with officers and soldiers largely supplied by the colonies. The possession of American colonies was an important factor in this great struggle. The French strove to fix the Alleghanies as the eastern boundary of English advance. England was led by its colonists to aim at the whole continent as part of its empire. The old French war made soldiers of the settlers and gave them confidence in their power to unite against a common enemy. Canada was wrested from France, and by the Treaty of Paris all the French possessions north and west of the United States were finally surrendered to England. Nothing was left to France except Louisiana and New Orleans, and these in time became part of the United States; but it was the old French war that ruled forever that men of English speech and blood should be the dominant power in the continent of North America.

This Royal American Regiment was to consist of four battalions, of one thousand men each. Fifty of the officers were to be foreign Protestants, while the enlisted men were to be raised principally from among the German settlers in America. The immediate commander, General Bouquet, was a Swiss by birth, an English officer by adoption, and a Penn-

sylvania by naturalization. This last distinction was conferred on him in compliment, and as a reward for his services in his campaigns in the western part of Pennsylvania, where he and his Germans atoned for the injuries that resulted from Braddock's defeat in the same border region.*

The history of the Royal American Regiment is found in "A Regimental Chronicle and List of Officers of the Sixtieth, or the King's Royal Rifle Corps, formerly the Sixty-second, or the Royal American Regiment of Foot," by Nesbit Willoughby Wallace, captain Sixty-third Rifles. London, 1879, 8vo, pp. 312.

During the Parliament of 1755 (Act 29, Geo. 2, c. 5) the sum of eighty-one thousand pounds was voted for the purpose of raising a regiment of four battalions, each a thousand strong, for service in British North America; by the same Parliament an act was passed to enable His Majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign Protestants who had served abroad, as officers or engineers in America, only under certain restrictions. The Earl of Loudoun, the commander-in-chief of the forces in North America, was appointed colonel-

* One of the best evidences of the interest taken in this organization is the sermon preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia, by the Rev. Dr. William Smith, which was printed at the request of the colonel and officers.

in-chief; about fifty officers commissioned, or rather less than a third of the whole, were Germans and Swiss, but none were allowed to rise above the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

The men were chiefly German and Swiss Protestants, who had for some years past settled in America, on the waste lands which had been assigned them by the British government. These men, from their religion, language, and race, were considered to be in every way suitable opponents of the French. On enlistment for three years they were obliged to take the oath of allegiance and to become naturalized subjects, but they were to serve only in America. This new regiment was first called the Sixty-second, or the Royal American Regiment of Foot. At the disbandment of Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, in 1756, which were numbered the Fiftieth and the Fifty-first, the title was changed to the Sixtieth, or Royal American Regiment of Foot.

In 1757, General Abercrombie succeeded Lord Loudoun, and was followed in 1758 by General Sir Jeffery Amherst. In 1761 there was further legislation (2d Geo. 3, c. 25) in reference to the naturalization of foreign Protestants, in favor of the officers and men of this regiment. In 1763-64, after the conclusion of the Seven Years' war with France, the third and fourth battalions were disbanded.

In 1775 two more battalions of the Sixtieth, numbered third and fourth, were raised in England, for service in the West Indies, and these were disbanded in 1783, in Nova Scotia, where the men settled. In 1797, Hompesch's Mounted Rifles and Lowenstein's Chasseurs were incorporated with the regiment for service in the West Indies. Later, Walstein's Foreign Light Infantry were also added to it. In 1799 a sixth battalion of Germans was added to it. In 1813 a seventh battalion of German prisoners of war was organized. In 1824 the regiment was made a British corps. In October, 1824, the motto "*celer et audax*," granted for distinguished conduct and bravery under Wolfe in 1759, was resumed. In 1850, Prince Albert was colonel-in-chief.

The list of services contains the following entries :

1757. First Battalion in Indian Wars.

Five companies under Stanwix in Pennsylvania.

Third Battalion at Fort Hunter and Fort William Henry.

Second and Fourth at Lewisbourg.

First Battalion under Bouquet in South Carolina.

First and Fourth at Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

1758. Second and Third Battalions at Lewisbourg.

First and Fourth under Bouquet and Forbes at Fort Du Quesne.

1759. Fourth Battalion under Prideaux at Fort Niagara.

Second and Third under Wolfe at Quebec.

Fourth under Haldiman at Oswego.

First under Amherst in Canada.

Fourth under Sir William Johnson, Bouquet, and Stanwix, and Wolfe at Quebec.

1760. First, Second, and Third at Quebec.

1761. First in Virginia.

1762. Third at Martinique and Havanna.

1763. First under Bouquet at Bushy Run and Pittsburgh.

1778. In Georgia.

1779. At Savannah.

1780. At Mobile, in Georgia, and the Carolinas.

1781. At Hobkirk's Hill, Guilford, New London, Yorktown.

The list of officers includes colonels commandant :

1756. John Stanwix.

Joseph Duffeaux.

Charles Jeffereys.

James Provost.

1757. John Hairland.

George Vincent Howe.

1758-9. Charles Lawrence.

Robert Monckton.

1760. James Murray.

1761. William Haviland.
 Marcus Smith.
- 1762-72. Bique Armstrong.
- 1773-6. Frederick Haldiman.
 William Taylor.
- 1777-8. James Robertson.
 John Dalling.
 Augustine Prevost.
- 1779-83. Gabriel Christe.
 Lieutenant-colonels commandant:
- 1755-7. Henry Bouquet.
 Frederick Haldiman (colonel and major-
 general, 1772).
 Russell Chapman.
 Sir John St. Clair.
- 1759-80. Frederick Haldiman.
- 1761-2. Aug. Prevost.
- 1777-8. William Stiell.
 Lewis Val. Fuser.
- Captains:
1755. Rudolph Faesch.
 Wittsteen.
 Kruelling.
 Wetterstrom.
 Steiner.
1756. Frederick William Weissenfels (captain-lieu-
 tenant, 22d February).

1756. Des Barres.

Bentinck.

Hesse.

Ratzer.

Brehm.

Kleinbeil.

Zimmermann.

Winter.

Von Ingen.

Michael Schlaetler was chaplain from 1756 to 1782.

Horatio Gates was major in 1765.

Courtland Schuyler was captain in 1790.

Smollett's "History of England," vol. iii., ch. 24, p. 214, s. a. 1755, says, "The next object of the immediate attention of Parliament in this session [opened November 13] was the raising of a new regiment of foot in North America, for which purpose the sum of £80,178 16s., to which the estimate thereof amounted, was voted. This regiment, which was to consist of four battalions of a thousand men each, was intended to be raised chiefly out of the Germans and Swiss, who, for many years past, had annually transplanted themselves in great numbers to the British plantations in America, where waste lands had been assigned them upon the frontiers of the provinces; but, very injudiciously, no care had been taken to interning them with the English inhabitants of the

place. To this circumstance it is owing that they have continued to correspond and converse only with one another; so that very few of them, even of those who have been born there, have yet learned to speak or understand the English tongue. However, as they were all zealous Protestants, and, in general, strong, hardy men, and accustomed to the climate, it was judged that a regiment of good and faithful soldiers might be raised out of them, particularly proper to oppose the French, but to this end it was necessary to appoint some officers, especially subalterns, who understood military discipline, and could speak the German language; as a sufficient number of such could not be found among the English officers, it was necessary to bring over and grant commissions to several German and Swiss officers; but as this step, by the act of settlement, could not be taken without the authority of Parliament, an act was now passed for enabling His Majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign Protestants, who had served abroad as officers or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers in America only."

1756.—The command-in-chief of all the forces in America was conferred upon the Earl of Loudoun. Over and above this command, he was now appointed governor of Virginia, and colonel of a royal American regiment, consisting of four battalions, to be raised

in that country, and disciplined by officers of experience, invited from foreign service.

Bancroft's "History of the United States," vol. iii. p. 155 (ed. 1876): "On the 15th of June, 1756, arrived the forty German officers who were to raise recruits for Loudoun's royal American regiment of four thousand.

1758.—Forbes, who had the command as a brigadier (of the expedition against Fort Du Quesne), was "joined by three hundred and fifty royal Americans." Bouquet was their commander.

1759.—In the campaign against Canada, "the western brigades, commanded by Prideaux, included a battalion of royal Americans." They served under Wolfe at the capture of Quebec.

1763.—Bouquet won the battle of Bushy Run, and again in 1764 led a large force into "the heart of Ohio."

The first colonel of the regiment was Lord Loudoun, and the four battalions were commanded by Stanwix, Duffeaux, Jeffereys, and Provost. Lord Howe was commissioned colonel in 1757, when he was first ordered to America. The regiment itself still exists as the Sixtieth of the line of the British army. Bouquet himself died in 1765, at Pensacola, just after he had received the thanks of the Assembly of Pennsylvania for his victory at Bushy

Run in 1763. It was to the Germans of his force that is due much of the credit of this action, making amends for the disaster of Braddock's defeat. A chaplain of this regiment, who shared in its operations at Louisburg and on the frontiers, the Rev. Michael Schlatter, died at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, in 1790, in the enjoyment of a pension from the British government, although he had proved himself a good patriot in the Revolutionary war. His descendants were well known as successful merchants in Philadelphia, while his own memory is honored by a biography giving an account of his varied services to the church.

Every reader of history will recall the atrocities inflicted by Louvois in the Pfalz (or Palatinate) in the wars of *le Grand Monarque*. Yet very few of those who read Macaulay's brilliant account of these cruelties are aware how closely the facts are related to the history of our own country and our own commonwealth. Louvois was one of the ablest promoters of the early settlement of Pennsylvania, as he drove a great body of the people of the Pfalz across the ocean by his atrocities and devastations. How largely they constituted the German population of Pennsylvania is shown by the close relation of "Pennsylvania Dutch" to the dialect of the Pfalz. It was to New York that the first of these Palatine emigrants made their way,

but as early as 1710 we hear of them in Pennsylvania, and Tulpehocken was settled by Germans who had been swindled out of their lands in New York almost before they had been well warmed in their new homes. To Michael Schlatter the Reformed German Church looks back, as do the Lutherans to Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, as the man who put their church on a firm footing of organization and methods. He was not Muhlenberg's equal in soundness of judgment and unvarying success as a leader, as was shown by the misstep he took in the matter of the German School Society,—an organization designed to hasten the Anglicization of the German population, and probably effective to this day in retarding that process. Schlatter was unwise enough to take part in this plan, and thus to forfeit the confidence of his countrymen.*

Michael Schlatter was born at St. Gallen, Switzerland, July 14, 1716; was educated at the University of Helmstedt, in the Duchy of Brunswick, and in Holland. He served as assistant pastor at Wigoldingen, Canton Thurgau, in Switzerland, and then removed to Holland; went to Boston in 1746, and then to Philadelphia. He was sent out by the Reformed Synod of Amsterdam. After laboring among

* See *American*, September 4, 1886, and Prof. R. E. Thompson's notice of Rev. D. J. Dubbs's "Historic Manual of the Reformed Church in the United States." 8vo, Lancaster, 1886.

the Germans for five years, at various places in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, he returned to Europe and made known to ecclesiastical bodies in Holland the neglected state of education among the German people in America. His account awakened much interest in the subject among the pious Netherlanders, which in a short time extended to the Palatinate, Switzerland, and Great Britain, and the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Germans in America was organized in London in 1754, to assist the Rev. Mr. Schlatter, who, with a salary of one hundred pounds, was to be the supervisor and visitor of schools in Reading, York, Easton, Lancaster, Skippack, and Hanover. The children of the German settlers were to be instructed in English by teachers speaking both German and English. The Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg heartily commended the project, and suggested the establishment of a German newspaper and a German printing-office, where, besides the newspaper, school-books, almanacs, tracts, circulars, etc., should be issued. This was successfully accomplished during 1755. Mr. Schlatter established schools at Tulpehocken in Berks County, and at Heidelberg, now in Lebanon County. The opposition to these schools was led by Christopher Sauer, the well-known Germantown printer, who remonstrated sharply against the suggestion implied that

the Germans would join the French in a war against England. In 1756, Schlatter reported that three of the schools planted near the frontiers had been entirely broken up, as the people had been for near a year flying from place to place before the coming war. Mr. Schlatter remained in charge of the schools until 1757. In that year he became a chaplain in the British army in the American provinces. At the beginning of the war of Independence he again acted as chaplain in the British army, but in a short time espoused the American cause, and in September, 1777, when the British held Germantown, he was imprisoned, and his house near Chestnut Hill ransacked. He died in October, 1790, at the age of seventy-four.

In 1755, after Braddock's defeat, there was great jealousy of the Roman Catholics as working against the British government and the Protestant religion. Even the priests at Goshenhoppen were suspected of being spies for the French at Du Quesne. Weiser, as justice of the peace of Berks County, joined in a warning letter to Governor Morris. Weiser and Schlatter had been made visitors of the schools erected in Reading, York, Lancaster, Easton, Skip-pack, and Hanover, to instruct the Germans in English.

Christopher Sauer was bitterly opposed to these plans, both from his opposition to any established

church and from his desire to keep German as the language of the people.

Peter Muhlenberg, later general, left the school at Halle to enlist in a German troop, but was liberated and allowed to return home. The story of his leaving the pulpit to become a soldier is too well known to need repetition. The old grandfather fully approved the son's exchange of the gown for the sword, and watched with pride his subsequent civil honors. The second son, Frederick, left the church to become a member of Congress in 1779, especially to represent the Germans. Sons and grandsons too served with honor in the army.

In 1775 the vestries of the German Lutheran and Reformed churches at Philadelphia sent a pamphlet of forty pages to the Germans of New York and North Carolina, stating that the Germans in the near and remote parts of Pennsylvania have distinguished themselves by forming not only a militia, but a select corps of sharpshooters, ready to march wherever they are required, while those who cannot do military service are willing to contribute according to their abilities. They urged the Germans of other colonies to give their sympathy to the common cause, to carry out the measures taken by Congress, and to rise in arms against the oppression and despotism of the English government. The volunteers in Pennsylvania

were called "Associators." The Germans among them had their head-quarters at the Lutheran school-house in Philadelphia.

In 1750 the German settlers in Pennsylvania were estimated at 90,000 out of a total population of 270,000, and in 1790 at 144,600, while in 1890 it is believed that one-third of its people are either German or of German descent. Every new body of emigrants brought its teachers. The 11,294 German Protestants who came to London, on their way to America, had with them eighteen school-masters, and in 1749 twelve came to Pennsylvania with German emigrants. Conrad Weiser was called "The School-master of Tulpehocken" about 1735, so prominent was he in that capacity before he became the interpreter and agent of the government in its dealings with the Indians. It was in response to appeals to the Fatherland, that Muhlenberg, the father of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, came in 1742, and Schlatter, of the Reformed Church, in 1746, to advance the cause of education among the Germans. Schlatter's appeal was answered by liberal gifts both from the continent and in England, where the king headed the list of subscribers.

But from the Germans of Pennsylvania there went forth an influence among the Indians more potential in saving the country from desolating border warfare

than soldiers or fortifications. While the French were striving to make the Indians their allies in war, the Germans, and especially the Moravians, were working successfully to convert the savages into peaceful Christians, and to make them good neighbors, useful and obedient to the authorities, and a strong defence against the inroads of their more savage brethren, influenced by the French. The Moravians sent their members out to preserve peace; their knowledge of the Indians and their languages, their intercourse and intermarriages, had secured the confidence of the untutored savages.

Parkman, in his last work, "Montcalm and Wolfe in the French War of 1759," describes at length the mission undertaken by Christian Frederick Post as envoy to the hostile tribes on the distant Ohio.* The Moravians were apostles of peace, and they succeeded to a surprising degree in weaning their Indian converts from their ferocious instincts and warlike habits. Post boldly presented himself among those who were

* Frederick Post was a German Moravian who, as early as 1761, settled in what is now Bethlehem Township, Stark County, Ohio, where he built a block-house and cleared a few acres of forest, and established a mission settlement. The family of Heckewelder joined him there, but later settled at Gnadenhütten, in Tuscarawas County. The site of the former is marked by a few remains of the old block-house.

still savage, and his first reception was by a crowd of warriors, their faces distorted with rage, threatening to kill him. Soon after the French offered a great reward for his scalp, but Post, undaunted, declared to the Indians the coming of an army to drive off the French, and in return received the promise of the warlike savages to keep the peace. After a conference at Easton, Post again went on a mission of peace to the tribes of the Ohio. The small escort of soldiers that attended him as far as the Alleghany was cut to pieces on its return by a band of the very warriors to whom he was carrying his offers of friendship. His overtures were accepted, and the Delawares, Shawnees, and Mingoes ceased to be enemies. The English soldiers failed by force of arms to accomplish what the German missionary had successfully attained. Thus the work of the Moravians in their quiet home at Bethlehem had enabled their representative to gain the friendship and alliance of the Indians, and to weaken the force of the French and proportionally strengthen that of the English, and this was in no small degree an important factor in the final overthrow of the French in America.

Besides the Swiss-German settlement in North Carolina under Graffenried, there were other large colonies brought to this country. Law brought in 1716-17 more than two thousand Palatines and Swiss,

to help establish his new dukedom on the Arkansas near its mouth at the Mississippi. They were left for five years at Biloxi, near Mobile, almost without any of the promised aid, and some perished of fever or starvation, some reached the English and Spanish settlements, a few returned home, and about three hundred established themselves, in 1722, at Attakapas, opposite New Orleans, where they finally became fairly prosperous.

A Swedish captain, Von Aaronsburg, married to a Swabian, in 1716 brought Alsatians and Würtembergers, in answer to Law's promises, to Louisiana, and established them in St. Charles's Parish, six hours' journey above New Orleans; they flourished so that in 1750 theirs was the best settlement in the neighborhood, and "Lac Allemand" and "Bayou Allemand" still preserves the nationality of its first settlers.

Between 1735 and 1741 a large number of Mennonites and Moravians came to Georgia, and in 1752 a whole congregation from Swabia, under their pastor Rabenhorst, and their settlements were made on St. Simon's Island and near Savannah. In South Carolina there were colonies of Germans established in the reign of Queen Anne, on the shores of the Saluda and the Broad River, the Congaree, and the Wateree. In 1733, Colonel Peter Pury established a town named

after him. In 1765 a German officer named Stümpel, with help in money and arms from England, brought a large number of Germans to Charleston, and established them not far from the earlier settlements of their countrymen. In North Carolina there were considerable German colonies established, and many Germans came from Virginia and North Carolina, numbering fifteen hundred souls. The Moravians bought one hundred thousand acres of land there in 1751, and established Bethabara, Salem, and Bethany.

Virginia had its own German emigrants, and many others came from Pennsylvania. Stephensburg, in Frederick County, was settled in 1732 by Peter Stephens and Jost Heib; Shepherdstown in 1762 by Colonel Schäfer (Shepherd), who brought there a number of German mechanics; the place was first called Mecklenburg. In 1734 there were four German Lutheran churches in Northern Virginia.

In Maryland, Frederick, Hagerstown, and Middletown were the centres of large German settlements.

As early as 1716 the Germans in the Carolinas had to defend themselves against the Indians, and in 1727 in New York and Pennsylvania there was open war between the white men and the red natives. From 1744 to 1748, and again from 1755 to 1763, the French urged the Indians to repeated attacks on the border settlers. In Lancaster there was a strong fort built,

and fifteen companies of militia organized for its defence. The journal of Conrad Weiser shows that the Indian attacks fell heavily on the Germans who had settled on the borders; but he and his sons went in and out among the Indians, bearing a charmed life, while others were sacrificed to the parsimony of the provincial government and their own faith in the Indians.

Michael Schlatter came to America in 1746, and six years later secured six more clergymen from Germany to help him in his task. He was a man of thorough education, and worked hard for the successful establishment of public schools. He represented the German Reformed Church, as the elder Muhlenberg typified all that was best in the Lutheran Church, and was also active in bringing educated preachers to this country from Germany, and thus helping to spread the advantages of German scholarship throughout the community. Between 1745 and 1770 more than fifty clergymen came to Pennsylvania, educated at German universities. The Harvard professors of that day spoke with admiration of the thorough knowledge of Latin shown by these Germans, in speaking as well as writing and reading that language. One of their number, Dr. Kuntze, was the founder of the Hebrew and Oriental instruction in this country. The schools established by the German churches—in Ephrata in 1733,

in Warwick, Nazareth, and Litiz in 1740, in Lancaster in 1730, and in Philadelphia in 1760—were attended by scholars from far and near, of all religious tenets. Franklin and Provost Smith joined Conrad Weiser, Michael Schlatter, and others in organizing, both in this country and in Holland, Friesland, and England, a society for the better education of the youth of Pennsylvania in both English and German, and the local schools, under the influence of the clergymen, were much better in the German than in the English districts. In New York the lands given to the Germans for their schools were taken away and no redress was ever secured, other than an unfulfilled promise to give some compensation. A German high school in Lancaster in 1787 was the reward of the Germans who had served in the Revolution.

The Germans of North Carolina took their stand for independence in the Mecklenburg Declaration of May 19, 1775, and they and their fellow-countrymen of both Carolinas and of Georgia followed their brave words by deeds. Elbert and Mahem and Leonhardt Helm were typical German soldiers, and Freiherr von Glassbeck and Michael Rudolph distinguished themselves by deeds that ought never to be forgotten. The fact that De Kalb lost his life on Southern soil has made his fame part of its local history. Born in 1717, he was trained in the Imperial and Austrian service,

then gained honor and distinction in that of France, and in 1757 was sent on a military mission to the colonies; returning in 1777, he became a major-general in the Continental army, only to fall at Cowpens, at the head of German soldiers from Maryland and Delaware. The honors awarded his memory by the Congress of that day were worthily, but tardily, carried into execution in our own time.

The services of the early German settlers in North Carolina were lovingly commemorated by one of their descendants, General Rufus Barringer, at the Luther Memorial Meeting at Concord, N.C., in November, 1883, when he dwelt on their patriotism in the Revolution, in the war of 1812, and in the great Confederate conflict, showing that it is a stock to be proud of, alike for its achievements in the past and its high standard of excellence to-day. On all sides there is abundant evidence that the German settlers in the South, largely emigrants from Pennsylvania,* carried with them hereditary habits of thrift that made them good citizens everywhere, and a national love of liberty, and a readiness to fight for it, that made them good soldiers in time of need. Their record is made

* Roosevelt, p. 106, note. "Annals of Augusta County, Virginia," by Joseph Waddell, Richmond, 1888, for a clear showing of the large German admixture.

up of deeds rather than words, and it is one that, as General Barringer shows, well deserves to be preserved and rescued from oblivion.

In Kapp's "History of the Early German Settlers of New York" we find the names of the first German soldiers, those who bore arms in defence of their hardly-won homesteads against the French and their allies, the Indians. Among them were the Weisers, father and son. The elder, John Conrad, born in Würtemberg, came to this country a few years after his native village was burned by the French in their invasion in 1693, and died in Pennsylvania in 1746, where he and other German settlers found refuge from the unfair treatment of the wealthy New York land-owners. Conrad Weiser, his son, born in 1696 in Germany, came, with his father, as a boy to New York, and after a brief experience of border life with the German settlers west of the Hudson, lived with the Indians long enough to be their fast friend, and to serve as their intermediary with the whites, helping thus to preserve the peace in the midst of hostile influences. He died near Reading, in 1760. As lieutenant-colonel of a Pennsylvania regiment, he shared in the hardships of the "old French war," and secured from the allied Indians an affection and respect which stood his fellow-Germans in good stead in later years. His daughter was the wife of

the elder Muhlenberg, the first of that name to come to this country, and the mother of General Muhlenberg of Revolutionary fame.

As early as 1711 the elder Weiser had led his German countrymen in an expedition to Canada, in defence of the English against the French. England was resolved on colonial acquisition. In 1709 a fleet and an army were to be sent from Europe; from Massachusetts and Rhode Island twelve hundred men were to aid in the conquest of Canada; from the central provinces fifteen hundred men were to assail Montreal, and in one season Acadia, Canada, and Newfoundland were to be reduced under British sovereignty. The colonies kindled at the prospect. To defray the expenses of preparation, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey then first issued bills of credit. St. John (Lord Bolingbroke) formed the whole design of the conquest of Canada; the fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, carrying seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, with a battalion of marines intrusted to Mrs. Masham's brother Jack Hill, lay in Boston through June and July, 1711. At the same time an army of men from Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, Palatine emigrants, and about six hundred Iroquois, assembled at Albany, prepared to burst upon Montreal. The total failure of the fleet left the expedition from

Albany no option but to return, and in August and September it was disbanded. To this force belonged the levies raised and commanded by the elder Weiser. The details are found in the second volume of Bancroft's "History," at pp. 239, 379, 381, etc. So little is known of this expedition, that even the fact of its organization has been questioned; but Bancroft's authority on this point, as indeed on almost every matter of early colonial history, is final, and reference can easily be made to those invaluable sources of information, the New York Colonial Documents, the Pennsylvania Colonial Records, and the excellent and growing series of reprints of early works, enriched by notes, issued by Munsell in Albany and Clarke in Cincinnati, and in the pages of several historical magazines. The younger Weiser, in 1737, boldly went out among the wild tribes of native Indians and successfully brought them to make peace with the new settlers. In 1748 he penetrated the unknown country west as far as the Ohio, and in 1754 he united the friendly Indians in a strong alliance, which served very greatly to resist the French intrigues and invasions.

One of the earliest and most distinguished German soldiers serving in the French army in America was Baron Ludwig August Dieskau, a French general, born in Saxony in 1701, who died at Turenne, near Paris, September 8, 1777. He was lieutenant-colonel

of Marshal Saxe's regiment of cavalry, served in the Netherlands, became brigadier-general of infantry in 1748, was commandant of Brest, and was sent to Canada in 1755, with the rank of major-general. With six hundred Indians, as many Canadians, and three hundred regulars, he ascended Lake Champlain to attack Fort Edward, which was defended by General Johnson. Defeating a detachment sent to its relief under Colonel Williams, Dieskau pursued the fugitives, hoping to enter the fort with them; but his force was routed, and he was severely wounded and made prisoner. After a long residence in England, he was exchanged in 1763, and returned to France, where he received a pension, and was in intimate relations with Diderot and the other leaders of literary and political thought of the period. In the tenth volume of the New York Colonial Documents, p. 340, etc., there are printed a number of documents relating to his career. Besides his own official reports and those in which he is mentioned, there is a very curious composition of his, an imaginary interview with Marshal Saxe, in which he gives his old master a very vivid picture of the strange sort of warfare he had seen waged in the wilds of America. Diderot, it is said, owed many of his ideas on American Indians and their savage life and simple forms of government to Dieskau's very graphic accounts, drawn from his actual experience.

Altogether, it is a curious picture, this, of a German soldier, trained in the best school of war of his day, making a campaign in America and returning to France to talk it over. He was succeeded in command by the Marquis de Montcalm.

During the Revolutionary war, while many of the Germans of New York were serving in the army, their homes and those of their neighbors were exposed to the attacks of savage enemies, French and Indians rivalling one another in cruelties. The German settlers and their families defended themselves with real courage, and the story of their heroic deeds well deserves the lasting record that Kapp has secured it in his interesting volume. The border warfare of what was then Western New York showed that among the Germans there were many stout hearts and strong hands ready to defend their lives and to protect their families. Each home was a block-house and every fort a gathering-point, yet the English were as bitter in repressing the liberty-loving Germans as ever the French had been in attacking them for their loyalty to England. Even when the war ended it was with a sacrifice of lives and property that fell heavily on the German settlers. All this, however, was a training and experience that helped to make them devoted patriots, and earnest in their readiness to sacrifice everything in defence

of their newly-acquired liberty and independence. From the same counties came many regiments into the army that helped to defend and preserve the Union, and although the distinctive German characteristics were less marked in New York than in Pennsylvania, still a military history of New York in the Rebellion, whenever it is written, will show that the Germans, descendants of the early Pfalzers and Rhinelanders, who had settled in New York in the early part of the eighteenth century, were fully alive to the patriotic demand made upon them in the middle of the nineteenth century.

In the fifth volume of the Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York there are printed many interesting original papers, throwing light on the settlement of Germans in that State.

At p. 117 there is a report of the Board of Trade on the plans for settling the Palatines, discussing the proposal for sending three thousand Palatines at New York, and reciting that if the said Palatines were seated on the most advanced frontier, the defence and preservation would be secured, and they would be an additional strength and security to that province, not only with regard to the French of Canada, but against any insurrection of the scattered nations of Indians upon that continent.

Each head of a family was to receive forty acres, free of rent for seven years, "and for the better preventing these people from falling upon the Woollen Manufactures, it will be proper that in every Grant, a clause be incerted, declaring the said Grant to be Void, if such Grantee shall apply himself to the making the Woollen or such like Manufacture." This report, signed by Stamford, Dartmouth, Pulteney, and others, is dated Whitehall, Dec. 25, 1709. It is followed by a draft of "Covenants for the Palatines' Residence and Imployment in New York," reciting that "Whereas we, the underwritten Persons, natives of the Lower Palatinate of the Rhine, have been subsisted, maintained and supported ever since our arrival in this Kingdom by the great and Christian Charity of Her Majesty the Queen, and of many of her good subjects, we in a grateful sense, just Regard and due Consideration of the Premises, do covenant that we will settle ourselves in such place as shall be allotted to us in the Province of New York, that we will not upon any account or in any manner of Pretence quit or desert the said Province, without leave from the Governor first had and obtained in such Bodyes or Societys as shall be thought useful or necessary either for carrying on the Manufacture of things proper for Navall Stores or for the Defence of us and the rest of Her Majesty's

subjects against the French, or any other of Her Majesty's Enemies, and not concern ourselves in working up or making things belonging to the Woollen Manufacture."

Later on the Palatines were complained of for not being willing to work on the land assigned them and on the terms prescribed, and a force of soldiers was sent from the garrison at Albany to reduce them to subjection. Their submission was soon after reported and their sincere repentance. Then comes a report of the expedition against the French, of which New York, though with much grumbling, provided "350 Christians, 150 Long Island Indians, and 100 Palatines," and the governor added "100 more to compleat y^e regular troops to their establishment, and as many more to her Majesty's share."

In 1720, Weiser and other Palatines petitioned the queen for a correction of the abuses practised upon them, especially complaining that the five pounds per head promised those who had volunteered for the expedition to Canada had never been paid.

Johannes Wilhelm Scheff, agent for the Palatines, presented a counter-petition, objecting to Weiser's plans. To this a note at the foot of p. 575, vol. v., Colonial Documents, N.Y., gives the following par-

ticulars of John Conrad Weiser. He was the son of Jacob Weiser, was a magistrate of the village of Great Anspach, in the Duchy of Württemberg, married Anne Magdalene Hebele, by whom he had fifteen children. She dying in 1709, he left his country, and landed with the major part of his family in New York in June, 1710, settling in Livingston Manor, where he married again in 1711. In 1714 he went with other Palatines to Schoharie, and in 1718 to England on a secret mission with Scheff. They quarrelled in London, Scheff returning in 1721, Weiser in 1723, and moved with the greater part of the Palatines, through the forests, to the head-waters of the Susquehanna, where they built canoes and floated down that river to Swatara, on the head-waters of that river and the Tulpehocken. They settled in what is now part of Berks and Lebanon counties. Captain Weiser died July 13, 1760 (See Coll. Hist. Soc. Pa., vol. i. pp. 1-6.) Governor Burnet, in 1722, describes the Palatines as "for the generality a laborious and honest, but a head-strong, ignorant people." In 1753, Weiser made a journey to the Mohawk country, and his journal is printed in vol. vi. p. 735, of the Col. Doc., N.Y., showing that he stood high in the confidence of Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, and Governor Colden, of New York.

General Nicholas Herkimer was the eldest son of

Johann Jost Herkimer, a Palatine, and one of the original patentees of what is now part of Herkimer County, New York. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the Schenectady militia, January 5, 1758, and commanded Fort Herkimer that year when the French and Indians attacked the German Flats. In 1775 he was appointed colonel of the first battalion of militia in Tryon County, and represented his district in the County Committee of Safety, of which he was chairman. On September 5, 1776, he was commissioned brigadier-general of the Tryon County militia, by the Convention of the State of New York, and August 6, 1777, commanded the American forces at the battle of Oriskany, where he received a mortal wound, dying ten days later at his home, the present town of Danube, near Little Falls, in his fiftieth year. Congress testified its sense of his services by twice passing resolutions requesting New York to erect a monument, at the expense of the United States, to his memory, but in vain.

Another notable New York German was Colonel Daniel Claus, a native of the Mohawk Valley, where he acquired, in early life, a knowledge of the Iroquois language, and was in consequence attached as interpreter to the department of General Johnson, whom he accompanied, as lieutenant of rangers, in the expedition against Dieskau. In 1756 he was ap-

pointed lieutenant in the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment, and continued at Johnstown until 1759, when he went to Niagara and then to Montreal as Superintendent of the Canada Indians. In 1761 he was promoted to a captaincy, and in 1763 went on half-pay on the reduction of his regiment. In 1766 he assisted at the treaty concluded with Pontiac at Lake Ontario. He married a daughter of Sir William Johnson, and at the breaking out of the Revolution retired to Canada. He went to England with Brant in 1776, and returned in 1777, with a commission and instructions to bring the Indians to co-operate with the British army. He was commended by General St. Leger for his part in the expedition against Fort Schuyler, where he led the Indians. He died in Wales in 1787. His great service was the supervision and publication of a translation of "The Book of Common Prayer" into the Mohawk language, published at Quebec in 1780, and republished in England in 1787, after final revision by Colonel Claus, and the addition of a translation of the Gospel of St. Mark into the Mohawk language, by Captain Joseph Brant.

Scattered through the many volumes of the Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York are many original papers bearing upon the early Germans. Letters and reports show that

a great part of the Pennsylvania forces engaged in the old French war were Germans; that a colony of them was already planted on the Ohio; that efforts were made to compel them to speak English, and to join the Church of England; that their petition for leave to form a military company in New York in March, 1771, was duly forwarded by Lord Dunmore with praise of their zeal and spirit, and oddly enough the remark that "there cannot be made the same objection which is common to auxiliaries, these being established in the country and their interest concerned in its safety," and in August of the same year Governor Tryon duly reports from Fort George that "the German Protestants (as appears by their address enclosed) are duly sensible of the honor done them by His Majesty's approbation of their offer to assist the Government." With the outbreak of the Revolution the Germans formed one of the independent foot companies in New York City, whose organization was reported with an earnest warning that it all pointed to independency. At the last the royalists offered such of the Germans as were loyalists, both the early Palatines and their descendants, and later comers too, refuge in Canada, where some of them found new homes. These, however, like the few families that in old colonial days had been tempted to go to Canada too, were for the most part soon back again within the limits of the

republic to whose glory they too have contributed in their own way.

In 1728 the first conflict in Pennsylvania took place between Germans and Indians at Manatawny. In 1755, after Braddock's defeat, the Indians attacked the Moravian settlements, and all the frontier counties were ravaged by them. Franklin himself headed a regiment in defence of Pennsylvania, in which many Germans served, and he gave them hearty praise for their bravery. When another outbreak occurred in 1763, Bouquet, with his regiment of Royal Americans, officered as well as manned by Germans, put it down. The Germans of Charleston, South Carolina, organized in 1775 a fusileer company, which served through the Revolution and is still in existence. In Georgia many of the early German settlers enlisted under General Wayne in the Revolutionary army.

As early as 1769, Kaspar Mausher made hunting trips through the Cumberland country, now Tennessee; the buffaloes were numerous; the ground literally shook under the gallop of the mighty herds. One of the Cumberland stations was named after him,—Mausher's, usually called Kaspar's. When the country began to be settled, in 1781–83, Kaspar Mausher, as one of the most expert Indian fighters, naturally became a leader, as colonel of the local militia;

he always acted as his own scout, and never would let any of his men, in many expeditions, ride ahead or abreast of him, preferring to trust to his own eyes and ears and knowledge of forest warfare.*

Many of the most noted hunters and Indian fighters were of German origin; such were the Weitzels, famous in border annals, who lived near Wheeling; and the ancestor of the Kentucky Stonors of to-day, Michael Steiner.† In the Carolinas the Germans were plentiful on the borders.

General Oglethorpe intended to enlist the early Salzburger German Protestant settlers as soldiers, but on their protest that fighting was against their religion, he did not insist upon it. Still, Captain Hermsdorf succeeded in raising, in 1736, a small company of volunteers, and they offered their services to General Oglethorpe, who sent them to Frederica, on St. Simon's Island, to erect a fort and plant a garrison to protect the frontier against the threatened invasion of the Spaniards.

This led to the establishment of a German Lutheran congregation at Frederica, and there Dr. H.

* "Winning of the West," Roosevelt, vol. ii. pp. 325, etc.

† About noted hunters and Indian fighters of German origin: "Early Times in Middle Tennessee," by John Carr, Nashville, 1859.

Kaspar Mausher was made a colonel of the frontier militia.—Roosevelt, p. 151.

M. Muhlenberg paid a visit in 1751. He had, up to 1741, been pastor of Hermersdorf, in Upper Lusatia, and inspector of the orphan house at that place, but had accepted a call to the Lutheran church in Philadelphia.

Among these early German settlers in Georgia was Frederick Helfenstein,—sold and apprenticed as a child,—as to whom tradition reports that he was the descendant of a count of that name, who, with his wife, a daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and their youngest child, was butchered in the rebellion of the peasantry in Luther's time.

In 1774, Dr. Muhlenberg paid an official visit of inspection to the various German Lutheran settlements in Georgia and South Carolina, for up to the Revolution both the German Lutheran Church and the Church of England assisted these struggling congregations. His success in negotiating with the local authorities secured the Lutherans the enjoyment of their own property, and his plan of church government gave great satisfaction. His work endured long after the Revolution had severed all temporal ties with the mother-church abroad.

Up to 1741 over twelve hundred German Protestants came to Georgia. In the Revolutionary war these and their children were divided; the clergyman of their congregation in Savannah, Rev. C. F. Trieb-

ner, took the oath of allegiance to the crown, and advised that their colony at Ebenezer should be occupied by royal troops, and these he conducted there himself. They threw up a redoubt within a few hundred yards of the church, which they occupied as a hospital. Many of the settlers followed the example of their pastor and obtained certificates of protection, on taking an oath of allegiance. The majority of the Salzburgers, however, warmly espoused the republican cause. Those who figured most conspicuously were John Adam Trentlen, rebel governor; William Holsendorf, rebel counsellor; John Stirk, rebel colonel; Samuel Stirk, rebel secretary; and many others, with these, served faithfully in the struggle for independence, under General Wayne and other officers, in the American army, and their names deserve to be perpetuated with the long list of worthies who devoted themselves to the cause of liberty. Among those who took the royalist side, one Eichel and Martin Dasher placed themselves at the head of marauding parties, composed of British and Tories, and laid waste every plantation or farm whose occupant was even suspected of favoring the republican cause. Mr. Frederick Helfenstein was one of the greatest sufferers, for his sons served in a troop of cavalry under Colonel McCoy and General Wayne.

Among those proscribed as rebels occur the names of the following Salzburgers: J. A. Treutlin, Colonel John Stirk, William Holzendorf, Rudolph Strohaker, Samuel Stirk, George Wyche, John Schnider.*

The German soldier has gone through all the phases of history in our brief experience of war. In the Revolution the Hessians became a byword, and yet they were rather the victims of political evils than willing partisans. Not the least of Friedrich Kapp's great service to both the country of his adoption and that of his nativity is his series of admirable works on the German soldiers of the Revolution, giving, on the one side, his account of the dealings in them as mercenaries, and on the other, his lives of Steuben and De Kalb. Much of his material has supplied that for later authors, notably Green and Lowell. Von Eelking has furnished the story of Riedesel's life, the commander of the German forces in the British army. The "Memoirs of Mme. von Riedesel" will always be read with interest as a picture of the times of the Revolution, both in Germany and in America.

Max von Eelking's "Die Deutschen Hülfsstruppen im Nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776 bis 1783," Hanover, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 271 and 397,

* Strobel's "History of the Salzburgers," Baltimore, 1885.

gives many particulars of Germans engaged on the patriot side in the Revolution, of course incidentally only and in subordination to the graphic and minute description of the services of the German troops engaged in the British army. Thus, he mentions the facts relating to one A. Emmerich, who, after taking part in the old French war, recruited both in Germany and America a force of German loyalists, and was so important that Congress and General Putnam, in the fashion of the day, issued proclamations putting a price upon his head. Then again, among the American officers present at the dinner given by Gates to Burgoyne after the surrender of the latter, was Colonel Von Weissenfels, a native of Königsberg, who had for a long time been in the Prussian service. Another of Weissenfels's comrades we meet when General Riedesel came to New York, from his long captivity after Burgoyne's surrender, and found over fifty of his soldiers enlisted by a Captain Von Dieman, who was raising a company of hussars; he was a German who had been serving in the Sixtieth Regiment of the English line.

There is told the story (from Kapp's "Life") of the friendly way in which General Knyphausen protected Steuben, when his life might have fallen a victim to his own reckless courage in exposing himself to a large hostile force.

The Germans of Maryland gave a special welcome to the German prisoners as they came within reach of the friendly German tongue and German hearts of the settlers.

The material for a statistical account of the German forces engaged in America has been found in the well-ordered and well-preserved archives of the various German states from which they came. For our war of the Rebellion such data are not easily attainable. The story covers too vast a field to be briefly told. The method of raising troops in the separate States obliges an inquirer to make an examination of the printed records of each State, and these are so voluminous and so unsystematic that it is almost impossible to get at the facts of the nativity of the soldiers serving in their organizations. Indeed, there still remains to be written a history of the part of New York in the war, and in those bulky volumes of war records of States already printed it is hard to say which is the least satisfactory on this point.

The Seven Years' war made the name of Germany and its great leader, Frederick, popular throughout the colonies. Town, village, and way-side inn displayed the well-known sharp features and high shoulders as a sign, and the "King of Prussia" was a favorite name for taverns—then of more importance

than to-day—on all the high-roads between the great towns.* Washington himself admired and revered his great contemporary, Frederick, and one of the earliest decorations of Mount Vernon was a bust of the King of Prussia, Frederick the Great; with it were to be placed Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Charles XII. of Sweden, Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough. When, more than a score of years later, the great American had won his own place in the world's roll of immortals, he received from Frederick his own portrait, fitly inscribed, "From the Oldest General in Europe to the Greatest General in the World."

Steuben was one of Frederick's own veterans, and as such he was heartily welcomed when French officers of high rank were coldly received. His zeal, his ability, and his success were shown in the improved discipline and instruction of the provincial troops. He was so good a soldier that he knew just how to use the material at hand, and to make good soldiers and good officers of what had hitherto been an un-

* Sauer, the Germantown printer, published in 1761 a translation into German of Dilworth's "Life and Heroic Deeds of Frederick the Great," a volume of 288 pages. Rabbi Franckel's Berlin Thanksgiving Sermon on the King's Victory of December 5, 1757, was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1763, in a translation by an unknown hand. ("Hildeburn's Issues of the Pennsylvania Press," No. 6725).

disciplined mass. Steuben's "Regulations" long remained the manual of the United States army and its militia. It was not only that he made the army successful in the field, but the discipline he had introduced so effectually cultivated the sense of duty and subordination, that a weak and impotent Congress, which had utterly failed in its duty to provide for its soldiers, was still able to disband peacefully an injured and irritated army. That he spent the rest of his life in waiting for justice is not fairly compensated for by the posthumous honors that have been paid his memory since his death, and the debt of gratitude that America owes to Steuben is one that can never be fully discharged.

Much has been said and written in disparagement of the German mercenaries serving in the British army in the war of independence. It must be borne in mind that in England itself the wickedness of thus hiring men against their consent was sharply denounced. Holland and Russia absolutely refused to accept the tempting offers of Great Britain. King George, himself a German sovereign, mildly protested against thus using his Hanoverian troops. Frederick the Great sternly forbade the enlistment of any of his subjects or permission to any of the petty German princes to take their soldiers through his territories to ports of shipment to England for

America. Schiller stigmatized the trade in men in his "Kabale und Liebe;" while Kant went still further, and embraced the cause of the American colonist with all the energy of his great intellect. Klopstock and Lessing spoke in the same strain, although in lower tones. Friedrich Kapp puts the total of twenty-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-six as the number furnished by Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, Hanau, Waldeck, Anspach, and Anhalt, and of these only seventeen thousand three hundred and thirteen returned to their native country. How many of the remainder stayed in their new home to become fathers of American citizens cannot be easily ascertained, yet it is more than a tradition that in Pennsylvania, in Maryland, in Virginia, in North Carolina, wherever there were German settlers ready to aid the new-comers, the sick, the wounded, the stragglers, the deserters, all found protection and a welcome, which insured them prosperity and a better livelihood than they had left behind them. Their number has been roughly estimated at considerably over ten thousand.

Max von Eelking's book on "The German Soldiers in the American War of Independence" is the best source of information for all that relates to the services of the German troops employed by the British government in the Revolutionary war.

His sources of knowledge were largely original,—journals and letters of officers hitherto unprinted, from Hessian, Brunswick, Waldeck, Anspach-Baireuth, and Anhalt-Zerbst archives. His prefatory note on the subsidy contracts made with the sovereigns of these countries shows that, at that time, there was little opposition to that method of increasing the revenues or employing the resources of small states. He gives the history of such soldier sales. The Greeks and Romans owe much of their glory to employment in foreign service. Xenophon's history is that of ten thousand soldiers sent by the younger Cyrus against his brother, Artaxerxes. Agesilaus the Second served against the Persians, and Xanthippus against the Romans for Carthaginian pay; while Tacitus speaks more than once of German allies hired for war. In the Middle Ages it was a recognized means of making war. After the Thirty Years' war it helped the lesser German princes to recover their prosperity and increase their resources. Charles of Hesse hired out his troops in 1676 to King Christian the Fifth, of Denmark. In 1687 he gave a thousand men to Venice to carry on its war with the Porte, and three thousand four hundred to Holland to resist France, and the Turks and the French were both looked on as enemies of the German empire.

In 1702 he found profitable employment for nine thousand men in the war of the Spanish Succession, and four years later for ten thousand five hundred men in the English and Dutch service, for operations in Italy. After the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, he gave George the First, of England, twelve thousand men. He was the first Hessian to send his soldiers into foreign service for a price. Other smaller German states did it. Thus, in 1688, at the siege of Negropont, there were soldiers from Baden, Würtemberg, Waldeck, and Saxe-Meiningen, in the pay of Venice, fighting against the Turks. Duke Friedrich the Second, of Gotha, hired to the emperor three thousand men for the war of the Spanish Succession. In 1733, Friedrich the Third agreed with the Emperor Charles the Sixth, in consideration of fifty thousand thalers, to supply two thousand four hundred infantry and six hundred unmounted dragoons; and in time of war, for one hundred and twenty thousand gulden, to add four thousand infantry and a mounted regiment of cavalry one thousand strong. These five thousand were actually employed from 1733 to 1735 by the emperor in the French war. In 1744 he hired two infantry regiments and one of cavalry to Holland. In 1675 there were two Saxon regiments in Prussian pay, helping the great elector

to drive the Swedes out of his country. The Würtemberg soldiers served the British government at the Cape of Good Hope, and the Duke of Brunswick let his army to the British for pay, to serve against France. The great majority of these soldiers were volunteers, attracted by pay that was very high in proportion to the wages to be earned in their native country. The Americans were prompt to apply the same practice, and offered liberal sums, both as pay and in bounties, to quicken enlistments. Leaving out of discussion all questions of the morality of such methods, it is clear that the German troops sent to America learned many lessons that were very useful in the European wars in which they took part after their return. They found nothing discreditable in foreign service; not a few volunteered for love of adventure, and their letters and descriptions show that there was no hostility to them as hirelings. Much of the abuse that has since then been expended on them is the result of an entire change in public opinion on the subject. The troops of Hanover, five battalions, served for English pay in Gibraltar and Minorca, thus releasing sixteen hundred British troops for service in America. The treaties providing for these forces and for the payment of their subsidies were not personal acts of the King of

England, but were authorized and ratified by Parliament, which provided the funds for the expense thus incurred, and England promised to protect the allied princes whose soldiers were serving under its flag. On April 25, 1775, Hesse-Cassel agreed to furnish twelve thousand five hundred men, in twelve regiments, each of five companies, four battalions of grenadiers, two companies of yägers (light infantry), and some artillery; Brunswick, a corps of four thousand men,—viz., four regiments of infantry, one regiment of dragoons, one battalion of grenadiers, and one of light infantry; Hesse-Hanau, nine hundred men,—viz., one regiment of infantry and some artillery; Waldeck, a regiment seven hundred and fifty strong.

These treaties were published both in England and Germany, and there was no secret about the terms and conditions embodied in them, both as to money paid and other advantages. The average was thirty thalers for every one of the twenty-two thousand men, yielding to

Hesse-Cassel,	in eight years,	. . .	£2,959,800
Brunswick,	“ “ “ . . .	. . .	750,000
Hesse-Hanau,	“ “ “ . . .	. . .	343,130
Waldeck,	“ “ “ . . .	. . .	140,000
Anspach-Baireuth,	“ seven “ . . .	. . .	282,400
Anhalt-Zerbst,	“ six “ . . .	. . .	109,120

for the subsidies continued for two years after the war, and there were additional sums paid for the artillery, besides, of course, the expense of providing subsistence, etc., although the arms and ordinary clothing were supplied from the fund first paid. The German princes made a very good bargain, and took care to nurse their old English claims. The men themselves were well provided; each had his little prayer-book, and divine services were steadfastly maintained, and in every journal and letter there is evidence of the general exercise of open thanksgiving on all suitable occasions.

The seven thousand four hundred Hessians sailed from Portsmouth in May, 1776, with some English troops, in a fleet of one hundred and fifty transports, under an escort of six men-of-war and two cruisers. The most tragical occurrence during the long voyage was a duel between two Hessian officers, one of whom fell at the first fire. At last, on August 17, the fleet arrived at Sandy Hook, where the other Hessians joined them, coming more speedily. One of the first precautions was to require the German officers to take all silver ornaments off their uniforms,—a very early notice of the risk they ran at the hands of the American riflemen. The troops were promptly landed, and Stirn's brigade, of the regiments of Knyphausen, Lossberg, and Rahl, was at once sent to relieve the

English regiments facing the Americans at Amboy. The people were all excited by their fears of ill-usage from the German soldiers, but these were soon allayed, while the Germans were never wearied in their expressions of surprise at the comforts and luxuries of the American farmer, and that a people so well to do should rebel against the country which allowed them these unheard-of resources was in their eyes an inexplicable mystery. Of the English army sent against them, sixteen thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight Germans made a fair proportion of the fifty-five thousand soldiers employed in this service. When Clinton set out for his campaign on Long Island, Donop's brigade was placed in the advance, and Heister with the other German troops brought up the rear. Hand and Sullivan led the Americans, who at first fought under the belief that the hated Hessians would give no quarter, but it did not take long before the opposing forces made a better acquaintance.

The Americans lost heavily in this encounter; among others, General Sullivan was taken prisoner, and his captor, Colonel Von Heeringen, in his report, said, "John Sullivan is a lawyer, who was formerly a servant, but he is a man of genius and will be missed by the rebels. Among the prisoners are many so-called colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors, as well as other officers, mere mechanics, tailors, shoe-

makers, wigmakers, barbers, etc., for the most part; some of them got a thorough drubbing from our men, who would not recognize such fellows as officers. Not one of them ever served before in any foreign army. All are real rebels and native citizens. Lord Stirling is no lord at all. Putnam is a butcher. Whole masses of their troops, with colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors, desert, and come begging for their lives to our side. Their artillery is wretched,—iron pieces, badly served, and mounted on ships' carriages." This was the first contest in which the Germans shed their blood on American soil. It taught them many useful lessons,—first of all, not to despise their new enemies, and next to learn the advantage of their line of battle, with strong and long front and flanks well covered by skirmishers, taking advantage of the natural defences found in the country. The defensive works hastily thrown up were well contrived, and a little more persistence in holding them would have changed the fortunes of the day. The success on Long Island was followed by the easy fall of New York. The fear of the Hessians led Congress to make special efforts to induce desertion by wholesale, but with small effect. They were heartily welcomed by the royalists, and found great delight in the generous hospitality extended to them. The new German arrivals landed at New Rochelle, and with the infantry came a regiment

of cavalry, which inspired the Americans with such respect that Washington himself offered a reward of two hundred dollars for every dragoon taken prisoner and brought with his horse to head-quarters.

Among the prisoners taken in one of the earliest engagements was a German soldier serving in the American army, who turned out to be an old acquaintance of his Hessian captors. The fall of Fort Washington, which was then called Fort Mifflin, out of compliment to the gallantry of the German soldiers who took it, was their first success, due largely to the excellence of the German artillery. The bad conduct of Rahl, which led to the discreditable defeat of his command, was the subject of well-deserved condemnations by his German and English superiors, and only Rahl's death, as well as that of many of his officers and men, prevented a heavy judgment being decreed against his carelessness in posting his men and in not protecting his position by proper precaution. His fault lay largely in an unwise contempt of the Americans, all the more unjustifiable, for among his captors was his own uncle, who had emigrated many years before the war to America, and was serving as a colonel in the army which defeated the German detachment. While Washington praised the Germans for their gallantry, Howe spoke of them with bitter contempt. The Americans treated their German prisoners

with marked courtesy, sent them under a small escort to Philadelphia and later to Virginia, enabled the men to earn money by working for the neighboring farmers, and showed the people that even the much-dreaded Hessians were soldiers in arms against America more by reason of their masters than from any antagonism of their own. The German prisoners were treated with much more consideration than the British, and their good conduct was appreciated and rewarded both by the American guards put over them and by the American civilians with whom they came in contact. The German officers gave glowing descriptions of Washington and Putnam and the other American generals whose kindness and hospitality they enjoyed. In the letters written home, they soon allayed the anxieties of their German friends, who fancied that capture by the Americans meant a sort of savage and barbarous treatment, but their fears were soon relieved by the account of their comforts.

The Brunswick troops left their native country in February, 1776, under General Friedrich Adolph von Riedesel, an officer of hussars and adjutant of the duke, who had won his reputation and his rank by good service in the Seven Years' war. His life by Eelking is a valuable contribution to our history as seen from the other side, while the memoirs of his wife will always preserve the remembrance of an

heroic woman, who endured much out of devotion to her husband. The Duke of Brunswick openly confessed that he hired his soldiers to Great Britain as the only means of avoiding bankruptcy in his exhausted state treasury. The same fleet that brought Riedesel and his men brought Burgoyne, who was such a fatal leader for the British troops, and a number of German volunteers, who were tempted by high pay and bounties to enlist directly in the English service, and were assigned to different English regiments. Landing at Quebec, Riedesel soon found that General Carleton, in command there, was very unfriendly towards Howe, and from this arose, no doubt, much of the difficulty that brought about subsequently the disasters of the British forces in America. The Germans were far from pleased at the alliance with the native Indians, who more than once proved themselves more dangerous to their British friends than to their American enemies. The Germans, however unwillingly at first, learned from them the advantage of fighting in thin lines scattered through the woody country, instead of in heavy masses, suited to operate only in open fields such as are found in the old and cultivated European countries. The winter experiences in Canada and the summer campaigns on the American frontiers were useful lessons for the German soldiers, and their

reports give a very vivid picture of the French system in force on the northern side of the boundary, and of the much more independent life, both social and political, of the Americans on what was then the border line of their settlements. The New England and New York farmers were soldiers, too, and the Germans soon learned to respect their courage and endurance.

With a recognition of the growing difficulties to be overcome in the contest in America, the English, in 1777, tried to secure additional foreign troops for service there. An attempt to get Russian soldiers failed from the energetic refusal of Catherine to accede to it. Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau, Brunswick, Anspach-Baireuth, and Waldeck again made new treaties, raising the German contingent to twenty thousand eight hundred and two men, and Parliament voted five millions of pounds for their pay and other expenses. Volunteering went on freely in the German towns, for the bounties were liberal to a degree before unheard of there, but occasionally the outlay was not a very profitable one. Thus, on the voyage over, one vessel fell into the hands of American privateers, and the sixty Hessian *yägers* spent the time until 1778, and some until 1780, in American towns as prisoners of war, before they were exchanged. The German soldiers generally left home in good temper, but in one case, at least, the Anspach-

Baireuth soldiers resisted being put on board ships, declaring that they had sworn to serve on land, not on water; yet their prince was able to reconcile them to the necessity of a voyage to do their part towards his profitable bargain. It is true, late German writers, among them Auerbach, have drawn touching pictures of the hardships inflicted on these unwilling allies, but Eelking gives a more prosaic account of the prince, who, with tears in his eyes, bade good-by to his subjects, after giving them plentiful supplies of brandy, sauerkraut, dried fruit, and tobacco, to console themselves with on their long sea-journey. Landing in New York in June, after more than twelve weeks at sea, the Germans were soon sent to the front, where they too took their lesson for future use from the American riflemen, who were ready to cope with the well-clothed and well-fed and well-trained German yäger companies. Each learned something from the others, and the Germans soon became self-reliant, acting independently, each for himself, while the Americans found the advantage of strict discipline and instant obedience to orders. The Germans sharply criticised the campaigns in which they took part, and found fault with Howe and Cornwallis for operations often undertaken by orders received from London, and, of course, far from being suited to the existing state of affairs on the other side of the ocean.

General Von Heister returned to Germany, publicly because of his age and infirmities, really on account of his disputes with Howe, and Knyphausen succeeded to the command of the German troops. Heister died soon after his return to Cassel, where he was honored for his long military career. Born in 1716, he served in both German and French armies,—in the war of the Austrian Succession on the French side, in the Seven Years' war on that of Germany, and his American campaign was his last.

When Howe at last began his Southern campaign, in his army of sixteen thousand men he had over four thousand German soldiers. Leaving New York in a fleet of two hundred and sixty-four sail, on July 23, and reaching Chesapeake Bay on August 15, the troops were finally landed on the 26th, at Head of Elk, and were divided into two columns, one led by Howe, the other by Knyphausen. Among the first captures was a German officer, Von Uchtritz, serving in Armand's legion, an old Saxon soldier, who had come to America to try his fortune with the colonists. The Germans complained that Howe failed to follow up promptly his success at the battle of Brandywine, while they complimented Washington on his wisdom in fighting for the possession of Philadelphia at such a distance that the Congress sitting there could find safety in a leisurely withdrawal. The Germans sent

part of the force that took possession of the city, while they also claimed a large part of the success in the battle of Germantown, and attributed the defeat of Donop at Red Bank mainly to Howe's faulty plans. Donop's command was almost entirely Hessians, but their bravery was wasted in an attempt that failed because Howe underrated the Americans and neglected the most necessary precautions. Donop himself was treated by the Americans with great kindness, and his death was universally mourned in Germany and by his soldiers.

Quietly settled in garrison in Philadelphia, the Germans were quartered along the Schuylkill and through the Neck, where they found themselves, they wrote home, in a country that reminded them of their old quarters near Cassel. To the appeal from the Americans to desert, an answer was made on behalf of the Germans by Captain Emmerich, a German serving at the head of a small body of German volunteers on the British side. Emmerich was the son of a Hanau officer, and distinguished himself in the Seven Years' war as a partisan against the French. After the peace he came to America. When the Revolutionary war broke out, he returned to Germany, raised a company of volunteers, and, recommended by the Duke of Brunswick who had known him as a good soldier, came back with his men to

help the English; he became a dreaded power in the eyes of the Americans, and large rewards were offered in vain for his capture. After the war he returned to Germany, distinguished himself by an unsuccessful attempt to make a prisoner of Jerome Bonaparte, who was put on the throne of Westphalia by Napoleon, and for this was shot at Cassel in 1809. His name is perpetuated in his native country for this patriotic endeavor to free it from its hated foreign master.

The Germans won the respect and confidence of the successive British commanders, and Clinton, who succeeded Howe, spoke of them with great praise, and more than once they received special rewards of money for particular acts of gallantry. Carleton, too, enjoyed their entire confidence, while Burgoyne from the outset showed an absence of all the qualities needed for a successful soldier. Riedesel saw the change with regret, but went bravely forward with his three thousand six hundred men as part of Burgoyne's army of eight thousand, while Carleton was left in Canada with a detachment of six hundred Germans as part of his force of three thousand men. Riedesel in vain protested against Burgoyne's order to Baum to take a small force of Brunswick heavy dragoons on an expedition to Bennington. These troops, with big boots, heavy spurs, hats with showy feathers,

regulation gloves, a heavy sword, and a still heavier carbine, were supplied, of course, with big wigs, a long queue, and all the details that served to attract the eye. Even the English soldiers laughed at their slow and labored marching, for as yet they were not mounted, and to send them, burdened with rations for a long march, was the height of absurdity. Baum's corps consisted of two hundred Brunswick dragoons, one hundred of Breymann's regiment, Canadians and Indians, and two Hanau guns,—three hundred and seventy-four Germans out of a total of five hundred and fifty-one. The fate that awaited them at the hands of Stark and his men might have been anticipated. Burgoyne acknowledged the gallantry of the little band, but failed to see in their sacrifice a foretaste of the fate that was soon to befall his own large army. A Brunswick officer wrote home that here was an army fed on bread made of flour ground in England, and on meat salted there, while horses and wagons were wanting that might have brought supplies from the rich neighboring regions much more cheaply and freely. The services of the Germans received little acknowledgment from Burgoyne, and still less from English historians. It was only as the inevitable end drew near that Burgoyne took counsel with Riedesel, and then failed to follow it. When the surrender came at last, Riedesel reported

it to his prince, saying that he had been made the victim of another man's incompetency. His own reputation, however, lost nothing by this misfortune, and the Americans were foremost in testifying their respect for him and their admiration for the heroism of his wife. He saved the flags of his German regiments and sent them, thanks to his wife's help, back to Germany. His imprisonment was long and tiresome, but he bore the annoyance and irritation patiently, and he and his wife set to the officers and soldiers an example that found hearty admiration on all sides. Returned finally to service, he was welcomed by General Haldimand, in Canada, and at last, when the war was over, received great personal honors from the King of England and his own sovereign.

From Boston, after many disagreeable experiences at the hands of the Americans, Riedesel and his men were sent to Virginia, where he lived like a farmer in a block-house of his own, his wife looking after domestic affairs like a good American housekeeper. They became friends of some members of Washington's family, who were their near neighbors, and wrote home very detailed accounts of their mode of living. Gradually, however, they were released from captivity by exchange, and then they began to laugh at their recent experiences, to talk about the theatre

which had helped to shorten the weary hours of their exile and imprisonment, and even to forget the annoyances inflicted upon them by Congress and its officers, often in the hope, deliberately expressed, of getting soldiers for its own empty ranks.

Of the Germans who succeeded in escaping from their captors, nearly fifty Brunswick and Hanau soldiers volunteered in a company of hussars raised by a Captain Von Diemar, a German who had served in the Royal American Regiment, the Sixtieth of the line.

The English government in vain sought fresh allies for its next campaign, that of 1778, in the hope of making it final and decisive. Reports were current that Russia would supply twenty-four thousand men, Switzerland ten thousand, and even Morocco was to give twenty thousand black soldiers, while other Asiatic princes were to send their soldiers; but all the new allies were those from the little German countries, forwarded under the terms of old treaties. In Parliament the opposition bitterly attacked the use of hirelings, but the Ministry very ingenuously declared that the German soldiers had saved the British supremacy in America, just as they had in 1748 saved England from a French invasion, and again, in the Seven Years' war between France and England, from 1755

to 1762, secured for England a satisfactory treaty, in spite of the injuries inflicted on their native countries, Brunswick, Hanover, and Hesse. The German princes themselves rewarded the officers who had distinguished themselves in America, and judiciously bestowed medals, etc., for acts of personal bravery.

In May, 1778, when Howe was about to return home, he held a review of his army at Philadelphia, where seven regiments and fourteen batteries showed the German contingent to such advantage as to draw from the English general special commendation. He gave especial praise to the Hessian *yägers* in his farewell to their captains, Ewald and Wreden. Clinton, who succeeded him, had the advantage of speaking German and knowing Germany, where he had served with distinction during the Seven Years' war, as adjutant of the Duke of Brunswick. His troops sailed in a squadron of fifty-one sail, evacuating Philadelphia, to the regret of many of the inhabitants, and strengthening the garrisons of New York and Newport. In the march across New Jersey, Knyphausen led a column which included the loyalists from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and West Jersey, as well as British and German troops. Steuben led the Americans in the attack on this force, and his life was spared

by Knyphausen's special order, who recognized in him an old comrade-in-arms and a fellow-countryman. The Hessians lost many out of their ranks through desertion and sickness, and these were cared for by the Americans, who thus gained a useful accession. The retreat to New York was followed by a long and weary summer, passed in and near the city. Emmerich's Germans were frequently engaged in the outposts with those of Armand's Legion. When at last active operations were resumed, Knyphausen commanded a column that moved up on the left bank, Cornwallis taking the larger part of the army up on the right bank of the Hudson. In October a strong detachment, largely made up of Germans, was sent to Halifax, and in November another to the West Indies, so that while the troops in and near New York could go into winter-quarters, a campaign in the South should signalize the opening of the year 1779. A large part of this force was composed of Germans, and it was strengthened by loyalists from North and South Carolina.

Savannah was taken and garrisoned by German regiments, and at Charleston the Hessians recovered flags and guns lost by them at Trenton.

In the spring of 1779 new recruits for the German regiments were sent, numbering nearly fifteen hundred,

on a fleet of three hundred transports, escorted by twenty ships of the line, six frigates, and two fire-ships. Admiral Arbuthnot led the expedition which was sent to the South in December, and the winter storms cost him, after a fearful voyage of twenty-five days, the loss of four transports wrecked, one captured, and four obliged to seek shelter by running ashore. A little detachment of Hessians and Anspachers suffered every sort of misery, were finally wrecked on the coast of Cornwall, taken to Plymouth, again shipped to America, and reached New York in October, 1780. In May, Lincoln was forced to surrender his army, over six thousand strong, and Charleston was taken by Clinton. He made special mention of the Germans and their general officers, Von Huyme and Von Kospoth. The rich spoils in the city were distributed among the captors, and the Hessian regiment "Prince Charles" received as their share sums varying from two thousand pounds for the colonel to seven pounds for each private soldier. Three German regiments remained with Cornwallis for his expedition to subdue the Carolinas; the rest of them, with the other British troops, returned with Clinton to New York. He sent another force by sea to Canada, but some of the ships were lost in a storm, others were captured and exchanged again late in the next year, 1780. In New York, Colonel Von Minnigerode, of the gren-

adiers, an officer of great merit, died in his forty-ninth year, and was buried with military honors in the Lutheran church-yard. Knyphausen had been left in command of the garrison of New York by Clinton, when he went on his Southern expedition. Of the six thousand kept in New York, a large part were German troops. Frequent expeditions were sent out to ravage the neighborhood, and a private soldier reported that on one such expedition the booty consisted of money, watches, silver table articles, furniture, clothes, and other such portable articles, while his own share of plunder consisted of two silver watches, three pairs of silver buckles, a pair of woman's stockings, half a dozen fine linen shirts, two fine table-covers, silver spoons, five Spanish dollars, and four York shillings, while on the hasty retreat he lost a bag containing a dozen fine pocket-handkerchiefs, two dozen silk stockings, six silver dishes, and a silver goblet. The German officers complained that the discipline of their men was ruined by the bad example of the English, and that the only result was to intimidate the loyal and exasperate the rebel Americans. Knyp-hausen was praised by Clinton for his conduct, and that, of course, included these very foraging expeditions, so that the fault lay with his superior. Knyp-hausen himself led a strong force into New Jersey; one of his officers, Ebenauer, fell and was buried at

Springfield, and Washington himself paid him the tribute of respect for his great personal bravery, and directed that he should be buried with military honors.

The arrival of new recruits from Germany brought another volunteer force of over eight hundred men from Hanau, which helped to swell the strength of Emmerich's command. The Southern army under Cornwallis included many German soldiers, and the gallantry of Bose's regiment at Guilford was so marked that it was recognized by special mention by the commanding general, in the New York and London papers, and by its German prince. The Hessian *yägers* under Ewald, too, won general praise for their heroic courage, and the good example set by them in being foremost in the attack and always ready on the defensive. Ewald himself had the credit of coming into personal collision with Arnold, his immediate commander, and giving that traitor a clear idea of the opinion entertained of him by the German soldiers. Ewald, on his return to Germany, wrote a capital little treatise on "Light Infantry and its Uses," in which he gave the lessons he had learned practically in America. His reputation for skill and success in handling his own little force was recognized alike by his English allies and his American foes. It consisted, at the outset of the siege of Yorktown, of one hundred and twenty-five *yägers*, one hundred grenadiers,

one hundred rangers, and thirty dragoons, but at the surrender it was reduced to one-sixth of its original strength. The other German troops that surrendered with Cornwallis included the Crown Prince's regiment, two Hessian regiments, and two from the Rhine, and with the men there were eighteen German colors and eight guns. Among the general officers of the French division before whom the conquered army passed, were the German Counts of Saarbrück (Zweibrücken), serving with their German regiments in the French army. The German soldiers acknowledged the courtesy of the Americans, and the kind treatment shown them went far to alleviate the pain and mortification of the surrender. General Muhlenberg commanded the small escort which accompanied the German prisoners of war to their winter-quarters at Winchester, and treated them with great kindness and consideration. Later on they were sent to Frederick, Maryland, where they found a hearty welcome from the German farmers settled in that region, whose hospitable houses and German tongue gave the prisoners a sense of home comfort that brought with it great satisfaction. Others were sent to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where the German farmers again did what was possible to alleviate the weariness of their enforced inactivity. Many of those in Virginia and Maryland had become settlers, married, owned and tilled their

own farms, and bought their freedom for a fixed sum of eighty Spanish dollars. Not a few found German relatives and friends who advanced the sum needed to release them from captivity, and enough more to enable them to become land-owners too. Among the escort of some British troops there were forty Anspach-Baireuth soldiers who had enlisted in the French regiment detailed on this duty. At last, in April, 1783, peace was published, and at Frederick the salute in its honor was fired by Hessian soldiers under a Baireuth artillery captain, who made the fireworks set off at night, while the German regiments furnished the music for the ball to which their officers were welcome guests. The French alone offended the Germans by repressing their loyal cries for the King of England, but the Americans made peace all round.

The Waldeck regiment sailed in October, 1778, for Florida, in a fleet of seventy sail; of these sixty vessels carried troops and supplies for Barbadoes and Carolina, the others kept on to Jamaica, threatened by American privateers and pirates; but arriving, at last, at their first destination, the Germans were enraptured with the tropical wealth of fruit and flowers, and the out-door life. Two newly-born children were baptized, and the four soldiers' wives accompanying the troops had quite a little flock to care for. Late in January they arrived at Pensacola, and

among the Indians who welcomed them they found a countryman from their own native district, a man named Brandenburg, a deserter from the Waldeck army, who had become a chief among the natives with whom he had taken refuge. A good many Indians were engaged for the British service. The Spaniards declared war, and soon captured some German soldiers who had no warning of this new enemy, while the rest surrendered at an early summons. Bad weather, bad food, and bad management soon reduced the troops to a helpless condition, and the British forces, composed of Germans, loyalists from Pennsylvania and Maryland, and Indians, were soon obliged to surrender to the greatly stronger army and fleet of Spain, led by Galvez, and the Germans again returned to New York, leaving some of their best officers and men in the marshes of Florida.

Nearly three thousand recruits were sent from Germany to fill the ranks thus reduced by war and sickness, but some of them were a whole year in making their roundabout journey. Knyphausen and Clinton wisely tempted the deserters to return to their own colors by pardon and gifts of money. Riedesel foresaw the results of Washington's plans, and predicted them in his letters to his sovereign long before the English seemed to divine the mean-

ing of his movements. Neither his warning nor that of other German officers could influence Clinton, who finally sent reinforcements to Cornwallis just nine days after his surrender. So well had Washington covered his march that only when it was too late did Clinton find that the Americans had gone. Although the surrender of Cornwallis was the virtual defeat of Great Britain, the government was slow to recognize or admit it. Germany still sent recruits, paid for by Parliament, and in June, 1782, nine hundred men from Hesse-Cassel, Hanau, Brunswick, Anspach and Zerbst sailed in fifteen transports, protected by three frigates, reaching Halifax in August. Those in New York were busy strengthening its defences, and Lord Dorchester, the General Carleton of earlier days, came to relieve Clinton and make peace.

Operations were left to the loyalists and other volunteers, who were hardly amenable to military rule or discipline. The Germans in New York were soon strengthened by the addition of those from Charleston and by the return of many from captivity, and impatiently awaited the definitive peace which would enable them to return home, but that was not signed until November, 1783. Of the German troops sent to Canada in 1777 a separate account must be given. Arrived at Quebec without any warning from

the home authorities or any preparation by the local officers, the poor German regiment from Anhalt were kept for three months on board their wretched transports, then put at all sorts of hard work, and finally, when Haldimand took command, regularly assigned to military posts. Then the German regiments already in the country and those that arrived were placed at regular intervals in winter-quarters. Some of the soldiers were victims to the ignorance of their officers of the severity and dangers of a Canadian winter. A few of the men captured at Saratoga succeeded in reaching their comrades on the northern frontier. The Germans in Canada numbered over two thousand Brunswick and three hundred Hanau soldiers, and their second winter was made comfortable by an abundant supply of suitable clothing and by a wiser management. Still there were mutual desertions, Germans going over to the Americans, and Americans coming into the British lines. Riedesel came with nearly a thousand Germans, and his relations to Haldimand were of great use to both men. Haldimand had served in Germany in the Seven Years' war, and in the old French war in Canada, and was friendly to the Germans, who liked and respected him. Riedesel wanted to carry out Clinton's plan of a great expedition to the West, to threaten the Americans from a new quarter, but Hal-

dimand saw that it was a hopeless undertaking, and showed by a number of small detachments sent in various directions, that no large bodies could be moved so far safely. Canada, too, was full of unruly elements, and the prisons were full of men suspected of disloyalty and conspiracy. The short summers were spent in preparations for the long and severe winters, and no real campaign was ever undertaken. In 1782, Carleton warned Haldimand and Riedesel against an attack by the Americans, and the fifth and sixth arrival of German recruits to fill their regiments was welcomed as a substantial gain. The Brunswick corps again numbered nearly three thousand, while nearly half that number were still prisoners of war. The Germans became expert on snow-shoes, and were ready for a campaign even in winter. In February, 1783, preparations were made to resist an attack from Albany, and Riedesel visited the distant outposts to see that everything was ready. An attack on Fort Niagara kept the Canadian generals alive to the danger that threatened them. Even the reports of peace that came in March, 1783, were received with suspicion as intended to deceive them. In April it was again unofficially reported, but only through a Philadelphia newspaper, and even Carleton's official letter was received with some doubt. In June, Riedesel was notified that all the German soldiers were

to return home. Many of them received the news with regret, for their stay in Canada had been in the main a very pleasant one. The scattered German troops were finally shipped from New York and other convenient ports, and gradually returned home. Of thirty thousand Germans hardly half returned, and the large proportion of those who remained did so voluntarily, making their new home the beginning of a new life, very unlike that of their native land.*

A whole literature exists of books on the American war and the country, written by soldiers of all grades

* The Hessian regiments in the British army, twelve thousand men, were

1. Leib-Regiment.	7. Knyphausen.	13. Angeneller.
2. Landgraf.	8. Losberg.	14. Pirnau.
3. Erbprinz.	9. Obrist Donop.	15. Dietforth.
4. Prinz Carl.	10. Rahl.	16. Wehlwar.
5. Prinz Friedrich.	11. Mirback.	17. Wieffenbach.
6. General Bose.	12. Huyn.	18. Seitz.

There was also a strong Hessian yäger corps, both horse and foot, besides a Waldeck regiment, an Anhalt-Zerbst regiment, a Hesse-Hanau regiment, and five or six thousand Brunswick soldiers.

Tagebuch's *Johann Konrad Dölba*, 1777-83; Ratterman's *Deutsch Americ. Magazin*, January, 1887, p. 239 (second notice).

Knyphausen was of an old Austrian noble family settled in Oldenburg; he was major-general and commanded the Second Hessian Division, and in 1777, on the recall of Heister, became lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the German troops in the British army.

who had served there, and the knowledge of its promised advantages was thoroughly spread throughout Germany by the very men who had been sent across the ocean to help reduce the rebels to good British subjects. The German princes did not care to have their old subjects returned to them, now that war had ceased to make them a source of profit. The American Congress made the tempting offer to the German soldiers to stay and become American citizens. Those who chose to go sailed from New York on August 15, 1783, and received a gracious welcome from their German sovereign, and subsequent detachments continued to arrive and to reach their homes with varying fortunes at sea and on land. Those that had suffered the greatest inconvenience in long imprisonment were destined to the greatest discomfort on their return. Riedesel and his Canadian German regiments came in successive fleets and at last reached England. The general and his wife were made much of at court, and in his native Brunswick, at the head of his troops, he was welcomed by his sovereign and by his countrymen of all ranks. Throughout Germany their deeds were known, and the German soldiers who had served in America were by no means less heroic in the eyes of their countrymen because their services and their sacrifices were made for Great Britain, and in order to enable that

country to maintain its control of the colonies which were soon to welcome so many Germans coming peacefully to its shores, to share its prosperity and to help make its greatness in wealth, in numbers, in happiness, and in all that goes to create a true republic. The lessons the Germans learned in America at the expense of Great Britain were not lost upon the pupils, who soon put in practice the notions of independence acquired in the unsuccessful effort of the mother-country to repress that of its infant colonies, and Germany owes much of what it is to-day to what its soldiers learned in America in the Revolutionary war.

The Hessian officers, during their service in this country, made some useful scientific contributions. Julius von Wangenheim, captain of *yägers*, used his leisure to study the trees in the regions through which he passed, and published the result in a work issued in Göttingen in 1781, under the title, "Description of American Trees and Bushes with reference to German Forests."

Dr. Johann David Schöpf, a military surgeon from Baireuth, who served with the German troops in the British forces during the Revolution, made a careful study of plants useful in medicine, and found abundant material during his stay in New York. After the peace he travelled through the United States as far as Florida, became acquainted with G. H. E. Muhlenberg,

brother of General Muhlenberg, himself a leading botanist in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and on his return to Germany maintained frequent correspondence and exchange of specimens with the German-American clergyman. The latter gave Schöpf his manuscript for use in the preparation of a book published in Germany in 1787: "Materia Medica Americanis Septentrionalis Potissimum Regni Vegetabilis," Erlangen, pp. 170. It is described at length in Prof. Maisch's admirable notice of Muhlenberg, read before the Pionier Verein at Philadelphia, in May, 1886, and reprinted from the *Pharmaceutische Rundschau* for June of that year. It is a medical flora, in which the plants useful in medicine are described on the system of Linnæus, with brief notices of their application and effect. It quotes freely from the medical botanies of Bartram, Clayton, Colden, Kalm, Catesby, and others, and speaks of the help received by letter and word of mouth from American botanists. In a letter to Muhlenberg, dated Baireuth, April 3, 1786, Schöpf speaks of his own collections made when he was stationed in New York, and during his journey from Rhode Island to Florida, and of his catalogue of nearly four hundred plants he found in North America, which were useful in medicine. Some had been long known; of others he had been the first to point out their virtues, and he hopes

that he has done the country service enough in this way to atone for any injury he had rendered it in being employed in the army that sought to subjugate it. Many of the specimens he had sent home from America during the war had been lost on the way, but he had been able to replace them on his second and more peaceful visit, and he congratulates his American correspondent on the fact that America has a rich domestic treasure in its indigenous plants useful in medicine, needing only a few Indian roots and plants to make a perfect pharmaceutical collection. Schöpf, too, was useful in bringing German scientific men into communication with those of America, and through his friendly interposition Muhlenberg was able to exchange letters and collections with Hoffman of Erlangen, Göttingen, and Moscow, Hedwig of Leipsic, and Schreber of Erlangen, one of the best pupils of Linnæus. Muhlenberg's name and his services to botanical science were perpetuated by the frequency with which both American and foreign botanists have given his name to new species, and thus the German-American is made known to all students of botany for the example he set of friendly exchange of knowledge with all fellow-workers.

A curious evidence of the number of "Hessian" soldiers remaining in the United States after the Revolutionary war is found in an ingenious little

volume of travels, "Nachrichten und Erfahrungen über die vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Gesammelt auf seine Reise in den Jahren 1806 bis 1808, von einem Rhineländer," published in Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1812. The author found them in Baltimore, where one-third of the population was German; in North Carolina, where he found the descendants of Germans settled there in 1710, still ready to welcome new-comers from the Fatherland; in Ohio, still the wild West; at Havre de Grace, which the author puts on the river "Skulkill;" in Boston, a doctor, a musician, and several mechanics of various trades, who had served with the Hessians, the Anspachers, and other German regiments, and apparently flourished in their various pursuits, none the worse for their original employment. In Halifax, too, he found two surgeons who had come over with the Brunswickers, and a baker who had been in the Hessian service, and, like many of his comrades, found tavern-keeping a short road to fortune in civil life.

A very curious picture of the dealing at that time with soldiers is given in his account of some Bohemians and Hungarians he found working in the mines near Windsor, Nova Scotia. They had been soldiers in the Austrian army; were taken prisoners by the French in Italy in 1796; were sent to

Pavia; were allowed to enlist in the Spanish service; were sent to the West Indies, but on the way were captured by the English and sent to Surinam, where they were enlisted for five years, and then, on being discharged, were sent to Halifax, there to find work.

At Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, he found a large German colony, mostly descendants of the "Hessians" who had been left here after the war, and it is a striking commentary on the indifference of the British government, that these Germans sought the help of this traveller to enable them to get from Germany clergymen for their Lutheran and Reformed churches. One settlement was called "North Germany," so largely was its population made up of Germans and the descendants of Germans from that part of Germany. The traveller gives a list of the postages then charged,—eight cents for forty miles; ten cents for ninety miles; twelve and one-half cents for one hundred and fifty miles; seventeen cents for three hundred miles; twenty cents for five hundred miles; and twenty-five cents for any distance over that. Then, too, his account of his own capture, on the return voyage from New York to Nantes and Bordeaux, by an English man-of-war, with the condemnation in an English admiralty court on the ground of an attempt to violate the Orders in Council, laying

an embargo on all direct trade with France, shows the difficulties in the way of communication between America and Europe. He tells a very touching story of a German family in Nova Scotia waiting patiently for the confirmation of a report that they were heirs to a large fortune left in India by a kinsman who had died there a very rich man. His account of the success of the Germans in the United States must have been welcome reading in Germany, and it was heightened by his description of the good fortune of a German who had found a gold mine in North Carolina, and started a gold company in Philadelphia, which bought thirty-five thousand acres of land, and published very glowing accounts of the prospecting in Cabarrus County.

Mr. Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., in his paper on "The Hessians in New Jersey," pays a tribute to the high personal character of the German officers serving with the British army in the Revolutionary war. Similar testimony is borne by journals recently printed giving the contemporary picture, and showing that the story of fears of the Hessians was always unfounded and is largely the creation of later story-tellers. One of the best services rendered by Christopher Ludwick, both to his countrymen from Germany and to this his adopted fatherland, was the kindly example set by him of making the Hessian prisoners as comfortable

as possible, thus leading many of them to choose America as their home, and giving us many families of note and useful citizens to perpetuate the memory of those trying days. Even in Cassel, quite recently, evidence has been produced showing that the Hessians gave such an account of America as to quicken emigration and lead the growing tide of German settlers hither.

Dr. Johann David Schöpf, surgeon of the Anspach-Baireuth troops in America, published in Erlangen, in 1781, a pamphlet, translated and reprinted under the title of "The Climate and Diseases of America," by Dr. J. R. Chadwick (Boston, Houghton, 1875, 8vo, pp. 31), with a brief introductory note in reference to Schöpf, and a reference to his larger account of his subsequent travels, published in 1788, under the title "Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen Vereinigten Nord-Americanischen Staaten nach Ost-Florida, und der Bahama-Inseln, unternommen in den Jahren, 1783 und 1784." Dr. Chadwick says that Schöpf did not return to Europe with his fellow-soldiers, but remained here to undertake his later and long investigation. His earlier pamphlet is made up of letters written home from New York in December, 1780, the first on the diseases of America, the second on the climate and weather of America; and as he arrived in January, 1779, and his stay was mostly confined to New York and Newport, "Rhod Eyland," as

he writes it, his personal observations must have been very limited, and his generalizations, which are very broad and sweeping, largely based on reports at second-hand, no doubt principally statements of his fellow-officers of the medical staff in the British army. He asserts that "a single glance is all that is required to distinguish an American from an European, and if the latter has once withstood the hardships of the first change of climate, he may forever defy competition with the native American." If this were true, there must have been, since his day, great changes in the types of Americans and foreigners, as well as in the climates of the two countries. Still, his little book is of interest as showing the intelligent interest excited in the minds of the German soldiers, both in and out of their line of duty. Another of the German soldiers to write on America and the Revolutionary war was (subsequently) General Baron Von Ochs, whose "*Betrachtungen über die neuere Kriegskunst*," published in Cassel, in 1817, makes frequent and generally very commendatory mention of the services of the German soldiers in America. He praises especially the retreat of the British, after the battle of Monmouth, on June 28, 1778, which was, he says, "more remarkable than that of Moreau, which is regarded in our time as a sort of miracle, and really was so."

At Marburg and Berlin there are preserved the

records of the Hessian troops that served in America, and a brief but succinct account is given of them in a letter dated London, June 23, 1886, to the *New York Evening Post* of July 15, 1886. These were removed from Wilhelmshöhe, Cassel, to Berlin, and furnish many items of interest. They consist of the journal of the Hessian Corps in America under General Von Heister, from 1776 to 1777; under General Von Knyphausen, from 1777 to 1782; under General Von Lossberg, from 1782 to 1784; reports from Knyphausen, and several large bundles of unbound papers. Many private letters are preserved in these archives, including the correspondence, both official and personal, of Lieutenant Henkelmann and other officers. They deserve the attention of students desirous of contributing another chapter to the history of the German soldiers in America.

In the summer of 1785, Lafayette made a journey through Germany and Austria. At Cassel he met the Hessian officers who had served in America, among them "Old Knyp," and the reminiscences so exchanged were very agreeable.* He wrote on July 14, 1785, to Washington: "I am on my way to the Deux-Ponts, where resides our friend the future

* Tuckerman's "Lafayette," vol. i. p. 167. Lafayette's Correspondence, London, 1837, vol. ii. p. 113, etc.

Electors of Bavaria,* and to Cassel, where I shall see again the Hessian regiments."

He wrote from Paris, February 8, 1786, to Washington: "At Cassel I saw our Hessian friends, and among them old Knyp [General Knyphausen]. I told them they were very fine fellows; they returned thanks and compliments. Ancient foes can meet with pleasure; which, however, I think must be greater on the side that fought a successful cause."

There were many Germans settled in the colonies before the Revolution, who cast their fortunes with the young republic and shared in the struggle which secured independence and union.

The German Battalion was raised agreeably to a resolve of Congress of May 22, 1776, four companies in Pennsylvania and four in Maryland, to which was added a ninth company by resolve of July 9, 1777. The officers were: Lieutenant-Colonel, Ludwick Weltener; Major, Daniel Burckhart; Captains, Jacob Bunner, Peter Boyer, Charles Baltzel, William Rice, Bernard Hubley, Christian Myers, Michael Bayer; Captain-Lieutenant, Philip Schrauder; Lieutenants,

* The father of the two counts of the same name, who had been in the service of France and in the corps of M. de Rochambeau. He was also called Prince Max. He became King of Bavaria.

John Weidman, Martin Sugart, Jacob Gremeth, Jacob Cramer, Godfrey Swartz, Marcus Young, David Morgan; Ensigns, John Weidman, Henry Shrupp, David Desenderfer, Henry Spech, Jacob Rabolt, Christian Glichner, William Prux, Henry Hehn.

An independent corps of one hundred and fifty men was raised by resolve of December 5, 1776, of which the officers were: Captains, John Paul Schott, Anthony Selim.

"*Pennsylvania in the Revolution, 1775-1783*," 2 vols. 8vo, Harrisburg, 1880, edited by Messrs. Linn and Engle, gives very full lists of the officers and men serving in the Continental forces.

David Ziegler is there as adjutant of Colonel Thompson's battalion of riflemen, the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania line in the Continental service. Ziegler was originally third lieutenant in Captain Ross's company, enlisted in Lancaster County; he became captain December 8, 1776, and was retired January 1, 1783, dying in Cincinnati in 1811, aged sixty-three.

John Philip De Haas was colonel of First Pennsylvania Battalion from October 27, 1775, to November 13, 1776. Had been major of First Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment of Provincial forces under Bouquet in 1764; he was made colonel of the Second Pennsylvania, and brigadier-general in 1777.

Caspar Weitzel was captain in Colonel Samuel Miles's Pennsylvania rifle regiment.

In compliance, it is said, with the dying request of De Kalb, his sons, Pierre and John, were commissioned ensigns in the Pennsylvania line by the Supreme Executive Council, on September 10, 1781, as a tribute to their father's memory and services.

Peter Weiser, son of Conrad, was second lieutenant in the First Pennsylvania Continental Regiment. He was wounded and captured at the battle of Germantown.

Rudolph Bunner was originally captain in the Second Battalion, and later lieutenant-colonel, commanding the Third Pennsylvania. He had been captain from January 5, 1776, and major from March 17, 1777; was killed at the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, having very much distinguished himself on the field.

George Will, first lieutenant of Captain Moser's company of the Sixth Pennsylvania, had been eleven years in the Prussian and English service.

John Rose, surgeon, June 12, 1777, in the Seventh Pennsylvania, was Baron Gustavus de Rosenthal, of Livonia. He was promoted March 1, 1780, and made aide-de-camp to General Irvine on July 8, 1781. He was appointed ensign Fourth Pennsylvania, August 9, 1781; was made clerk to the Council of Censors in 1783, returned to Europe in 1784, and died in 1830.

The *German Regiment* originated in a resolution of Congress of June 27, 1776, directing four (subsequently increased to five) companies to be raised in Pennsylvania and four in Maryland, to serve for three years.

Nicholas Haussegger, who was major of the Fourth (Wayne's) Battalion, was commissioned colonel, and Pennsylvania furnished the largest number of officers and men. The regiment was engaged at Trenton and Princeton, in Sullivan's division, and took part in his campaign against the Indians. It was reduced by Congress in October of 1780, and finally ceased to exist on January 1, 1781. Weltener succeeded to the command, and among its officers were Strickner, lieutenant-colonel; Burckhart, major; Woelpper and Schrauder, captains. Its first adjutant was De Linkensdorff, formerly lieutenant in one of the King of Sardinia's Swiss regiments, and he was succeeded by John Weidman, of Reading, who was one of the original members of the Pennsylvania Cincinnati, as was also Peter Peres, the surgeon.

Armand's Legion was originally recruited by Baron De Ottendorff as a troop of light infantry, but on account of the scarcity of well-disciplined cavalry it was changed into a dragoon corps. Nicholas Dietrich Ottendorff was from Lusatia, Saxony, and had served in the Seven Years' war under Frederick the

Great. At the close of that war he went to Paris, and thence came with Kosciuszko and Roman de Lisle to America at the outbreak of the Revolution. Kosciuszko was appointed on Washington's staff. Roman de Lisle was made a captain of artillery, and Ottendorff, at the request of Washington, by resolution of Congress, November 8, 1776, was appointed a brevet captain and ordered to report to Washington at White Plains. On December 5 he was directed by Congress to raise an independent corps of one hundred and fifty, to be divided into three companies; he was to command, with the rank of major. In the spring of 1777 his command was filled in Pennsylvania, and remained in service until 1780; it was merged into Armand's Legion, and Ottendorff is supposed to have returned to Europe.* The captains were Dreisbach, Selin, and Schott. Bauer, the lieutenant of this company, was Lewis Augustus Baron de Nechtritz, who became a captain in Armand's Legion,† and served to the end of the war.

De Nechtritz commanded the Sixth Troop after the consolidation. Among its members, besides many

* For his life, see Seidensticker's "German Society" and Ratterman's *Pionier*, vol. viii. p. 49. He died in Philadelphia, in 1829, at the age of eighty-five.

† See, for his life, Ratterman's *Pionier*, vol. viii. p. 437, and *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. ii. p. 1.

French officers, there were numerous Germans, and, noted on its lists, several Hessians.

In Pulaski's Legion there were officers and men from Pennsylvania, of German birth. In Von Heer's Light Dragoons, organized as a provost guard, all recruited in Pennsylvania, the captain was a Reading man, an officer of Procter's artillery, and among the enlisted men half a dozen or more are returned as "Hessen," a fair proportion of the forty-two non-commissioned officers and privates of this useful body. Among the original members of the Cincinnati, officers of the Pennsylvania line, were Jacob Weitzel, lieutenant, First Pennsylvania Regiment; David Ziegler, captain; Francis Mentges, lieutenant-colonel; John Stricker, lieutenant, Third Pennsylvania Regiment; P. Peres, surgeon, German Regiment; John Rose, lieutenant, Third Regiment; Jacob Mytinger, lieutenant.

In Henry's account of Arnold's campaign against Quebec, 1775 (Albany, Munsell, 1877), is a reference to the company of riflemen commanded by Captain William Hendricks, from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, "an excellent body of men, formed by nature as the stamina of an army, fitted for a tough and tight defence of the liberties of their country." Hendricks "was tall, of a mild and beautiful countenance, his soul was animated by a genuine spark of

heroism." He was killed at Quebec, in the same attack in which General Montgomery fell, on the 1st of January, 1776, and the two heroes were buried side by side. Provost Smith, in his oration on Montgomery, speaks with unstinted praise of the Pennsylvania riflemen. Their funeral was marked by the British officers with every mark of honor. Of Hendricks's company, raised on the west side of the Susquehanna, scarcely a dozen names have been rescued from oblivion. Of the flower of the country, brave, ardent, and patriotic, and nowise daunted by the sufferings of the Arnold campaign, nearly all of those who returned safely from it served again in the Revolution. He is spoken of with equal praise by Thayer in his "Journal of the Invasion of Canada in 1775," edited by Stone, published in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1867.

In Harris's "Biographical History of Lancaster County" (Lancaster, 1872) there are many names of its German settlers and their descendants who served as soldiers, with honor to themselves and credit to the race whence they sprang.

In Hamersly's "Dictionary of the Army," and on the register of the army for 1784, there are the familiar names of General Steuben, inspector-general, and his aide-de-camp, Major William North, and that of major Continental Artillery, Sebastian Bauman,

captain New York Continental Artillery Company, 1776, brevet lieutenant-colonel, 1787.

The following hitherto unprinted letter of De Kalb, from the unrivalled collection of Ferdinand J. Dreer, Esq., of Philadelphia, is so characteristic of that hero, in its manly refusal to accept military precedence over Lafayette, that it is well worth publication, as showing the noble nature of the man :

“BETHLEHEM, 18 Sept^r. 1777.

“SIR,—I have been ever since I had the favour your letter by Mr. Secretary Thomson, in a very uncertain and fluctuating Situation of mind, between the desire of serving in your Army, and the apprehension of blame from home. But Congress and your Esteem do me too much Honour, not to accept your late proposals, if they will grant me Several points I think essential to my tranquillity and entire satisfaction. 1st. That I may be at Liberty to give up my Commission if in answer to the account I will send to France of my proceedings here and my behaviour towards those officers that came over with me, in case they were to exclaim against my stay, in anyway that could be hurtfull to my reputation and honour.

“2nd. As to the offer made to me by the Ministry of Mr. Thomson to have my Commission done of an

older date than Marquiss de la Fayette's. I would decline it and have my Commission of the same day with his. That it may be in my power to show my regard for his friendship to me, in giving him the Seniority over me in America, in order, too, not to disgust him.

"3rd. That Congress will be pleased to grant to Chev. Dubuysson, a Commission as Lt. Colonel with only the pay as a Major, or as my aid de Camp.

"4th. That they will please to make provision for said Chev. Dubuysson of having the assurance of a Pension of 1200 Livres French money or fifty Louis d'ors to be paid in France for life if he serves this and next Campaign, and which they will augment at pleasure if he serves longer and they are satisfied with his having done his duty according to time and circumstances.

"5th. That if Congress are disposed to do anything of that kind for myself it shall be done at their own terms and pleasure. The only thing I could wish in that respect, would be to have the favour bestowed on my Lady and children in case I died in the Continental Army or any other way while in their service.

"On said Conditions I am ready to join the army as soon as possible and to go directly to Philadelphia from Lancaster, where I will wait for a Resolve of Congress, by Chev. Dubuysson, bearer of this.

“Another observation I think necessary in regard to the immediate Command of a Division. General Washington has perhaps friends or deserving officers to whom he would give the preference, in such a case I should be sorry my coming in did in the least cross or prevent his dispositions in this and any other respects. I will gladly and entirely submit to his Commands and to be employed as he shall think most convenient for the good of the Service. If my second aid de Camp I am to chuse, chanced to be a foreigner, I should be glad some provision was made for him after leaving the service, in proportion to his rank as a Major.

“I depend for the Settling of all these matters to the Satisfaction of all parties, on the friendship you are so kind to profess for me, and of which I have already so many proofs. These new obligations cannot increase the respect and high Esteem with which I have the Honour to be,

“Sir, Your most obedient,

“Humble Servant,

“BARON DE KALB.

“COLONEL RICHARD HENRY LEE,

“Member of Congress.”

This is endorsed :

“Com^d to B^d War

“18th & 23d Sept. 1777, acted upon.”

General De Kalb was born in the Franconian village of Hüttendorf, in Bavaria, June 29, 1721. In his twenty-second year he became a lieutenant in Löwendal's regiment, and in the French service fought at Rossbach, became a general, was retired, married the daughter of a Dutch millionaire, and in 1767 was sent by Choiseul on a mission of inquiry to the colonies; his letters have recently been printed in French by his descendants, from the originals in their possession. In 1777 he came with Lafayette to America, was appointed major-general, and fell at Camden, S.C., August 16, 1780, at the head of the Maryland and Delaware troops. Congress resolved that a monument be erected to his memory, and on the 16th of August, 1886, it was dedicated, with fitting ceremonies, at Annapolis. The statue was executed by Keyser, of Baltimore. The site is on the State-House Hill, under the shadow of the building in which, in 1783, Washington resigned his commission. Addresses were made on the occasion by the Hon. Thomas A. Bayard, Secretary of State of the United States, and by Colonel J. Thomas Scharf, well known for his researches and writings on the local history of Maryland. Thus tardy justice was at last rendered one of the German soldiers of the Revolution.

In 1776 the number of Germans under French pay, according to Kapp ("Life of De Kalb," p. 21, German

edition of 1862), amounted to eight regiments of infantry, with four hundred and forty-eight officers and twelve thousand and thirty-two men, and three cavalry regiments, with ninety-six officers and two thousand five hundred and twenty men. Their ranks were kept full even in peace, their native language was used in their commands, and their officers were especially favored by the king. Marshal Saxe and Marshal Löwendal had won their rank by hard and successful service, and their countrymen were always heartily welcomed in the French army, to whose glory they had contributed so much. So slight was the feeling of German nationality at that time, that the German soldiers in the British army in America were always called by the name of the little district from which they came,—Brunswick, Hesse, Anspach, Waldeck, and Zerbst,—never Germans.

De Kalb was adjutant and quartermaster-general in 1760 of the Marshal de Broglie, who once offered to accept the dictatorship of the American forces, much as Klapka during our civil war volunteered to take General McClellan's place. As captain in the Anhalt regiment and as lieutenant-colonel on the retired list, De Kalb found himself in 1764, soon after his retirement from active duty, and a happy and prosperous marriage, with small opportunity for military employment. After two years of fruitless negotiation with

Portugal, he was given in 1767, by Choiseul, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, a secret mission, that of investigating the question of the relations between Great Britain and her disaffected American colonies, continuing the observations made by an earlier agent, Pontleroy, who had made a report very favorable to the strength of the "rebels" in 1766. In January, 1768, De Kalb landed in Philadelphia, and from that place, New York, Boston, and Halifax sent to the French government his views of the situation, showing that the question of independence was one that needed only time and favoring circumstances to become a matter of arbitrament by arms. France found in this a prospect of avenging its losses on England, and De Kalb, after his return to Paris in June, kept his chief well informed of all that was being done in the matter. Although neglected by Choiseul, the information carefully gathered by De Kalb from the local journals of American towns was used five years afterwards by Vergennes. In November, 1776, De Kalb, Holtzendorff, and other officers of the French army were engaged for the service of the American colonies. In June, 1777, they arrived at Charleston on a vessel engaged by Lafayette, who was really under De Kalb's care. Their first welcome was from Huger, whose son long after took part in the unsuccessful effort to release Lafayette from imprisonment at

Olmütz. After some discussion in Congress, during which De Kalb paid a visit to Bethlehem, of which he gave a detailed account to his wife, he was appointed major-general as of the same date with Lafayette, and in October joined the army near Germantown. He described the operations in his letters to Broglie, almost in the same terms in which Howe's adjutant, Von Münchhausen, reported them. He very soon told Broglie that there was no possible hope of an invitation to take Washington's place, although describing Washington as too slow, too indolent, and too weak for a great soldier, vain and conceited, and owing his success more to the mistakes of his opponents than to any merit of his own, not even taking advantage of their grossest errors, and always maintaining his old prejudices against the French. In his letters to his wife he gives an account of the intrigues among the French officers, quite as discouraging as the hardships of the camp at Valley Forge. During his severe illness in Philadelphia he was attended by a countryman, Dr. Pfeil, who became his fast friend. He still corresponded with Broglie, and was anxious to serve in any European campaign in which his old commander could find a place for him. Instead of rejoining his comrades at home, he took part in the Southern campaign, and fell in battle on the 16th of August, 1780. One of his sons served in the Deux-Ponts (Zwei-

brücken) Regiment in the French army. Kapp's "Life" is the best monument of the typical German soldier; Versailles has his best portrait; America, at last, his memorial; but his name, his fame, and his services are secured against oblivion, neglect, and injustice by this exhaustive and instructive study both of De Kalb himself and of the time and the country in which he lived.

De Kalb, Thatcher says, p. 189, was a German by birth, a brave and meritorious officer, a knight of the order of merit, and a brigadier-general in the armies of France. He had served three years with high reputation in the American army, when he fell at the battle of Camden, August 16, 1780, while leading on the Maryland and Delaware troops; he was pierced with eleven wounds, and soon after expired. De Kalb, a major-general, decidedly opposed General Gates's plan of operations, and frequently foretold the ruin that would ensue. In a council of war, De Kalb advised that the army should fall back and take a good position and wait to be attacked, but this was rejected by Gates. De Kalb, at the head of a few hundreds of Continentals, was left to cope with the whole British army. He survived the action but a few hours. To a British officer, who kindly condoled with him in his misfortune, he replied, "I thank you for your generous sympathy, but I die the death I always prayed for,—the death of a soldier fighting for

the rights of man." His last moments were spent in dictating a letter concerning the Continental troops who supported him in the action, of whom he said he had no words that could sufficiently express his love and his admiration of their valor.

Among other Germans serving in the French army under Rochambeau in America, were Count Fersen, Baron Von Holzendorf, Counts Christian and William von Zweibrücken, and Baron d' Ezbech.

Rochambeau gave the command of the Second Division to the Count de Wittgenstein.

From the same treasure-house of original material for history (Mr. Dreer's collection, now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) comes the following letter from Steuben, written in French, from which the following is an extract :

" Dear Friend

" I have received your two letters of the 12th and 20th February,—I would rather have seen you in person. I am infinitely obliged to you for your news, for every thing which occurs in the army is of interest. I am infinitely sorry for your account of Col. Bruchs and Major Gils and would be glad to help them. To lose such an officer as Bruchs would be a real misfortune. I have already spoken of it to the President of Congress et je parlerai au bon Dieu

et au Diable. I would move Heaven and Earth to prevent it. We are waiting for news from Gibraltar and Charlestown, as the Jews wait for the Messiah. I have bet a hat on the fall of Gibraltar, but I am afraid I shall win only a night cap. Our papers are full of epigrams, abuse, and dreams of the late Mr. de Galvan on the American army,—his friends want to immortalize him. Let me know if North has decided to go beyond Boston, for in that case I fear much,—but no, I won't fear anything. I hoped to present my compliments to Mrs. Washington en route when your last letter reported that she had gone. I would like to see you in my hermitage,—where I am better quartered than since I came to America. I rarely go into the city, but my friends come to see me in my cottage. I receive visits from European Grandees, such as the Prince de Guimené, of the house of Rohan,—who claim to be next after the Bourbons in France. The Duc de Lauzun, the Comte de Gillon, have both been here too. Our American Grandees are too busy with great affairs to pay visits, but I have no pretensions, for I have paid no visit except to the President of Congress, nor will I. Yesterday I was at a supper and ball given by M. de la Luzerne to the newly married Major Moore and his wife,—there were eighty persons, and among them many pretty women. . . . My fate is not yet decided. I

have just written to Congress to demand a Committee, to which I can submit my uncomfortable situation. I get no pay, rations or forage, and I live on money I borrow to pay my marketing. My case is one of 'to be or not to be,'—I am ready for anything. The Secretary of War will find it no harder to replace me than the Adjutant-General, whose position he offered to several persons of my acquaintance. 'Let him go' is the favorite phrase of our Secretaries nowadays. I saw Robert Morris yesterday,—he seems more affected by the conditions of the army than anybody. I hope that after the 1st of January, not only will the subsistence of the officers be regularly paid, but that it may be increased. Say to them that no matter what happens, nothing can prevent me from being their advocate. . . . I cannot deal with Lincoln, he has done me more harm than he thinks, but I don't want to be anybody's enemy, not even his. There are some people who are dangerous only as friends, and he is one of them, so it is prudent for me to treat him with indifference. I was not the aggressor, I sought his friendship, and if he had honored me with his confidence, my advice would have been better for him than that of his friend Cornel. . . . The Prince de Guimené wants to make the acquaintance of the General in chief,—he said so to me, and if my finances do not prevent, I will go

with him. Although he is only a Midshipman on the Frigate, he is a young man of the highest nobility in France,—a grandson of the Prince de Soubise, who is Marshal of France. I give you warning, so that in case he comes, his air *of a little wild boy* may not prevent you showing him the consideration due to his birth. But what nonsense to talk this way in a Republic. My respects to the General.

“STEUBEN.

“BELISARIUS HALL.

“Nov. the 26th.”

Steuben was a Prussian, born in Cüstrin, near Magdeburg, in 1730, where his father was commandant of the fortress and lieutenant-colonel. The son distinguished himself in the campaign in Silesia under Frederick the Great, who made him a lieutenant-general for his services in the Seven Years' war. Taken prisoner at Treptow, he was employed by the Emperor of Russia to teach his soldiers Prussian tactics. Wearying of life at the court of Prince Henry of Prussia, whose marshal he was, he gave up his income of three thousand dollars, then a handsome fortune, and came to this country. His countrymen in Lancaster gave him a fitting welcome, and Congress made him inspector-general and major-general. His work in organizing a disciplined body out of the raw Americans was all-important in se-

curing the final results of the war, and at Yorktown he and Muhlenberg were the two to whom the surrender of Cornwallis was mainly due.

Thatcher's *Military Journal*, p. 160, gives an opinion of a contemporary on May 28, 1779, which shows Steuben's methods and his popularity :

“The Baron Steuben reviewed and inspected our brigade. The troops were paraded in a single line with shouldered arms, every officer in his particular station. The Baron first reviewed the line in this position, passing in front with a scrutinizing eye, after which he took into his hand the musket and accoutrements of every soldier, examining them with particular accuracy and precision, applauding or condemning, according to the condition in which he found them. He required that the musket and the bayonet should exhibit the brightest polish ; not a spot of rust, or defect in any part, could elude his vigilance. He inquired also into the conduct of the officers towards their men, censuring every fault and applauding every meritorious action. Next he required of me, as surgeon, a list of the sick, with a particular statement of their accommodations and mode of treatment, and even visited some of the sick in their cabins. The Baron has sustained the office of aide-de-camp to His Majesty the King of Prussia, and is now inspector-general with the rank of major-

general in our army. He appears to be about fifty years of age, and is venerable and dignified in his deportment, rich and elegant in dress, having a splendid medal of gold and diamonds, designating the order of Fidelity, suspended at his breast. He is held in universal respect and considered as a valuable acquisition to our country. He is distinguished for his profound knowledge of tactics, his ability to reform and discipline an army, for his affectionate attachment to a good and faithful soldier, and his utter aversion to every appearance of insubordination and neglect of duty. The Continental army has improved with great rapidity under his inspection and review."

Among the German soldiers who afterwards attained great fame, Gneisenau was for a short time in America. He had eagerly sought employment in the force sent to reinforce the British army, but it was not until 1782 that he was gratified; but the yäger regiment of Anspach troops, in which he was a subaltern, only reached Halifax when the war was practically over. He remained there until late in the autumn of 1783, but it was not without marked influence on his subsequent military career. He learned a useful lesson from the generous pay and liberal provision for the care of the enlisted men, so much greater than that of the petty German princes in time of peace.

Still more important were the two valuable additions to his stock of military knowledge: first, the value of sharpshooters in actual warfare; second, the advantage of a well-organized system of popular military service. The Hessians had learned at Flatbush, in 1776, the value of long, thin lines and of riflemen under cover on the flanks, as against the close columns massed of the old-fashioned German system of tactics. General Von Ochs, a Hessian who began a long military life in America, wrote with great emphasis of the useful lesson learned in this respect from the example of the American riflemen, and it was finally adopted in a modified way in Germany later on. The example, too, of a general arming and training of the whole people as volunteers was followed in Germany, after the fashion learned in America, and after the French had won the first successes of their own revolutionary wars in the way it had been seen in practice in America. The great Frederick himself, although carefully abstaining from any participation in the American war, soon learned its lessons, and in the last years of his reign organized three light infantry regiments, and secured the services of many Hessian, Brunswick, and Anspach officers who had seen service in America, and could organize, train, and handle light troops. His successor increased this force to twenty battalions in 1787, under the name of Fusileers, and

in 1788-89 published the regulations, largely drawn from those in force for the American skirmishers.

In Southern and Middle Germany, in Anspach, in Würtemberg, in the Odenwald and the Schwarzwald, after the outbreak of the war with France, local militia was organized largely after the American method. It was later on that Prussia so far conceded its advantage as to mould its own inelastic military organization on the same footing, and thus finally developed its full power against that of France. Gneisenau kept in mind all these lessons, and as fast as he could adopted them for the use of the Prussian army. Scharnhorst had first given voice to the need of a militia or "Landwehr," and Gneisenau ably seconded him in the effort thus to arm the whole nation against France and to make a people's war in defence of Germany. For many years he was obliged to go on with the old tactics in use, with which no enemy was ever defeated. Two years were spent in this sort of play in the Anspach service, and then, with many other officers who had served in America, he exchanged his petty master for the Prussian king, the great soldier of his time, now fast drawing to his end. His new light infantry was largely officered by French exiles and the descendants of Swiss-French officers. His successor perfected the plan of his great exemplar, by increasing the strength of his light troops, and by

regulations intended to improve them in freedom of motion in the field and in sharp-shooting in skirmish-lines in front and on the flanks. Thus America gave Germany its first insight into the value and importance of that accuracy of aim which is now part of the training of both German soldiers and German people, and the German shooting-matches are the natural result of what was learned in America by Germans. Among Gneisenau's comrades in his new service were several who had taken a much more active part in the war in America, and from them he learned the value and importance of its examples for practical adoption in Germany. They were ready to recognize the changes that had become necessary in the old tactics, while the Prussian officers, who had learned nothing of what was going on in the New World, were firm in the conviction that nothing was better than their old mechanical methods. It took the example of the French in their successful invasion of Germany to show that skirmishing was in its way as important an element of modern warfare as massing in column in the earlier fashion of waging war. In 1803 he and his fellow-captain, Vethake, were for the first time personally complimented by the King of Prussia for special merit; yet even then, in his forty-third year, he had to wait for promotion and the opportunity to put in practice his lessons learned in and from America.

When at last the need came for men, Gneisenau was recognized as one who could put in practice these lessons, and thenceforward his name is part of the best page of German military history.

The German officers and soldiers in the British service, too, did all that military training could for the cause in which they were employed. Riedesel, Heister, Knyphäusen, Donop, Specht, Baum, Breimann, Rahl, were true soldiers, even to the death in some cases. Their men made good Americans, and brought over many of the earliest and best settlers when independence and peace were finally secured. Brehm was a leader in Western settlements, and Boone had many Germans in his successive emigration schemes. Michael Fink and his companions were among the first to descend the Mississippi on a trading expedition to New Orleans, where the officials in 1782 had never heard of their starting-point, Pittsburg. Germans again—Rosenvelt, Becker, and Heinrich—were the first to descend the Ohio in a steamboat in 1811.

The register for 1789 gives, captain First Infantry, David Ziegler, late captain First Pennsylvania Continental Infantry. In the Indian border warfare between 1788 and 1795, a leading figure was that of David Ziegler, whose story is typical of that of many of our early German soldiers. Born in Heidelberg in 1748, he served in the Russian campaign against the

Turks, under Catherine, until the conquest of the Crimea brought peace. He settled in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1775, and as adjutant of a Pennsylvania regiment more than half made up of Germans,—the second to enlist under Washington for the war,—and as senior captain of the First Pennsylvania Continental Regiment, he won great praise. Later on he raised a company for war against the Indians in the West, and took part in Clark's expedition, and was with General Harmer in 1790, and with St. Clair in 1791, in command of a battalion of regulars. He was made major and temporarily assigned command of the army, for six weeks, but was led to resign, and was the first mayor of Cincinnati, where he died in 1811.

The army list for 1805-6 has, captain Artillery, Michael Kalteisen, who had been distinguished in connection with the Charleston (South Carolina) German company. Michael Kalteisen was born at Wachtelsheim, Würtemberg, on the 18th of June, 1729; in 1762 he was established in business in Charleston, South Carolina, where a large German population had already gathered. In 1766, with fifteen of his countrymen, he established the German Friendly Society of that city, and by the time of the Revolution it counted a hundred members, and was well enough off to advance two thousand pounds to the State for defence against the Crown. On the 12th of July,

1775, he set on foot the plan of a German military organization which, under the name of the German Fusileers, by 1776 counted over a hundred Germans in its ranks. Its captain was Alexander Gillon, first lieutenant Peter Bouquet (brother of the general of that name), second lieutenant Kalteisen, ensign Gideon Dupont. From the day of their organization they proved themselves true and ardent patriots. In 1779 it took part with the Continental forces under Lincoln and the French squadron under D'Estaing, in the siege of Savannah, having its captain, Scheppert, killed in the same assault in which Pulaski fell. The first captain, Gillon, had been made captain of the South Carolina fleet in 1779, and sent to France to buy three frigates. The Prince of Luxemburg gave him one for three years on a guarantee of its safe return and a fourth share of all prize money. He finally led a squadron of eighty sail, and took the "Bahamas." He left a son who, in 1817, was a member of the Fusileers. Kalteisen died in 1807, and the hall of the German Society, with its tablet in his memory, was destroyed by fire in 1864. The Fusileers, however, still exist, and the German Society still perpetuates the useful charity set on foot by him.

Captain Michael Kalteisen was sixty-six years of age when he was appointed captain of the artillerists

and engineers. He had served in the first and several succeeding Legislatures of South Carolina, and had been a public official for more than thirty-five years.

Part of his company may have been recruited in Charleston, South Carolina, but the greater part of it was sent from the North. The Charleston paper of August 8, 1794, says, "Lieutenant Cox with thirty-six artillerymen arrived in the ship *Alexandria*. The troops were landed at Sullivan's Island, where we understand they are to be stationed." William Cox had been appointed to the infantry in May, but upon the organization of the artillerists and engineers was transferred to that branch of the service. The company was stationed at Fort Johnston, Charleston Harbor, and was commanded by Captain Kalteisen until his death at that post, November 3, 1807. In December, 1796, Captain Kalteisen was informed that a large detachment had been embarked (from New York?) to reinforce his garrison and render his company complete; and in October, 1798, when Fort Pinckney, Charleston Harbor, was completed, Captain Kalteisen, commanding Fort Johnston, sent a detachment of his company there to take possession. In the consolidation of 1802 the changes made in the company—if any at all—must have been few.

On May 2, 1807, a British sloop-of-war, which had been forbidden our ports by the President, ar-

rived in the harbor of Charleston. Kalteisen at once ordered her out of the harbor, threatening to fire on her after a certain hour. Captain Love, commanding the "Driver," replied to his note, and left on time. Kalteisen at once reported by Lieutenant Wyndham to the War Department.

The decease of Captain Kalteisen was announced by seventeen guns from Fort Johnston, November 3, 1807, and was answered by the same number of guns from boats in the harbor, and all the flags in town and on shipping were placed at half-mast.

Of the general officers of the Continental army, three were Germans,—John De Kalb, F. von de Woedtke, F. W. A. Steuben.

In the pages of that excellent and useful journal, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, the organ of the society established under that name to preserve everything that relates to the history of the German settlers in this country, are found many records of the Germans who served the cause of American liberty, both in the Revolutionary war and in that of the Rebellion. Herkimer (Herchheimer), in New York, and Muhlenberg, in Pennsylvania, are names that will long preserve the memory of the services of the first German soldiers in defence of their adopted country. The records of the Continental army show that in almost every regiment there were

Germans, and in those of Pennsylvania, whole regiments, battalions, and companies organized, officered, and filled with Germans, who did good service for their country. In the then Western wilderness of Kentucky, Daniel Boone, with others like himself of German birth or descent, did their share in securing American liberty in their new home. In Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, there were many German settlers, and from their number many went into the patriot army, sharing its hardships and contented with helping to secure the final establishment of American independence as their full reward. In Gustav Körner's "Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten," Cincinnati, 1880, there is a graphic account of the Germans from 1818 to 1848, with frequent reference to the earlier, as well as the later, Germans who took a distinguished place among the soldiers of the young republic in its first Revolution and in its subsequent wars. Herkimer, Lutterloh, and Weissenfels, in New York, Muhlenberg, in Pennsylvania, Michael Kalteisen and his associates, in the German Fusileer Company of Charleston, South Carolina, the oldest military organization of the country, established in 1775, are among those who were the first German citizens by their sacrifices and their services to secure the right to a place in the home of their adoption.

De Graffenried and the Palatines settled by him in North Carolina were attacked by the Indians, and war raged until 1713, when their power was broken by the vigorous resistance of the sturdy Germans, and the interior of North Carolina made safe to emigrants. The treaty of Utrecht in that year gave England large concessions, from France, of territory in America. William Penn advised making the St. Lawrence the boundary on the north, and the valley of the Mississippi part of the British colonies, but that immense region was still left to France, and that country agreed that it would never molest the Five Nations, the great Indian confederation subject to and allied with Great Britain. In Parkman's series of admirable historical works on various phases and periods of the early settlement on the border, there are found frequent mention of the services of the Germans, as missionaries of peace, as explorers in the wilderness, as sturdy settlers, and as good soldiers. The forty German officers sent to America in 1756, to raise recruits for the Royal American Regiment, with its four battalions of a thousand men each, were the nucleus of much of the military discipline that stood the country in good stead, alike in its struggle for mastery over the Indians and, twenty years later, in the contest for independence. The picturesque red costume of the Royal Americans is frequently spoken

of as a marked feature of their appearance in battle and in conference, in peace and in all military displays. General Gates was one of the officers thus brought to this country, and many others who rendered valuable service in all grades owed their training in the art of war to the experiment thus made, in order to utilize the Germans settled throughout the colonies.

Friedrich Heinrich Baron von Weissenfels was the friend and companion of Washington, Steuben, and De Kalb, and his name deserves to be rescued from oblivion. Born in Elbing, Prussia, in succession to a line of soldiers (his father was major in the Swedish army), he served in the Silesian war under Frederick the Great, and, like Steuben, won at the hands of that royal soldier his decoration and order; in 1756 he entered the English service to take part in the old French war, was made an officer in the Royal American, the Sixtieth of the line, took part in the attack on Fort Ticonderoga, and the capture of Havana in 1762. He was at the side of Wolfe when he fell at Quebec, and served in the same regiment as St. Clair. Put on half-pay at the close of the war, he settled in New York, married a widow Bogart there, and had Steuben and Van Courtland as his groomsmen. As soon as the colonies began the Revolution, casting aside all thought of his own

interest, he offered his services to the Continental Congress, was made captain of a regiment organized in New York in 1775, and was brigade major at Quebec with Montgomery and Wooster. In 1776 he was made lieutenant-colonel in command of the Third Battalion of the Second New York Regiment of the line, and was soon promoted to be colonel, serving at White Plains and at Trenton, and at the capture of Burgoyne, as well as at Monmouth. In 1779 he was second in command under Sullivan in an expedition against the Indians. He was distinguished for his personal gallantry, and was honored by Washington and Congress with many marks of grateful acknowledgment.

The following attests the respect of his old commander; it is the copy of an autograph letter, hitherto unprinted, of Washington to Colonel Weissenfels:

“MOUNT VERNON, 15th Mar. 1785.

“Sir

“I was favored with your letter of the 21st of Feby. by the last Post. It never fails to give me pain when I receive an acc^t of the sufferings of a deserving officer, in which light I always considered you. It ever has been amongst my first wishes that the circumstances of the Public had been such as to have prevented the great loss which both officers & soldiers have sustained by the depreciation of their

certificates. And that each State might have it in its power to do something for those of its own line in its civil departments. But having many to provide for & few places or things to bestow, it is matter of little wonder that many, very many, should go unnoticed, or to speak more properly, unprovided for. It has ever been a maxim with me, & it gives regularity & weight to my Certificates, to found them upon the testimony of the General Officers under whom the Applicant had served. This brings with it dates & circumstances with which I am oftentimes unacquainted. In your case it is essentially necessary, because from your long having been out of the Continental line of the Army, I cannot with precision speak to facts. If therefore as you have been in the service of the State of New York, you will forward to me the testimonial of his Excell^y Gov^r Clinton, I will gladly accompany it with a certificate of mine, if you think it will be of any service. To do w^h can only be attended with a little delay, as letters will come and go free from Postage.—With esteem and regard I am Sir

“ Yr. most Ob^t Serv^t

“ G^o WASHINGTON.

“ TO COL. FREDERICK WEISSENFELS

“ New York.

“ Free G^o WASHINGTON.”

The following is a copy of the original certificate :

“I certify that Frederick Weissenfels Esqre has served in the armies of the United States of America from the year 1775 until the reduction which took place in 1780. That in the year 1776 he was promoted to the rank of Lt. Co^l., and continued there until the reduction above mentioned; after which (as a testimony of the good opinion entertained of him) he was appointed by the State of New York (in which he is a citizen) to command a Regiment of State Troops.—That during the whole of this period, as far as his conduct came under my observation, and from the information of the General Officers under whose immediate orders he served, he displayed a zeal, bravery & intelligence which did honor to the military character; & in every respect, has conducted himself as a gentleman & good citizen. Given at Mount Vernon, this 10th day of April, 1785.

“G^o WASHINGTON

“late C. in Ch.”

The originals are in possession of E. B. Anderson, Esq., of Newport, whose wife was a daughter of A. R. Ellery and his wife, Charlotte Weissenfels. With these there is the following brief autobiography :

“Frederick de Weissenfels was born in the Kingdom of Prussia, A.D. 1728, in the district called Same-

land, six miles from the city of Elbingen, a Hanse town on the river Elbe,—was educated in an academy at Königsbergh, with the Earl of Dohna and Earl of Swerin,—served the King of Prussia, during the war with Austria and Saxony, in a Regiment of Dragoons, six years the United Provinces of Holland in a Regiment of Heavy Calvallery [sic] in garrison at Zutphen, four years the King of England in the Royal American Col [onial] Regiment of foot four years, and the States of America during the revolution eight years, was married in New York to Mary Schurmur only daughter of John Schurmur a Merchant from Bristol O. E., by her he had eight children, two of them died in infancy, the surviving them were (vitz) Ann, Charles Frederick, Cathrine Mary, George John, and Mary Charlotte.”

He died in New Orleans on May 14, 1806, aged seventy-eight, and a newspaper adds, “impoverished by the war, he held a place in the police.” He was honored by a military funeral, in recognition of his services at White Plains, Trenton, Burgoyne’s surrender, Monmouth, and Sullivan’s expedition. His son Charles F., born July 24, 1759, married Rhoda Salter, of New Jersey, and died February 11, 1795, having been appointed in 1779 a lieutenant in the Second New York Regiment, and in 1787 captain of a company in Colonel Morgan Lewis’s New York

regiment. He was the first Vice-President of the German Society of New York, with Steuben as its President. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati, and his fellow-Germans in that organization deserve to be chronicled here, to show the appreciation of their share in the great work of securing the independence of the American republic.

These original members were :

Major-General Steuben.

Colonel Henry Emanuel Lutterloh, a President of the German Society of New York.

Colonel Nicholas Fish, of New York.

Colonel Frederick von Weissenfels, of the Second New York Regiment.

Major Sebastian Baumann, of the Second New York Artillery Regiment.*

* Sebastian Baumann was major in Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery, his company having been raised by the New York Provincial Congress in March, 1776. He served from 1777 until June 20, 1784. He was an educated officer of German birth; was a resident of New York long before the war; was commissioned early in 1776. He served with distinction in the Northern campaigns of 1776-77, and was in command of the artillery at West Point in 1779. In 1781 he took part in the siege of Yorktown, and in 1782 he published the only American map and survey of that important field of operations. After the war he was postmaster of New York, where he died in 1803, in his sixty-fourth year.

Captain Henry Ticbout, First New York Regiment.

Captain George Sytez, First New York Regiment.

Lieutenant Peter Anspach, Second New York Artillery Regiment.

Lieutenant Henry Demler, Second New York Artillery Regiment.

Lieutenant Joseph Freilich, Second New York Regiment.

Lieutenant Michael Wetzal, Second New York Regiment.

Lieutenant John Furmann, First New York Regiment.

Lieutenant Carl Fr. Weissenfels, Second New York Regiment.

Captain-Lieutenant Peter Neslett, New York Artillery.

Captain-Lieutenant Peter Jaulmann, Sappers and Miners.

This list is of the Germans who were members of the Society of the Cincinnati in New York alone, and no doubt on the rolls of the Society in other States there will be found many other Germans distinguished for their services in the war of the Revolution.

In Seidensticker's admirable and exhaustive "History of the German Society of Pennsylvania" there

is a brief mention of the services of the Germans of Philadelphia in the patriot cause. In May, 1776, Congress organized a German regiment of companies from Pennsylvania and Maryland,—the Pennsylvania companies were five in number, and those from Maryland four. One of the Philadelphia companies was commanded by Colonel David Woelpper, an old soldier, for he had served in Germany under Frederick the Great, and in the old French war under Washington. The German regiment was first commanded by Haussegger, and it served with credit in Muhlenberg's brigade throughout the Revolution. Other German companies were raised at that time, and many Germans served in various arms of the service. The fines and penalties imposed on the German citizens of well-known rebel principles are all recited in Seidensticker's history, showing how strongly the German element in and about Philadelphia adhered to the patriot cause even at the time the British held the city. In Mr. H. M. Jenkins's "History of Gwynedd," there is a similar collection of evidence as to the stout adherence of the Germans of Montgomery County to the rebel side. He tells the story of one of their number who was charged with the serious offence of giving information to the enemy, and escaped finally severe punishment on the merciful ground that he was a weak poli-

tician,—a plea that would cover many offences in our own day and generation.

John Paul Schott, the commander of a battalion in Armand's legion, was born in Prussia in 1744, served as a cadet, became adjutant of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, came to America in 1776, was authorized to raise an independent company of German dragoons, led the right wing of Hand's brigade in Sullivan's army, in 1779, in the attack on the Five Nations, and commanded the forts in Wyoming Valley to the close of the war. He filled a variety of civil offices afterwards, dying in Philadelphia in 1829.

Washington's mounted body-guard was led by Major Barth. van Heer, and consisted of fourteen officers and fifty-three men, nearly all Germans. The First Continental Regiment of Pennsylvania was commanded by Colonel John Philipp de Haas, who was born in 1735, came to America in 1750, was ensign in the French war, became a brigadier-general in 1777, took part in the expedition to Canada, and served with credit to the close of the war.

Christopher Ludwick was born October 17, 1720, at Giessen, in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany. At seventeen he enlisted as a private soldier in the army of the Emperor of Germany, and bore his part in the war carried on by the Austrians against the Turks,

between the years 1737 and 1740. At the close of the war in Turkey he made his way through great hardships to Vienna, then went to Prague, where he endured all the distresses of a seventeen weeks' siege. After its surrender to the French, in 1741, he enlisted as a soldier in the army of the King of Prussia. On the return of peace he went to the East Indies in Admiral Boscowen's fleet, and spent three years and a half in different parts of that country. In 1753 he came to Philadelphia, where he was successfully engaged in business as a baker until 1774. He was an active participant in the struggle for independence, and was a member of all the committees and conventions which conducted the affairs of the Revolution in Pennsylvania, in 1774, '75, and '76. In the summer of 1776 he acted as a volunteer in the flying camp, and in the spring of 1777 he was appointed Superintendent of Bakers and Director of Baking in the Army of the United States. His services in that capacity were fully appreciated and acknowledged by Washington, who formally certified that he was a true and faithful servant to the public. He died June 17, 1801, leaving his estate, much diminished by his devotion to the cause of his adopted country, to the German Society and to other charitable and educational purposes, mainly to the establishment of free schools. The sum of eight thousand dollars, the

value of his residuary estate, and other property, aggregating in all thirteen thousand dollars, then considered a very large amount, helped to found the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools, which, in turn, paved the way for the existing system of free schools in that city. Part of the property, bearing the name of the donor, is still productive of an income devoted to the purpose, thus perpetuating the name of Christopher Ludwick.*

Among the French allied army sent to the help of the struggling colonies were many Germans, and the investigation of H. A. Ratterman, editor of the *Pionier*, attests both their number and influence. It will be found in vol. xiii. of that journal (1881) at pp. 317, 360, and 420. Colonel Esebeck commanded a regiment, "Zweibrücken," the German equivalent for the French "Deux-Ponts." In Force's "Archives" many of the details of others are given. At the time it was a matter of arrangement between neighboring and friendly princes, how many of the men of one country should enlist in the army of another. France had troops from the Rhine Provinces, Baden, Bavaria, Württemberg, Ans-

* Dr. Benjamin Rush's "Life of Ludwick," Philadelphia, 1801. Reprinted 1831.

pach, and Switzerland in its service. With the Zweibrücken Regiment came the two counts, sons of the prince of the name, and Captain Haake.

“My Campaigns in America. A Journal kept by Count William de Deux-Ponts, 1780–81, translated from the French Manuscript, with an Introduction and Notes by Samuel Abbott Green,” Boston, 1868, 8vo, pp. 176, gives a very full account of the final operations of the French troops in the Revolutionary war. The author was one of two brothers, Christian and William, sons of Duke Christian of Zweibrücken, of the royal family of Bavaria, and a French mother, Mme. von Forbach. Christian was colonel, and William lieutenant-colonel, of the Royal Regiment des Deux-Ponts; the latter was wounded at Yorktown, and both were commended for their distinguished conduct. The younger brother, William, was born at Deux-Ponts, Bavaria, in 1754, and entered his brother’s regiment in the French army in 1778, becoming lieutenant-colonel in 1779. The elder brother was born in 1752, was appointed second lieutenant in 1768, and colonel of the regiment in 1775. In his journal he notes the fact that when he led the advance in the attack at Yorktown, he was challenged by a Hessian soldier stationed on the parapets, crying out in German, “*Wer da?*”

The brothers returned to Bavaria when the French

Revolution obliged them to leave France, and lived and died in Munich, holding posts of honor at the court.

A battalion from Trier served in Custine's regiment, one from Elsass (Alsace), in the Bourbonnais, a large number were in Lauzun's cavalry regiment, and an Anhalt regiment assisted in the siege of Savannah. Among the German officers in the French service were Count Fersen, chief of staff of Rochambeau, besides his adjutant, Von Closen, and his chief of artillery, Gau. Count Von Stedingk commanded the Anhalt regiment, and, like his friend Fersen, belonged to the old Pomeranian nobility, although both afterwards died in the Swedish service.

At Yorktown the Germans in the American army fought for a time against the Germans under the English flag, and the commands were given on both sides in German. A detachment of Germans placed the French flag on the walls of Yorktown after its capture. Among the prisoners were countrymen of the troops put over them as a guard, and many of them met as old friends and neighbors. When Tarleton tried to force his way out of the lines, it was with the German cavalry under Ewald, and they were met and repulsed by the Germans under Armand. Ratterman's estimate, that eleven thousand German soldiers remained in this country after

the war, may well be credited with recruits from both sides. With the Germans in the Pennsylvania brigade of Muhlenberg and the Maryland brigade of Gist, the soldiers of the German regiments in the English service soon made friends and found new homes. Indeed, the Anspach regiment, two days after the capitulation, offered their services as a body. Eelking gives a list of twenty-eight officers of the Brunswick regiments who either remained or returned here after the war to settle.

In the "History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia," by Wills de Haas (Wheeling and Philadelphia, 1851), at p. 344, is a brief biographical sketch of Lewis Wetzel, a typical borderer, a brave and successful Indian fighter, and the right arm of the settlers in their almost ceaseless war with the natives, as well as one of the most noted of the hunters in the West. A good friend to his white neighbors, he was of a brutal and violent temper, and for the Indians he knew no pity and felt no generosity. They had killed many of his friends and relations, among others his father, and he hunted them in peace or war like wolves. Some of his feats were cold-blooded murders, as when he killed an Indian who came in to treat with General Harmer, under pledge of safe conduct; one of his brothers slew in like fashion a chief who came to see

Colonel Brodhead. But the frontiersmen loved him, for his mere presence was a protection, so great was the terror he inspired among the red men. His hardihood and address were only equalled by his daring and courage. He was literally a man without fear. In his few days of peace his chief amusements were wrestling, foot-racing, and shooting at a mark. He was a dandy, too, after the fashion of the backwoods, especially proud of his mane of long hair, which, when he let it down, hung to his knees. He often hunted alone in the Indian country, a hundred miles beyond the Ohio. Once he surprised four Indians sleeping in their camp; falling on them, he killed three. Another time, when pursued by the same number of foes, he loaded his rifle as he ran, and killed in succession the three foremost, whereat the other fled. In all, he took over thirty scalps of warriors, thus killing more Indians than were slain by either one of the two large armies of Braddock and St. Clair during their disastrous campaigns. Wetzel's frame, like his heart, was of steel, but his temper was too sullen and unruly for him ever to submit to command or to bear rule over others. His feats were performed when he was either alone or with two or three associates. An army of such men would have been wholly valueless.

His father was one of the first settlers on Wheeling

Creek, and was killed in 1787 by Indians, sacrificing his own life to save that of his comrades. From that time the son, then almost twenty-three years of age, and already well trained by his father, devoted himself to avenging his death. At twenty-five he enlisted under General Harmer, commanding at Marietta, and while in the army he shot an Indian, was arrested, escaped, and reached home, in spite of prison, guard, and fetters. An attempt to recapture him was given up out of fear of a counter-rebellion against the United States troops, and when he did get into their hands, General Harmer promptly released him. He went to New Orleans, was there arrested, and was released a broken man, yet he was long active in leading new settlers and purchasers through the trackless forests of Western Virginia, until his death in 1808. The name is perpetuated in Wetzel County, West Virginia, although the early German name seems to have passed through numerous variations,—Whetzell, Whitzell, Watzel, and Wetzel,—but of its German derivation there can be no doubt. The Poes, too, who figure in this border history, were sons of German settlers from Frederick County, Maryland, and the elder Frederick Poe, who moved West in 1774, and died in 1840 at the age of ninety-three, was, like his younger brother, Andrew, a backwoodsman in every sense of the word. Shrewd,

active, and courageous, they fixed their abode on the frontier of civilization, determined to contest inch by inch with the native Indians their right to the soil and their privilege to live. Their hair-breadth escapes and bold adventures remain even now among the legends of their early homes, and fortunately are preserved in the pages of the local historian. As late as 1846 there was found at the mouth of the Kanawha one of the leaden plates, suitably inscribed, bearing date 1749, and asserting the claim of France to the region watered by the Ohio River and its tributaries, and others were found at Venango and Marietta. Washington's expedition with the Virginia troops in 1754 first made this region familiar to the colonists, and settlements soon began. From Pennsylvania came some of the German Dunkards, who hoped to practise the peaceful doctrines of their Ephrata brethren, but with them came others more willing to fight than to pray, preferring to take land by force rather than by purchase. Braddock's campaign, with its disaster, only served to make the region better known to the Provincial troops, and from them came the best settlers in the region thus opened. The fate of the Christian and Moravian Indians, settled at Gnadenhütten, Schönbrunn, Salem, and Lichtenau, massacred in cold blood, is a permanent blot upon the leaders in that inexcusable

raid, and it was terribly revenged in the utter failure of the next attack, in 1782.

General George Weedon, really Gerhard von der Wieden, was born in Hanover, served in the war of the Austrian Succession, 1742-48, was distinguished for his performance at the battle of Dettingen, served with Colonel Henry Bouquet in Flanders, came with him as lieutenant in his Royal American Regiment, and served with it in the old French war, in the capture of Fort Du Quesne, and in the campaign against the Indians. The war over, he settled in Fredericksburg, Virginia, then largely populated by Germans, and when the Revolution broke out became captain and later on lieutenant-colonel of the Third Virginia Militia, colonel of the First Virginia Continental, and finally, on February 24, 1777, brigadier-general, taking a leading part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He left the service for a time, then in 1780 re-entered it under Muhlenberg, and commanded the Virginia militia at the siege of Yorktown.

Armand's legion was originally organized by Nicholas Dietrich Freiherr von Ottendorff, a Saxon nobleman, lieutenant under Frederick the Great, who came to this country with Kosciuszko, and became major, commanding an independent corps of light infantry. It was subsequently reorganized as cavalry

under Armand, Ottendorff became lieutenant-colonel, and his adjutant, Howelman, a Hanoverian nobleman, together with the officers of the companies, were all advanced in grade,—the names are given in full in the eighth volume of the *Pionier* (1876-77), p. 436.

Of the Pennsylvania Germans who were soldiers in the Revolution the Hiesters were prominent examples. Four sons of one family were officers: Daniel, the eldest, colonel, John and Gabriel, majors, and William, the youngest, captain; a cousin, Joseph, was in the "Flying Camp," became colonel, later major-general of militia, a member of Congress, and a leader of his party in Berks County down to his death in 1832, in his eightieth year. John and Daniel, too, became major-generals of militia, and they, too, were also sent to Congress, one from Pennsylvania and the other from Maryland, where he made his home.

The knowledge of the early Germans, and their share in our history, will no longer be hidden in the records of scattered local periodicals. In the series of "Geschichtsblätter, Bilder u. Mittheilungen aus dem Leben der Deutschen in Amerika, herausgegeben von Carl Schurz," published in New York by Steiger, we have the promise of a valuable contribution to our slender stock of available information as to the Germans in the United States. The first volume

of this series is a reprint of Kapp's "Die Deutschen im Staate New York während des 18ten Jahrhunderts," originally published in Leipsic and New York, in 1867. At p. 126 there is a list of the officers of the four battalions organized in Schoharie Valley by Germans, in 1775, to take part in the war of independence. All four colonels were Germans,—viz., Nicholas Herchheimer, First Battalion, Canajoharie; Jacob Kloch, Second Battalion, the Pfalz; Friedrich Fischer, Third Battalion, Mohawk; Hanjost Herchheimer, Fourth Battalion, German Flats. The Herchheimers were the sons of an early German settler in Western New York, who had won distinction by his gallant defence against Indian attacks in the old French war. General Nicholas Herchheimer, who fell in battle in 1777 in defence of the liberties of his country, was honored with the praise of Washington, and by a modest monument which perpetuates his services and sacrifice. One of his soldiers, born in Germany, J. A. Hartmann, survived until 1836, when he died at the age of ninety-two, after an old age of poverty, borne with fortitude, and his name is now best remembered in his old home, where he lived at the public expense, as an example of the tardy gratitude of the republic he too had aided to establish. Herchheimer is the type of the well-to-do settlers of German descent, Hartmann of the poor emigrant,

but both did their duty manfully in the struggle for independence, and thus set an example freely followed by others, Germans both by birth and descent, who fought for the Union.

Among the leading German soldiers of the Revolutionary war from New York was Hermann von Zedwitz, major of the First Regiment; his life is sketched by Alfred Schücking, in volume iii., p. 185, of the *Pionier*. The command of the regiment was given to Colonel Rudolph Ritzema, an old officer in the Royal American Regiment, who left the Continental army under a cloud, returned to England, and died there in 1803.

The journal of Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema, of the First New York Regiment, of the Canada expedition, 1775-76, is printed in *The Magazine of American History*, vol. i. p. 98; a note says he was the son of Dominic Ritzema, of New York; was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the First New York Regiment, June 30, 1775; was broken by court-martial in 1778, and joined the British. In the same magazine, p. 162, is a biography of Ritzema, by the Rev. William Hall, showing that he was of Dutch descent.

In 1776, Ritzema became colonel, Major Hermann Zedwitz the lieutenant-colonel of the First, and Weissenfels lieutenant-colonel of the Third New York; Weissenfels led the regiment in the battle of Long

Island, and in 1781 became colonel of the Fourth, remaining in service until 1783.

The share of the Germans as officers and soldiers on the patriot side in the war of the Revolution won them the confidence and gratitude of Washington.*

The oldest and largest battalion of New York City in the Revolution was the "First Independent Battalion," commanded by Colonel John Lasher, a man of property and influence, elected colonel during the colonial *régime*, and who, with most of his officers and men, had taken up the Continental cause. Its companies, bearing separate names and each having some distinguishing feature in its uniform, included "The Prussian Blues," Captain James Alner, and "The German Fusileers," Captain William Leonards. As reorganized in the summer of 1776, its field-officers were Colonel John Lasher, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Stockholm, and Major James Abeel. Pennsylvania sent to the Long Island campaign, among other officers, two battalions of Berks County militia, under Lieutenant-Colonels Nicholas Lutz and Peter Kochlein; their colonel was Henry Haller, of Reading.

The Hessians or "foreigners" formed more than

* The Hessians under Riedesel, who surrendered with Burgoyne, were sent to Virginia, where they lived near Jefferson, who thus learned to know them, gave them the use of his library, and enjoyed their music.

one-fourth of the British force under Howe. They numbered eight thousand officers and men. It formed a division under General Von Heister, and was organized into Von Mirbach's brigade, consisting of the regiments of Knyphausen, Rahl, and Lossberg; Von Stirn's brigade, the Donop, Mirbach, and Hereditary Prince's regiments; Von Donop's brigade, of the Grenadiers, of the regiments of Block, Minigerode, and Lissingen, and the Yägers; and Lossberg's brigade, of Von Ditfurth's and Von Trumbach's regiments.

The map of the battle of Long Island was prepared by Bernard Ratzer, an engineer in the British army, lieutenant in the (Sixtieth) Royal American Regiment of Foot in 1756. In 1767-68 he made an official survey of New York and part of Long Island, of unquestionable accuracy in its details. It was published in October, 1776, by "Samuel London, late printer and bookseller in New York, but now in Norwich."

The returns of the losses in the Pennsylvania regiments in the unlucky battle of Long Island are found in the public archives of Pennsylvania; they include such names as Cornelius Donel, George Dillman, Jacob Engelhart, Philip Feese, Nicholas House, Jonathan Hagar, Jacob Koppinger, Adam Kydle, Conrad Meserly, George Miller, Jr., Adam Swayer, Jacob Shifle, Francis Shitz, Jacob Shutt, Jacob Slottner, of Captain Farmer's company; Jacob Helsley, Charles

Spanglër, Charles Stump, John Swartz, George Wampler, of Captain Albright's company; Isaac Gruber, Henry Bollabaker, Henry Grels balk, Jacob Isen hart, Adam Kerchner, George Keibler, Christopher Neighast, Elias Schwartz, of Captain Shade's company; Martin Kersshler and Jacob Speiss, of Captain Weitzell's company; Michael Loy, Jacob Marks, Christian Mintzer, Peter Wile, of Captain De Huff's company; Michael Domiller, Michael Stucker, of Captain Nisie's company; Andrew Hessher, Andrew Reefer, Thomas Sybert, Martin Derr, George Fry, Lawrence Gob, Anthony Frutches, Peter Froes, John Harpel, John Dufford, Mathias Stidinger, Peter Beyer, Peter Lohr, Bernhard Miller, Richard Overfeld, Jacob Weidknecht, Peter Kern, Philip Bush, of Captain John Arndt's company. Among the officers captured were Jacob Crowle, Joseph Heister, Jacob Mauser, of Lutz's battalion; Henry Hogenbach and Garret Graff, of Kochlein's; George Wert, Joseph Triesback, Michael App.*

The second volume of Schurz's series, "Bilder aus der Deutsch Pennsylvanischen Geschichte," is from the pen of Professor Oswald Seidensticker, whose services in the cause of our local German history

* See "The Campaign of 1776 around New York," by H. P. Johnston, Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York, 1878.

have received general acknowledgment for their thoroughness and accuracy. He describes in detail the part taken by the Germans of Pennsylvania in both the Continental army under Washington and the Provincial or State militia, and gives the names of the officers of the German Battalion, and their share in the war of independence. In the Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Pennsylvania Regiments were many Germans. The Second was commanded by Colonel Philippe de Haas; the lieutenant-colonel of the Third was Rudolph Bunner, who fell at Monmouth, in 1778; and Mentges of the Fifth and Becker of the Sixth were also Germans. Many of these were members of the German Society, and Colonel Farmer, first captain of a company of sharpshooters, and later commissary-general, was four times President of the German Society after the war.

Reading sent three Hiesters, and York many Germans, in the regiments that served in the Revolution. Pennsylvania Germans were numerous in Armand's legion, in Schott's dragoons, and in Van Heer's cavalry brigade. Quakers, Mennonites, Dunkers, and Herrnhüters sacrificed their religious tenets and associations to serve their country, while the Lutherans and others who had no conscientious scruples against bearing arms were well represented

in the field. Foremost among these was General Muhlenberg, born in Montgomery County in 1746, the son of the oldest clergyman of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, who destined all his three sons to follow him in the church, educated at Halle, settled in 1772 in Virginia, as pastor of a German Lutheran congregation in the Shenandoah Valley. He there became a friend of Patrick Henry and Washington. Earnestly supporting the cause of American independence, he became colonel of the Eighth Virginia, with Abraham Bowman and Peter Helfenstein as his field-officers. In January, 1776, he preached his last sermon, urging on his hearers the duty of patriotic devotion to the cause of the country, and then, throwing aside the clerical gown, showed his military uniform, and instantly over three hundred of his listeners followed his example and joined his regiment. Congress soon made him a brigadier-general, and throughout the war his zeal, his courage, and his energy were appreciated by Washington and Lafayette, and the other leaders of the Revolution. His part in the final surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown made him a major-general, and yet so modest was he that when peace returned his old parishioners would gladly have made him once more their pastor. Seven years of war had, however, changed the current of his thoughts, and set-

ting in Philadelphia, he became Vice-President of the State, under Franklin, and, owing to Franklin's age and infirmities, was practically the head of the government. In 1788 he and his brother worked energetically to secure the adoption of the Constitution of 1789, and under it he sat in the First Congress, as well as in the Second and the Sixth, always a stout advocate of the Democratic party; he was three times President of the German Society. His descendants, and those of his venerable father, have served the state and the church in many ways, and always with honor to their German blood. His statue stands in the Capitol at Washington, as the representative man chosen by Pennsylvania to take a place among the heroes gathered there from all parts of the country. His name and his fame are part of the inheritance which the German population of Pennsylvania transmits to future generations to show how thoroughly the German element has done its duty alike in war and in peace, and how well it deserves to have its record preserved and published for the information of their descendants and of the country.

Many of the early settlers of Kentucky were Germans from Virginia and North Carolina, and they held the frontier outposts against the incursions of hostile Indians. Many old Revolutionary soldiers

there found homes, and their sons were active in the war of 1812. Frankfort, the capital of the State, owes its name to its German founders, for the most part emigrants from Frankfort-on-the-Main, and its vicinity, who came hither in 1786-87. The first physician was Dr. Louis Marschall, father of Humphrey Marshall, noted in both the civil and military history of Kentucky. Thus many of the German names were anglicized, some—*e.g.*, Jäger translated into Hunter—completely disguised, yet the industry of local historians has shown that a very large part of the early settlement of Kentucky was made by Germans.

The gigantic system of river commerce of the Mississippi was begun in 1782 by one Jacob Yoder, who loaded a flat-boat at the old Redstone Fort, on the Monongahela, and drifted down to New Orleans, where he sold his goods and returned to the Falls of the Ohio by a roundabout course leading through Philadelphia and Pittsburg.

Hambright, a Pennsylvania German, was a militia colonel at King's Mountain, October 29, 1781, was wounded, but kept on through the battle, and helped to win the victory of far-reaching importance among the decisive battles of the Revolutionary war, for its immediate effect was to cause Cornwallis to retreat from North Carolina.

Among the soldiers of German descent a marked and exceptional case is that of General John A. Quitman. He was the son of the pastor of the German Lutheran Church of Schoharie, who was himself born in Iserlohn, Germany, and came to this country in 1795. The father was a strong, determined man, with a high notion of his own importance, who showed a will of his own not unlike that of the son. The elder Quitman left Schoharie to become pastor of the church in Rhinebeck, where he died in 1832. His son was born there in 1798, and educated by his father's successor. As a young man he went South, became a distinguished lawyer and member of Congress from his new home in Natchez, Mississippi, took a leading place among the general officers of volunteers in the Mexican war, was prominent in urging on the people of the South the extreme doctrines of States' rights, rejoicing in the name of fire-eater, and was generally looked on as the intellectual leader of the agitation which finally ended in the Rebellion of 1861. His death, in 1858, saved him from sharing in the devastation his theories had brought over the section which accepted him as their representative.

In the Revolution there were adherents of Whigs and Tories even in the same family, and this was as true of the Germans as of the other nationalities

settled in the colonies; but in the Rebellion the minority in either of the two great sections into which the country was divided had little power or influence to stem the tide that finally led to the success of the Union. Still, the Germans were found on both sides, for the self-reliant, independent character of the German leads him to choose his own course, and to adhere to it in spite of popular opposition. In Arkansas, Klingelhöffer, son of the founder of a German colony at Little Rock, became an officer of the Confederate army.

The registers and rolls of the regular army of the United States bear the names of many distinguished soldiers of German birth and descent, and not a few of them brought to the service of their new fatherland the training and experience acquired in their native country. In the exhaustive dictionaries of the army by Gardiner and Henry and Hamersly, and in the invaluable pages of General George W. Cullum's "Record of the Graduates of West Point," are found many examples of the German soldier in the army of the United States. One example deserves special mention.

John Baptiste de Barth, Baron de Walbach, brigadier-general and colonel commanding Fourth Artillery, U.S.A., was the third son of Count Joseph de Barth and Marie Therese de Rohmer. He was

born in Munster, Valley of St. Gregory, Upper Rhine, Germany, on the 3d day of October, 1766, and was educated at the military school at Strasbourg. In December, 1782, he entered as a cadet the company commanded by Baron de Wald, Regiment of Royal Alsace, Prince Maximilian of Deux-Ponts colonel and proprietor, in the service of the King of France. He was promoted and served in the same regiment as ensign until October, 1783, and then until November as gentleman volunteer in the hussars, General Baron de Kellermann commanding. From January, 1784, he served in the regiment of Luzern Hussars, when he received the appointment of sub-lieutenant (cornet), and continued to serve in the successive grades, second lieutenant, first lieutenant, until May, 1792. Declining the commission of captain, he left France to join the armies of the Prince, brother of King Louis XVI. He served in this army as gentleman volunteer, on horseback, at his own expense, under Colonel Count de Pestalozzi, his former colonel of the Luzern Hussars. With this corps he made the campaign in Champagne, in 1792, in the advance of the Prussian army, until it was disbanded at Maestricht. He then left Liège, passed through the French lines to Trèves, and brought back his sister, Mme. Blondeau, and placed her, with their three children, under the care

of her husband, lieutenant-colonel, formerly major, of artillery, who had served in the army of Rochambeau in America. He then went to Germany, took part in the attack on Frankfort, January 6, 1793, and later joined the Sixty-second Company, First Battalion of the Austrian Chasseurs of Condé, serving during the campaign of 1793, in attacks on the French lines at Germersheim, Yorkheim, Langenkandel, and Wissembourg, where the Austrians captured one hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon; the losses in both armies being estimated at twenty-two thousand men. He then accepted a captaincy from the Prince de Rohan, and covered the retreat of the unfortunate army of the Duke of York northward to Holland and Germany. Finally, he embarked with his regiment, the Hussars of Rohan, for the British West Indies, on the promise of the British government that they should always serve on horseback, and that at the end of four years they were to be returned to their homes. In 1798, being then the third officer of the regiment, which had been reduced by yellow fever from twelve hundred to one hundred and thirty, he obtained leave for six months to visit his father, who had come to America at the outbreak of the French Revolution. With twenty-four other noblemen, Count de Barth had agreed to buy forty thousand acres of land on the Scioto River, Ohio, paying half

the purchase-money to Joel Barlow and William Playfair, agents in Paris of Colonel William Duer, accredited by a letter from Thomas Jefferson. Count de Barth sailed with three hundred emigrants, landed in Alexandria, Virginia, in March, 1790, and then proceeded to Marietta, Ohio, where he found that Duer had become a bankrupt. He returned to Philadelphia and purchased a country-seat,—Springettsbury Manor, Bush Hill, a mansion with sixty acres,—but he died there September 24, 1793, and was buried in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, in Philadelphia. Bush Hill was occupied as a hospital during the yellow fever, and as there was no one authorized to make the last payment, it was sold by the sheriff and passed from the family. In 1798, Colonel, then Major, Walbach, his son, on his arrival, retained Messrs. William Rawle, Jared Ingersoll, and James Heatly, but owing to the loss of documents could obtain no redress. Major Walbach then resigned his commission as major in the Hussars of Rohan, and became an adopted citizen of the United States. In the autumn of 1798 he entered the army of the United States on the appointment of Washington, Hamilton, and McHenry, as second lieutenant of cavalry, and was appointed adjutant of a cavalry regiment, holding that post until the corps was disbanded in June, 1799. He was then employed

in the office of the Adjutant-General of the United States, General William North, who had been aide to General Steuben. In December, 1799, he was employed to assist General Charles C. Pinckney in preparing regulations for the cavalry, and later to assist General Hamilton in preparing regulations for the artillery, and afterwards he was ordered to report to General Washington, to take charge of a detachment of dragoons. He was appointed, in 1801, first lieutenant in the First Regiment of Artillery and Engineers, and in 1802 aide to General Wilkinson; in 1804, adjutant of artillery and military agent at Fort Constitution, New Hampshire; in 1806, captain of artillery; in 1812, assistant deputy quartermaster; in 1813, assistant adjutant-general with the rank of major, and assistant adjutant-general with the rank of colonel, and brevet major, for gallant conduct at the battle of Chrysler's Fields; in 1815, major of artillery and brevet lieutenant-colonel; in 1830, brevet colonel for ten years' further service, and lieutenant-colonel in the First Regiment of Artillery; in 1842, colonel of the Fourth Regiment of Artillery, and made commander at Fortress Monroe and brevet brigadier-general; and in 1851 he was assigned to the command of the Department of the East. He died in Baltimore, Maryland, on the 10th of June, 1857, of disease contracted in

the war of 1812. A highly-commendatory order was issued by General Scott, lieutenant-general commanding at the time of his death, reciting his long military career, his distinguished services, and his unwavering integrity, truth, and honor, strict attention to duty, and zeal for the service, tempering the administration of an exact discipline by the most elevated courtesies. General George W. Cullum, in his "Campaigns and Engineers of the War of 1812-15," at p. 168, credits him with saving the artillery at Chrysler's Fields in 1813. His grandson, John de Barth Walbach Gardiner, is an assistant surgeon in the United States army. His son, L. de B. Walbach, who died in 1853, was a graduate of West Point and a captain of ordnance. Another son died an officer of the United States navy.

General Walbach is well remembered by old officers of the regular army as a fine soldierly character, full of zeal and pride in his profession, and a man of many manly virtues and attractive qualities. His brother was a Roman Catholic priest in Baltimore, and in their old age these two men, living together, were typical examples of the professions of war and peace.

Among the early graduates of West Point, a notable example of the way in which Germany has supplied our army with officers is the case of Julius F. Heileman, son of the surgeon of Riedesel's German

brigade in Burgoyne's army; he was appointed a cadet in 1803, and rose to be major of the Second Artillery, when he fell in Florida, in 1836.

Colonel George Nauman was a graduate of West Point in 1823, who rose by slow but good service, and died as lieutenant-colonel of the First Artillery, in Philadelphia, in 1863. He was born in Pennsylvania sixty years before.

General Jacob Ammen, who was distinguished during the Rebellion, was a native of Virginia, a graduate of West Point in 1831, had resigned to engage in teaching and engineering, and, when the war broke out, re-entered the service as colonel of the Twenty-fourth Ohio; as a brigadier-general, he served with great bravery in the West.

General Edmund Schriver and General Alexander Shiras were graduates of 1833, and both were born in Pennsylvania. Their services in the Rebellion were highly appreciated.

General Herman Haupt, a graduate of 1835, was born in Philadelphia, and, besides his services in the field, has been a pioneer in the great business of railroad building across the continent. His son graduated in 1867.

Luther and Roland and Hagner, all of the class of 1836, bore good Pennsylvania German names.

The Muhlenbergs have had a representative, and

often more than one, in the regular army since the time of the early Pennsylvania soldier down to our own day, and all have done honor to a name that is looked on as one fittingly chosen as the type of the Pennsylvania soldier and statesman. The Muhlenbergs, six at least, fill an honored place on the registers of the regular army, in which they have a right by descent from patriot ancestors of the Revolution.

General S. P. Heintzelman, a veteran of the regular army, was born in Lancaster County in 1805. His grandfather, a native of Augsburg, was the first white settler in Manheim, where his grandson was educated until he went to West Point in 1826. He was promoted and brevetted for his gallantry in the Mexican war, and at the outbreak of the Rebellion became colonel of the Seventeenth United States Infantry. At Bull Run he was wounded; on the Peninsula he commanded a corps, and throughout the war he was always on duty.

Francis Lieber was born in Berlin in 1800; he grew up in the midst of the earnest aspirations of Germany for freedom from the French yoke, and at the age of fifteen, following the example of his elder brothers, and with the approval of his parents, enlisted in the Colberg Regiment under Blücher.* He

* The battle of Leipsic, the turning-point of the uprising of Germany against Napoleon, was celebrated in Philadelphia by German

began his short experience of war at Ligny, was wounded, and returned after the campaign of Waterloo to resume his work as a school-boy. With the other young Turners, he followed Jahn in his plan for political as well as physical regeneration, and with his leader he was imprisoned for excess of patriotism. His four months' confinement was not in itself a great hardship, but it carried with it a prohibition to study in any Prussian university, and this implied his exclusion from public employment. He studied at Jena, Halle, and Dresden, and then at twenty-one took part in the Greek struggle, with very unsatisfactory results.

Then, encouraged by Niebuhr, in whose family he had been employed in Rome, he returned to Berlin, only to be again imprisoned,—an enforced idleness which he used in the composition of a volume of poems of the merriest kind. After trying in vain to secure a stable position, he freed himself from the uncomfortable results of his early patriotism by coming to America, where he arrived in 1827. He established a swimming-school in Boston after the model of those of Germany, but soon undertook a very great work,—the preparation of the “*Encyclopædia*

citizens, with toasts in honor of the Emperor of Russia, the burning of Moscow, Blücher, the German princes, and the patriots of South America.

Americana," based on Brockhaus's "Conversations Lexicon," published in Philadelphia, which then became the scene of his active literary labors. He prepared an elaborate scheme for the management of Girard College, and began his independent authorship. He went to the University of South Carolina, in 1835, as Professor of History and Political Economy, where he wrote and taught until 1857, when he gladly left the South.

When the Rebellion broke out he was quietly settled at Columbia College in New York, but one of his sons went into the Confederate service, another with the Illinois troops into the Union army, and a third got a commission in the regular army, and he himself began his work as legal adviser to the government on questions of military and international law by preparing a code of instructions for the government of armies of the United States in the field, and from that time on he was in constant employment in that direction, putting his vast store of learning at the disposition of the authorities on every fitting occasion. He maintained a close correspondence with the leading German professors Bluntschli, Mohl, and Holtzendorff, and did much to secure in Germany a proper appreciation of the great work done for the world by securing the perpetuation of the American Union, and later on to make America alive to the merits of

the great struggle with France which secured German unity. His busy life ended in 1872, and his best epitaph was his own favorite motto, "Patria Cara, Carior Libertas, Veritas Carissima," for Country, Liberty, and Truth were the great aims in all he wrote and spoke and thought. His services were of a kind not often within the reach and range of a single life, and his memory deserves to be honored and kept green in both his native and his adopted country. He was well represented in the Union cause by his two sons, Hamilton, who served in the Ninety-second Illinois, and died in 1876, an officer of the regular army, and Guido, still in the regular service, through whom his name is perpetuated in the army register.

The death of another son on the Confederate side was another sacrifice to the cause of the Union.

His "Instructions for Armies in the Field," General Order No. 100, published by the government of the United States, April 24, 1863, was the first codification of international articles of war, and marked an epoch in the history of international law and of civilization. His other contributions to military and to international law, published at various times during the civil war, together with his other miscellaneous writings on political science, have been reprinted in the two volumes of his works issued by J. B. Lippincott & Co., in 1881, and these, with his memoirs and

the tributes paid him by President Gilman and Judge Thayer, are his best monument. A memoir by T. S. Perry well deserves attention, and the German translation, edited by Holtzendorff, shows Lieber's popularity in Germany.

General August V. Kautz was born in Baden in 1828, and came as a lad to this country, where his family settled in Ohio. At the outbreak of the Mexican war he enlisted in the First Ohio Regiment and was rewarded for his services by being appointed a lieutenant in the regular army. He was captain of cavalry at the outbreak of the Rebellion, commanded his regiment, the Sixth Cavalry, under McClellan, in the operations before Richmond, was appointed colonel of the Second Ohio Cavalry and chief of cavalry of the Twenty-third Corps, and brevetted major-general in both the volunteer and regular service. He became lieutenant-colonel of the Fifteenth Infantry after the war, is now colonel of the Eighth Infantry, and is the author of some excellent works on various subjects of military science.

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred Mordecai, of the Ordnance Department of the United States army, is a graduate of West Point, of the class of June, 1861, and is now major of his corps. His scientific services have been recognized both in and out of the army. He is the son of a distinguished officer of the regular

army, Major A. Mordecai, of the class of 1823, whose military record was a very brilliant one; his name is familiar as the author, with General McClellan and General Delafield, of an admirable report of their visit to Europe and to the Crimea during the Russian war of 1854. His grandfather was a German. Father and son have both contributed to the science of their branch of the military profession, ordnance; and the elder Major Mordecai gave the first impulse to Professor Henry's application of electricity to ballistics,—the art of measuring the velocity of projectiles, now become a matter of every-day use in all arsenals throughout the world.

General George A. Custer, one of the most picturesque characters of the war and an exceptional soldier in his Indian campaigns, was the great-grandson of an officer of the Hessian soldiers sent here to serve in the British army during the Revolution. His ancestor, paroled in 1778, after Burgoyne's surrender, settled in Pennsylvania, married there, changed his German name, "Küster," to one easier to pronounce in English, and moved to Maryland, where the father of General Custer was born in 1806. His famous son was born in Ohio, in 1839, as a boy taught school in his native village, Hopedale, until 1857, when he was appointed a cadet at West Point. Graduating there in June, 1861,

he was assigned to the Second Cavalry, served with distinction, was made a captain on the staff of General McClellan, served with General Kearny and General Pleasanton, was appointed a brigadier-general for his gallantry at the battle of Aldie, and commanded, successively, a brigade and a division of cavalry, which he led with distinguished bravery. He was promoted to be a major-general of volunteers, a brevet major-general of the United States army, and lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Cavalry, served under General Hancock in a series of campaigns against the Indians, and finally fell in battle with the Sioux. He was the author of many capital contributions to the periodical literature after the civil war, and his memory is preserved in his wife's charming little book, "Military Life on the Frontiers," and in the "Life of General Custer," by F. Whittaker, published shortly after his heroic death in June, 1876.

Lieutenant John T. Greble, of the Second Artillery, a graduate of West Point, of the class of 1854, is well remembered as the first officer of the regular army to fall in the war of the Rebellion. Born in Philadelphia in 1834, he was killed in action, at Big Bethel, Virginia, on the 10th of June, 1861. He was one of the most popular officers in the service, distinguished alike for gallantry and

attainments. He, too, was of German descent, and the traditions of the family were all patriotic. His great-grandfather, Andrew Greble, a native of Saxe-Gotha, came to this country in 1742, settled permanently in Philadelphia, and enlisted warmly in the cause of the war of independence. He and his four sons joined the American army, and fought at the battles of Princeton and Monmouth. Two of his ancestors on his mother's side, good Welsh Quakers, were in the Continental army. A graduate of the Philadelphia High School, he showed at West Point and in the army a love of study which, with his amiable manners and soldierly conduct, secured him the friendship of all with whom he was brought in contact. After serving in Florida, he was appointed to the corps of instructors at West Point, and was on duty at Fortress Monroe when the civil war broke out. His untimely death was due to his deliberate purpose to sacrifice his life to save the lives of the large body of soldiers imperilled by an overwhelming force. His heroism had its reward in the gratitude with which his memory is cherished both in the army and by the people. His son, Lieutenant Edwin St. John Greble, a graduate of the class of 1881, is now serving with the Second United States Artillery.

William Heine was born in 1827, and died in Dres-

den, his native city, in October, 1885. He learned landscape and architectural painting in Paris, and was employed as a painter at the Dresden Court Theatre, but, after the revolution of 1848 in Saxony, came to the United States in 1851; he travelled in Central America, which he described in "Wanderbilder aus Centralamerika," Leipzig, 1853. He subsequently joined Perry's expedition to Japan, and, in 1860, the Prussian expedition to the same country, describing it in his "Japan, Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Landes u.s. Bewohner," Dresden, 1870. After the outbreak of the American civil war, he entered the Union army as captain of engineers; advanced to the rank of brigadier, March, 1865; was afterwards employed in the United States consular service, and returned to his native land in 1871.

General Godfrey Weitzel was born in Germany in 1835, and came with his parents to this country as a child, was appointed a cadet at West Point in his seventeenth year, and in 1855 graduated as a lieutenant of engineers. He served with Butler and Banks in the South, and led a division under Grant in the final conquest of Richmond. After the war he was constantly employed in his profession, until his untimely death in Philadelphia, March 19, 1884.

Colonel Alexander von Schrader, born in Germany, a soldier by training, was lieutenant-colonel of the Seventy-fourth Ohio, and became a major in the Thirty-ninth Infantry of the regular army, dying in service August 6, 1867. He had been reduced to the direst poverty before the war, but when the occasion came his distinguished gallantry and efficient military training stood him in good stead.

Henry A. Hambright, retired as major Nineteenth United States Infantry, brevet colonel United States army, brevet brigadier-general United States volunteers, was born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, March 24, 1819. His father, Frederick, a major-general of militia, and his uncle, George, a colonel, both served in the war of 1812. Colonel Hambright served in the Mexican war, in the war of the Rebellion as an officer of the Second Pennsylvania Volunteers, in the First Pennsylvania (three months) Volunteers, and as colonel of the Seventy-ninth Pennsylvania; while still in the three months' service he was commissioned captain of the Eleventh United States Infantry, and served with distinguished gallantry through the war, and with great fidelity until he was retired for disability incurred in the line of duty.

A study of the register of officers of the regular army from 1779 shows a large proportion of Ger-

mans,—beginning with De Kalb and Steuben, in the German Battalion of Pennsylvania and Maryland, the artillery and engineer and other staff corps engaged in the wars of 1812 and 1846. During the Rebellion many old soldiers of German birth were rewarded by commissions, and not a few distinguished German volunteers were also appointed in the regular army,—among them Blücher, Von Hermann, Luettwitz, Michalowski, and Von Schirach.

The Germans served in large numbers in cavalry and artillery companies of volunteers in the Mexican war, notably from Texas and Missouri, and many of them gained distinction in this service. Kentucky had its infantry regiment and its cavalry company of Germans in the Mexican war, and many Germans in its loyal regiments during the Rebellion, notably Companies E and G of the Fourth Cavalry, and Barth's company of the Twenty-eighth Kentucky Volunteers. Among the Germans whose services in Texas ought not to be forgotten is the once familiar name of William Langenheim; and of his associates, Gustavus Schleicher, in Texas, and J. A. Wagener, in South Carolina, served in the Confederate army. New Orleans and Louisiana had among their leading Union men two representative Germans,—Christian Roselius and Michael Hahn.

There were two million six hundred and ninety

thousand men engaged in the army and navy during the Rebellion, besides seventy-two thousand emergency men called out for short periods of service. The Count of Paris, in his exhaustive history of the war, says that of the volunteers who enlisted during the first year only one-tenth were foreigners; of the remainder, two-thirds were born on American soil and less than one-fourth were naturalized Europeans. In 1864, when conscription was partially resorted to, eighty per cent. were natives. This army, more than two-thirds natives and less than one-third foreigners, was raised out of a population of nineteen millions. Far more than one-third of the effective male population were of European birth, yet in the army there was far less than that proportion in the ranks.

The Confederacy at the time of the battle of Bull Run had about two hundred thousand men under arms. When the North called for five hundred thousand men, the South called for four hundred thousand. In 1862 the South had about one hundred and eighty thousand men in the field; in April of that year the Confederate Congress ordered, not a draft as in the past, but a levy *en masse* of all white males between eighteen and thirty-five, residing within the Confederacy, for three years or the war, divided into sixteen classes. Based on a population of five million whites, this should have pro-

duced eight hundred thousand men; it did give between four and five hundred thousand effective men. In September, 1862, the limit of age was extended to forty-five, and the other limit was made to include all who had completed their seventeenth year since April.

In the Confederate army there were many Germans, and much of the literature of the war on the part of the South is made up of the records of those who served on that side,—notable among them Heros von Borcke, and he speaks, in his Munchausen-like book, of finding among the riflemen an old Prussian soldier from Texas, and of meeting at Lee's headquarters Captain Scheibert, of the Prussian engineers, detailed as an observer, but taking an active part as a combatant, and the author of a book, "Sieben Monate in den Rebellen Staaten," published in Stettin in 1868, characterized by its strong Southern tone.* Then there is the book of another German

* In McClellan's admirable life of General J. E. B. Stuart, there is a paper signed by that distinguished officer under date of June 17, 1862, in which he says,—

"M. Heros von Borcke, a Prussian cavalry officer, has shown himself a thorough soldier and a splendid officer. I hope the [War] Department will confer as high a commission as possible on this deserving man, who has cast his lot with us in this trying hour" (p. 69).

At p. 307, we find that on the 19th of August, 1863, Major

soldier of fortune, B. Estvan, whose "Kriegsbilder aus Amerika" appeared in Leipsic in 1864, as it had already been published in England and in New

Heros von Borcke, an officer of the Prussian army, who was serving on General Stuart's staff, received a severe wound, which disabled him from further service.

In the *Southern Bivouac Magazine* for February, 1886, published at Louisville, Kentucky, it is mentioned at p. 515 that "the distinguished Colonel Von Borcke, Stuart's chief of staff, lately revisited Fauquier County, Virginia, staying near Upperville, on the northern border; his once robust constitution much affected by the ball he still carries in his right lung, received when he was wounded in 1863; but his jovial, impulsive, warm-hearted nature has not forsaken him. Colonel Von Borcke served on the staff of Prince Frederick Charles, in the war of 1866, but his old wounds forced him to retire."

Captain Scheibert's interest in the Southern cause did not end with the war; on returning to Germany, where he became major in the Prussian Engineers, he corresponded with the editor of the Southern Historical Society's Papers. In vol. v., p. 90, his letter on Gettysburg, dated Stuttgart, November 21, 1879, is printed, and in vol. iv., p. 88, there is a notice by Colonel Venables, C.S.A., of a translation of Scheibert's book into French, by Captain Bonnacque, of the French Engineers. In 1883, Major Scheibert published a German translation of Allan's "History of the Valley Campaign;" and in a letter of October 13, 1881, dated at Hirschberg, Silesia, Prussia, he says he has translated and printed in German, Early's "Gettysburg," Stuart's and Lee's "Reports," Hubbard's "Chancellorsville," Patton's "Jackson," McClellan's "Jeb Stuart," Stuart's "Gettysburg," and biographies of Lee, Jackson, Stuart, and Mosby. His "Bürgerkrieg in den Vereinigten Staaten" has been translated into French and Spanish.

York, in English, in 1863. Fritz Annecke, a soldier in the West, published a work on "Der zweite Freiheitskrieg," in Frankfort, in 1861; H. Blankenburg, another coming down to the Presidential election in 1868 (Leipsic, 1869); August Conrad, "Schatten und Lichtbilder aus dem amerikanischen Leben während des Secessionskrieges" (Hannover, 1879); Rüstow, a recognized authority on war, a history of the war, from a purely military point of view. Mangold wrote "Der Feldzug in Neu Virginien in August, 1862" (Hannover, 1881), which has received high praise; Constantin Sander, a history of the war, first down to 1862, and then a later and more complete volume, the former published in Frankfort in 1863, the second in 1865. "Von Achten der Letzte," published in Wiesbaden in 1871, is a German story on the Southern side, of adventures by a German resident of New Orleans, enlisted in the Washington Artillery of that city. It gives a graphic account of personal experiences, and presents a fair view of the war as seen by one who shared its hardships in the Confederate army. Much that is of interest on the subject is to be found in the volume, "In der neuen Heimath, Geschichtliche Mittheilungen über die Deutschen Einwanderer in allen Theilen der Union, herausgegeben von Anton Eickhoff." 2te Ausgabe, N.Y., Steiger, 1885, 8vo, pp. 398.

Of translations and newspaper magazine articles in German, the number is almost endless. Many Southern citizens living abroad tried to reach the German public by arguments and appeals, but the fact remains that the great mass of the German people were from first to last unshaken in their faith in the success of the Union. The ties that bind Germany and America have grown in strength since the representatives of the two countries fought side by side.

In North Carolina there were a goodly number of Germans and of the descendants of the early German settlers in the Confederate service. In Wilmington, North Carolina, at the commencement of the war, a company was raised under the name of the German Volunteers, afterwards Company A, Eighteenth Regiment North Carolina troops. The officers were, C. Cornehlson, captain; H. Vollers, first lieutenant; G. H. W. Runge, second lieutenant; E. Schulken, third lieutenant. There were seventy-five men rank and file, all Germans, in this organization, while in other branches of the service, artillery and cavalry, as well as in the Confederate States navy, there were Germans,—so that North Carolina had a fair share of them in its volunteers.

South Carolina was not without its German sol-

diers. Indeed, as early as 1670, the first German that set foot in Carolina, John Lederer, made a tour of exploration under the direction of Governor William Berkeley, of Virginia; he was a man of learning; his journal was written in Latin, and the translator, Sir William Talbot, Governor of Maryland, speaks highly of his literary attainments. The account of this journey was published and circulated, and doubtless had its effect in the settling of Carolina, for it is certain that in 1680 German immigration had fairly set in. Between 1730 and 1750 a great addition was made from Switzerland and Germany, and the dreadful war that scourged the peaceful inhabitants for so many years drove thousands to America, and of these many came to Carolina. In 1764 six hundred Palatines arrived in South Carolina. In 1766 the German Friendly Society was founded in Charleston, and as early as 1786 the German Lutherans were included among the leading elements of the population. Of course in the Confederacy, and especially in its army from South Carolina and in the defence of Charleston, there were many Germans; in the force that took possession of Fort Moultrie in April, 1861, there was the German Artillery, Captain C. Nohrden; and among the troops furnished by the city of Charleston to the Southern army, in the roster printed in Courtenay's "History

of Charleston," are the following German organizations, viz.:

Fourth Brigade South Carolina Militia: German Riflemen, Captain J. Small; Palmetto Riflemen, Captain A. Melchers.

Seventeenth Infantry, German Fusileers, Captain S. Lord, Jr.

First Regiment of Artillery, Major John A. Wagener (a veteran of the war with Mexico, a member of Company F, the Charleston company of the South Carolina Regiment).

German Artillery, Company A, Captain C. Nohrden; German Artillery, Company B, Captain H. Harms.

Cavalry, German Hussars, Captain Theodore Cordes.

Marion Rifles, a volunteer corps of the fire department, Captain C. B. Sigwald.

At the commencement of the war of the Rebellion, the Germans of Charleston, South Carolina, took an active share in the war, for they considered that their homes were assailed by the North, and they volunteered freely for the war, furnishing about four hundred men. After the battle of Hilton Head, November 7, 1861, Major Wagener took command of the Home-Guards in Charleston, and the commander of Company A was Captain D. Werner; of Company

B, Captain Franz Melchers, who served during the rest of the war. The command was reorganized after the war as one company, under Captain F. W. Wagener, who had served during the war after Captain Werner's resignation. The German Hussars, also a militia company, volunteered for the war under Captain Theodore Cordes; on his death, Captain Fremder took command, and after his death, Captain Hanke Wohlken served during the war. The German Volunteers were a company of young men under Captain W. K. Bachman; they volunteered for and served throughout the war. All of them declared their allegiance to the home they had chosen voluntarily, and shared the fate of the people who had received them kindly, and with whom they lived in close friendship. They were merchants, lawyers, teachers, clerks, artisans, etc., and many of them passed away during or since the war. Captain F. Melchers still survives,—for forty-four years a resident of Charleston, and for thirty-seven years publisher of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, except during the four years of the war, when he served as lieutenant and as captain, and as lieutenant-colonel on the staff of General Wade Hampton. Captain F. W. Wagener and Captain Hanke Wohlken are merchants, Captain W. R. Bachman a lawyer, and Professor C. H. Bergmann, of the German School, was a volunteer and orderly

sergeant in Bachman's company during the war. The survivors have erected a monument to their fallen comrades, and the Germans of Charleston have contributed a handsome sum for the purpose.

In May, 1889, at Charleston, South Carolina, this monument was erected as a memorial of the German soldiers who fell in the Confederate service. The inscription is as follows :

In
The Confederate Army
The Soldiers
Whom this Monument
Commemorates
Illustrated in death as in life
The German's devotion to duty.

The names of the battles in which the German Artillery, the German Volunteers, and the German Hussars participated, as well as the names of the fallen, and that of General Wagener, are inscribed on bronze tablets. The services at the unveiling were impressive, and in his oration Senator and General Hampton paid a glowing tribute to the Germans as soldiers and citizens.

The Charleston companies in the armies of the Confederate States for the war (1861-65), included in Courtenay's roster, were :

Three companies of German artillery. .

Light Battery B,* Hampton Legion, Captain W. K. Bachman.

Light Battery A, Captain F. W. Wagener.

Light Battery B, Captain F. Melchers.

Marion Rifles, Company A, Twenty-fourth Regiment South Carolina Volunteers, Captain C. B. Sigwald.

German Hussars, Troop G, Third Regiment South Carolina Cavalry, Captain Theodore Cordes.

In Texas many Germans served in the Confederate army. In Walker's Texas Division, the Third Texas Volunteer Infantry Regiment had Company B, Captain Biesenbuch, Lieutenants Koenig and Uhl; Company F, Captain Rosenheimer, Lieutenants Ztuni and Hafner; Company G, Captain Shershagen; Company K, Captain Bosi, Lieutenants Sarasin and Schleuning. In the Sixteenth Texas, Colonel Flournoy, Company E, Captain G. T. Marold, Lieutenants Klaedon, Hanke, and Groff; Company H, of the Seventeenth, Captain Sabath, Lieutenant Kollmayer, were all Germans.

In the First Virginia Infantry, Company K had

* This company, called the German Volunteers, was raised by the German citizens of Charleston, mustered into service for the war as an infantry company, and subsequently transferred to the light artillery.

Lieutenants C. Bauman, B. Bergmeier, and A. Bitzel.*

The Louisiana militia organizations at the outset of the Rebellion included the New Orleans Yägers, Captain Peters, Lieutenants Fassbinder and Huth; the Sharp-shooters, Captain Christern; the Fusileers, Captain Sievers, Lieutenants Gerdes and Walbrack; the Lafayette Guards, Captain Koenig, Lieutenants Hollenback and Fridebach; the Jefferson Guards, Captain Wollrath, Lieutenant Lehman; Turner Guards, Captain Bahncke, Lieutenants Von Armlinsen, Eicholz, and Schneider; Steuben Guards, Captain Burger, Lieutenants Kehrwald, Rosenbaum, and Hausner; Reichard Rifles, Captain Reitmeyer, Lieutenants Weise, De Petz, and Muller; Louisiana Volunteers, Captain Ruhl, Lieutenants Von Zincken and Darrel; Black Yägers, Captain Robenhorst; Florence Guards, Captain Brummenstadt, Lieutenants Lachenmeyer, Wassernagel, and Warburg. Bachman's was one of the batteries of the Washington Artillery of New Orleans; the Tenth Louisiana was commanded by Colonel Waggaman.

Von Zincken's regiment was composed largely of Germans from New Orleans; it was in Helm's division, and is mentioned by General Hill in his article

* See its history by Charles Loehr.

on Chickamauga, in the *Century* for April, 1887, p. 960.

In Georgia, among the troops engaged in defence of Fort Pulaski were the German Volunteers, Captain John H. Stegin, one of the companies of the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia.

The register of the Confederate States army contains the following German names: Colonels J. T. Holtzclaw, Eighteenth Alabama, Brigadier-General; A. H. Helvenstein, Sixteenth Alabama; E. Waggaman, Tenth Louisiana; L. C. Gause, Thirty-second Arkansas; Major W. O. Yager, Third Texas Cavalry; Captain R. M. Gans, Fourth Texas Cavalry; Colonel J. N. Adenbousch, Second Virginia Infantry; Colonel J. N. Waul, Tenth Texas, Brigadier-General; Captain F. C. Schulz, Chestnut Artillery, South Carolina; Captain C. R. Hanleiter, Jr., Thompson's Artillery, Georgia; J. A. Englehard, Major and Assistant Adjutant-General, Pender's Light Division, Third Corps; R. W. Memminger, Assistant Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff, Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana.

Major-General Hoke was a distinguished officer of the army of the Confederate States,—he is mentioned by General Johnston in his article in the *North American Review* for August, 1886; his grandfather was a German Reformed clergyman in Pennsylvania named

Hock. General Zollikoffer was the descendant of Swiss-German ancestors, whose descendants are well known in various parts of the Union.

Gustav Schleicher was the first German from Texas in Congress, who there won reputation as a representative of the Germans of the United States. Born in Darmstadt in 1823, he studied at Giessen, became a successful civil engineer, emigrated to Texas in 1847, established himself finally in San Antonio, served, successively, in both branches of the Texas Legislature, was lieutenant-colonel and colonel of the Texas Rangers in the Confederate army, and was elected to the United States Congress in 1874 as a German Democrat. He showed marked ability, thorough training, and conscientious study. Re-elected twice to Congress, his premature death in 1879 cut short a career which gave promise of honor to himself and usefulness to his adopted country.

Garfield, in "My Experience as a Lawyer," *North American Review*, June, 1887, p. 569, said, "Among the various speeches I have made, was one in January, 1879, on the occasion of the death of Gustav Schleicher, of Texas, a very able and learned German member of the House, for whom I had the highest regard. He was a sound-money man. In that speech, I started out by saying, 'We are accustomed

to call England our fatherland. It is a mistake; one of the greatest of modern historians, writing the history of the English people, has said that England is not the fatherland of the English-speaking people, but Germany.' I go into that and say, 'The real fatherland of the people of this country is Germany, and our friend who has fallen came to us direct from our fatherland, and not, like the rest of us, around by the way of England.' Then I give a little sketch of German character, and what Carlyle and Montesquieu said, that the British Constitution came out of the woods of Germany."

The statistics of nativity of the population of the States at the time of the Rebellion are not to be absolutely ascertained. I find in "Freiheit u. Sklaverei unter dem Sternenbanner, oder Land u. Leute in Amerika," by Theodore Griesinger, Stuttgart, 1862, the statement that in Pennsylvania there were then over a million of German birth and descent; in New York, 800,000; in Ohio, 600,000; in New Jersey, 125,000; in New England, 30,000; while there were in the Southern States, in Virginia, 250,000; in Maryland, 125,000; in Missouri, over 100,000; in Louisiana, 50,000; in Texas, 30,000; in Tennessee, 50,000; in North Carolina and Kentucky, 70,000; in Delaware, 25,000; in South Carolina, 20,000; in the cotton States,—Georgia, Alabama,

Mississippi, and Arkansas,—10,000; in Florida, 5000. There is no estimate of the number in the Northwest, that vast region from which came the volunteers of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. Of course the Germans of Missouri supplied large numbers of soldiers, some of them of great distinction, and many Germans from other States went to Missouri, as that was almost the first seat of active operations, and Fremont and Sigel and Asboth attracted Germans from all quarters, just as, in the East, German regiments were asking to join Blenker's brigade until it became a division, and others were ready to swell the division to a corps. Indeed, it was from Blenker's demand to organize and lead it that McClellan was obliged to administer a reproof which led finally to his resignation from active service.

The best attempt at an official analysis of the nativity of the soldiers of the Union army is that found in the volume of medical statistics published in the final report of the Provost-Marshal-General, General James B. Fry, U.S.A., in which it is stated that out of 343,764 drafted men there were from Würtemberg, 1; Austria, 67; Prussia, 754; Bavaria, 35; Saxony, 15; Germany, 35,935; Switzerland, 1158; total, 37,965; but in another place in the same report it is said that there were of German birth

54,944 soldiers drafted in the service. The same report says that during the Mexican war thirty per cent. of the American army were of foreign birth, and that this proportion held good of the volunteers during the Rebellion, but in times of peace the proportions were reversed, seventy per cent. of the recruits being of foreign birth. It is also stated that twenty-four nationalities were represented in the United States army, and that out of a total of a million two hundred and fifty thousand men actually in the war, there were seventy-five thousand Germans. This is certainly very far short of the actual number, and is by no means borne out as accurate even by the estimates made by the very competent authority of the statistician employed by the United States Sanitary Commission, Dr. B. A. Gould, whose tables are based upon very careful mathematical data, and come as near the truth as can be expected in the absence of absolute returns.

The United States Sanitary Commission, in addition to its other good work, published "Investigations in the Statistics of American Soldiers," by B. A. Gould (New York, 1869), of which one chapter is devoted to the nativity of the United States Volunteers (chap. ii. pp. 15-26). It gives a suggestive list of the arrivals of aliens in the United States as follows:

1860 . . .	153,640	1863 . . .	199,811
1861 . . .	112,705	1864 . . .	221,535
1862 . . .	114,475		

Thirty in each hundred alien passengers before 1861, and thirty-three in each hundred during the war, were males of military age, and the total of that class for the years of the war may be placed at two hundred and twenty-nine thousand five hundred and thirty-two.

It was not until the war had been waged for some time that the place of birth was systematically required on the enlistment rolls; the actual records are therefore very imperfect, and as many men enlisted at different times for different periods,—in one instance five times,—even regimental statistics are misleading. It was not until the organization of the provost-marshal-general's office that nativity was made an essential element of the history of each soldier. Out of the two and a half millions of men in the army, the nativities of about one million two hundred thousand have been collected for Dr. Gould's work from the records at the national and State capitals, of about two hundred and ninety-three thousand from regimental officers. In Missouri it was estimated that there were ten thousand re-enlistments among the German population; but making due allowance for these, the Sanitary Commission gives the following table of Germans, volunteers in

the different regiments from the States, and in the parallel column the proportion of the Germans to the native and other nationalities in the populations of each State; and I have added the German population from the census of 1860 in another column :

From	Number of German Soldiers.	Proportion to whole Population.	Total German Population. Census of 1860.
Maine	244	34	2,601
New Hampshire	952	35	412
Vermont	86	19	219
Massachusetts	1,876	860	9,961
Rhode Island and Connecticut	2,919	824	{ 845 8,525
New York	36,680	22,591	256,252
New Jersey	7,387	3,097	33,772
Pennsylvania	17,208	13,173	138,244
Delaware	621	139	1,263
Maryland	3,107	2,373	43,884
District of Columbia	746	643	3,254
West Virginia	869	194 (Va.)	10,512
Kentucky	1,943	1,276	27,227
Ohio	20,102	18,984	168,210
Indiana	7,190	7,793	66,705
Illinois	18,140	16,647	130,804
Michigan	3,534	3,793	38,787
Wisconsin	15,709	12,729	123,879
Minnesota	2,715	2,172	18,400
Iowa	2,850	3,239	38,555
Missouri	30,899	7,105	88,487
Kansas	1,090	692	4,318
A grand total of	187,858	128,102	1,118,402

And as against this there were :

	Proportion to Population.	Volunteers.
British Americans	22,695	53,532
English	38,250	45,508
Irish	139,052	144,221
Other foreigners	39,455	48,410
Foreigners not otherwise designated	278	26,445

Adding to these the native Americans, 1,523,267, makes a total of 2,018,200 soldiers whose nativity is thus established, out of the 2,500,000 in the Union army.

Part of the unwritten history of the war for the Union is the result of the firm stand the Germans took in defence of their new Fatherland. In the East, and still more in the West, before the Rebellion the German element was hardly appreciated by the mass of the people. With the outbreak of the war it asserted itself, and won a place in the consideration of their fellow-citizens that has been shown by their recognition in its government, and, to a still greater degree, in its social development. In the Southwest, notably, the Southern element was antagonistic to the Germans,—their industry, their frugality, their sobriety, their simple tastes, their love of family, their pride in their homes, were all elements of a civilization unknown in that part of the country. When

the Germans answered the appeal to support and defend the Union, their uprising was a surprise. Politicians looked unkindly on their military organizations, and were indisposed to give them a place in the army. The steadiness of Blenker's division at Bull Run gave his German regiments a consideration which stood them in good stead later on, when disasters befell them at Chancellorsville and at Gettysburg. In the West, Sigel organized the German regiments and helped to save Missouri to the Union.

The Germans who had been soldiers at home, but were employed peacefully throughout the country, at the first appeal to arms hurried to join their fellow-countrymen, and many others joined them who had recently come over here to seek their fortunes, and not a few whose trade was war helped to swell the strength of the German regiments. Asboth organized a cavalry brigade, which did good service to the end. The Fourth (German) Missouri Cavalry was one of his regiments, and although its colonel and its adjutant were Americans, most of its officers and all of its rank and file were Germans, old soldiers, who soon showed their capacity to adapt the lessons of their old military experience to the new problems of the war in this country.

The scattered settlements of Germans throughout Missouri made the strength of the Union men of that

State and kept it in its place. Encouraged in turn by the success of their countrymen, large numbers of new settlers followed their example, among them many who had seen the future wealth of the country even in a time of war, and that the desolating border war which carries so much misery in its course. Now, throughout Western Missouri there are thriving villages and prosperous towns, connected by a network of well-tilled farms, where German is the universal element. To them the success of the Union cause was the guarantee of their future prosperity, and from their support it derived much of its best strength.

Colonel Waring's attractive little book, "Whip and Spur" (Boston, 1875), gives an admirable sketch of the life in the Fourth Missouri Cavalry. Full of grace, charming in tone and spirit, told with the true feeling of a real soldier, it shows with much more vivid truth than most professed histories the real inner life of a cavalry regiment largely made up of old German soldiers. From its lieutenant-colonel, Von Helmrich, for twenty-eight years a cavalry soldier in Germany, down to the Swiss trumpeter, all were imbued with that military spirit which makes the typical German soldier. Colonel Waring's story is one of rough campaigns, of hurrying expeditions, of hair-breadth 'scapes, of a soldier's life in a border warfare, and it

will preserve the fame of the Fourth Missouri Cavalry when the dull records of many other regiments have been forgotten. It is just such a book as will serve to keep alive the best memories of the German cavalymen in the war for the Union in the West.

The German soldier of the West and Northwest at once took his right place in the army, and won for himself and his countrymen the respect and the affection and the confidence of his native-born fellow-citizens. What was before a scanty permission has now become a matter of right, and the German, as a factor in both the political and social progress of the country, owes his place to what was done and won for it in the war of the Rebellion. Many Germans no doubt came over here as a sort of freebooters, attracted by the high pay and the rapid promotion, and all the advantages that a volunteer army enjoyed over the great standing army of their native country. Many of them settled here, when the war was over, and became good and useful citizens, ready to do their share in making their new homes prosperous and happy. Thus, whatever their sacrifices,—and they were great in life and health,—their reward has been proportionately great, and the Germans throughout the civilized world owe much of their present position, of the accepted greatness of the Empire, to the devotion, freely offered, of their services to the United

States in its hour of trial, and to the example they then gave of fidelity to their political principles.

The story of the German soldier in the Rebellion is one of the characteristic features of that varying struggle. In the outset in the East the enthusiasm of the German population in their support of the Union was heartily welcome. In Missouri, under Sigel, it was their uprising that saved that State to the Union, and from the Germans of Missouri and the Northwest there came soldiers who won the day against the disloyal government of that State. Fremont rallied around him bodies of German troops of a strange sort at first, but that later on in the war became useful soldiers. In New York, Blenker raised a regiment which soon swelled to a brigade, and then to a division, and might have become an army corps. Their steadiness in protecting the retreat at the first Bull Run won for them general applause. Their camp in front of Washington, during the preparation that McClellan gave his raw troops, was a scene of military displays in the fashion of Germany, little known or appreciated by our work-a-day army, but largely admired by spectators from far and near.

The successive ill fortune of the German troops under Sigel in the valley of Virginia, and under Howard at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, was fully

atoned for by their share in the operations under Sherman. From being overpraised at the outset they were afterwards unjustly overblamed, and the truth undoubtedly rested between the two extremes. There were incompetent officers and inefficient soldiers in their number in the outset, but these were gradually weeded out, and in the end it can fairly be said that the German soldiers in the Rebellion contributed largely to the success that finally crowned the war. To give a detailed account of so large a number, scattered over such an extent of country, would be impossible, but a few shining examples may serve the purpose.

In a pamphlet issued by the War Department in 1885, there is given the local designation of volunteer organizations in the United States army during the war of the Rebellion, 1860-65, which is of interest, as showing in part the nationality of troops.

In New York:

Dickel's Mounted Rifles, Fourth New York Cavalry.

Blenker's Battery, Second Battery Light Artillery, New York.

Steuben Regiment, Seventh New York Infantry.

First German Rifles, Eighth New York Infantry.

United Turner Rifles, Twentieth New York Infantry.

First Astor Regiment, Twenty-ninth New York Infantry.

Fifth German Rifles, Forty-fifth New York Infantry.

Fremont Regiment, Forty-sixth New York Infantry.

Sigel Rifles, or German Rangers, Fifty-second New York Infantry.

Barney Rifles, or Schwartz Yäger Regiment, Fifty-fourth New York Infantry.

Steuben Rangers, Eighty-sixth New York Infantry.

In Pennsylvania :

First German Regiment, Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania Infantry.

Second German Regiment, Seventy-fifth Pennsylvania Infantry.

In Ohio :

First German Regiment, Twenty-eighth Ohio Infantry.

Second German Regiment, Thirty-seventh Ohio Infantry, Colonel Siber.

Third German Regiment, Sixty-seventh Ohio Infantry, Colonel Burstenbinder.

In Indiana :

First German Regiment, Thirty-second Indiana, commanded, successively, by Willich, Von Trebra, and Erdelmeyer.

In Illinois :

Hecker's Yäger Regiment, Twenty-fourth Illinois.

In Wisconsin :

First German Regiment, Ninth Wisconsin.

Second German Regiment, Twenty-sixth Wisconsin.

Bates's History of the Pennsylvania Regiments, etc., in the Rebellion, is a huge work of five enormous volumes, and from its endless pages there is much material to be gathered bearing on the German element in the war. Pennsylvania naturally claims for its citizens of German descent, including those whose ancestors were among the early settlers, a place in any tribute to the German soldiers. Among the first five companies organized in Pennsylvania at the very outset, there were many Pennsylvania Germans; and of the twenty-five regiments raised for the three months' service, there were the Fourth, with Hartranft as its colonel, from Norristown and Pottstown; the Eighth, from Lehigh and

Northampton; the Ninth, from Chester and Delaware, with Pennypacker; the Tenth, from Lancaster; the Eleventh, from Northumberland; the Fourteenth, from Berks; the Fifteenth, from Luzerne; the Sixteenth, from York and Schuylkill; the Eighteenth, in Philadelphia, under Wilhelm; the Twenty-first, under Ballier, largely made up of Germans.

Of the three-year regiments, those who bore the brunt of the war, there was the Twenty-seventh, which gained credit from and for Bushbeck; while of the fifteen regiments of the Pennsylvania Reserves, the largest organized force, indeed the only division, sent by one State to the field, many of its members were Germans by birth or descent; and so, too, of the Forty-eighth, from Schuylkill; the Fiftieth, from Berks; the Fifty-first, under Hartranft, from Montgomery; the Fifty-sixth, under Hofmann; the Sixty-fifth, better known as the Fifth Cavalry; the Seventy-fourth, from Pittsburg; the Seventy-fifth, under Bohlen; the Seventy-ninth, from Lancaster; the Eighty-eighth, from Berks and Philadelphia, with General Louis Wagner; the Ninety-sixth, from Schuylkill; the Ninety-seventh, under Pennypacker, from Chester and Delaware; the Ninety-eighth, the old Twenty-first reorganized, under Ballier, thoroughly German in rank and file; the One Hundred and Twelfth, or Second Artillery,—so large a regiment that out of it

a second regiment was organized; the One Hundred and Thirteenth, or Twelfth Cavalry, and the One Hundred and Fifty-second, or Third Artillery,—almost distinctively German. Then there were the One Hundred and Thirtieth, from York; the One Hundred and Thirty-first, from Northumberland; the One Hundred and Fifty-third, from Northampton,—it was brigaded under Sigel, Stahel, and Von Gilsa, with the New York regiments of Salm, Holmstedt, and Von Amsberg, and the Eighty-second Illinois, of Hecker; the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, from Berks, organized and commanded by Colonel Charles A. Knoderer; nothing could point more conclusively to the German element in the war than such names as these.

This is a fair proportion of the two hundred and fifteen regiments, nine batteries, and two independent companies, raised in Pennsylvania, and even a hasty glance at the long list of names of officers and men of the successive regiments will show a large German element scattered throughout them. One of the best elements of the little regular army was the supply of excellent non-commissioned officers, largely old German soldiers, and it was a great stroke of good fortune when a volunteer company had one of these well-trained and well-disciplined men in its ranks,—

he steadied the whole line, and gave it an example of soldierly excellence in every particular.

Such a man was Edward Scherer, first sergeant of Company B, of the One Hundred and Twenty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers,—a German who had served in a battery of the Third United States Artillery, under some of the most distinguished officers of the regular army. Reynolds and Burnside recognized him as an old comrade, and his bearing and gallantry and knowledge of the real business of soldiering were the object of universal admiration among the green hands, both officers and men, of his regiment. He fell at the battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and he was but a type of that large number of German soldiers who served in the ranks, and who, like Scherer, sacrificed good employment at home to do their duty to the country of their adoption at its hour of supreme peril and trial.

A characteristic and distinguished example of the services rendered by our Pennsylvanians of German descent is the brilliant career of General G. Pennypacker, of the Ninth and the Ninety-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers. Born in 1842, at Valley Forge, he was one of the descendants of Heinrich Pannebäcker, who came to America from Germany before 1699, and settled on Skippack Creek. Many of this family settled in the adjoining counties of Montgomery, Chester,

and Berks, and of the later generations not a few found their way into Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, where their names are found in positions of importance and trust.

On the rolls of those who served in the Revolution and the later wars of the republic, there are many representatives of this old German stock. The Pennypacker war record is a notable one. During the Revolution this family had as its representatives in the Continental army, a captain, an ensign, a lieutenant, a corporal, and a private. In the war of 1812 it had two of its members in the field; in the Mexican war, three. In the war of the Rebellion it furnished to the Union army two major-generals, one adjutant-general, one colonel, one surgeon, one assistant surgeon, two captains, one lieutenant, five sergeants, eight corporals, one musician, and sixty-five privates. To the Southern army it gave one lieutenant-colonel, one quartermaster, four captains, five lieutenants, and twenty-eight enlisted men,—a total of one hundred and twenty-eight. No doubt this list could be increased if all branches of the old stock reported their military contingent. At all events it is worth pointing out, that others may try to parallel it by a diligent search through their own records for other examples of the kind. The great-grandfather of General Pennypacker was a bishop of the Mennonite Church; his father

was on the staff of General Worth, in the Mexican war. At the age of eighteen, after he had begun life as a printer, young Pennypacker became a member of a local volunteer company, and marched with it to Harrisburg on the first summons for troops in 1861, serving with it in the Ninth Regiment. He soon became captain and then major of the reorganized regiment in the three years' service, the Ninety-seventh, and bravely fought his way through the war, became colonel of the regiment, was soon put in command of a brigade, won his star as a brigadier-general for his gallantry at the capture of Fort Fisher, at twenty-two was the youngest general officer in the war, and was brevetted a major-general. In 1866 he quietly settled down to study law, when he was appointed colonel of the Thirty-fourth Infantry in the regular army, then assigned to the Sixteenth; he was the youngest colonel in the regular army, and finally retired in 1883 at an age when with most men a career of distinction such as his is usually just beginning.

Zinn, of the One Hundred and Thirtieth; Schall, of the Fifty-first, one of eight brothers in the army; Brenholz, of the Fiftieth; Gries, of the One Hundred and Fourth; Kohler, of the Ninety-eighth, were all of Pennsylvania birth, but of German descent. Knoderer, of the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth, was born in Baden, was educated at Carlsruhe, at the

Polytechnical School, and left the service of the government to join Sigel's force in the unsuccessful revolution of 1849. In Reading (Pennsylvania) he found a new home and employment as a civil engineer; but when the Rebellion broke out he went first as a captain of engineers on Sigel's staff, then enlisted as a private and was elected colonel of the Eleventh Pennsylvania, and afterwards was appointed colonel of the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth Pennsylvania, and fell at its head on the 30th January, 1863, near Suffolk, Virginia.

Ballier was born in Würtemberg in 1815; studied at the military school at Stuttgart in 1833-34; settled in Philadelphia, where he was a member of the Washington Guard, the first German military organization in the North, in 1836; enlisted as a private in the First Pennsylvania for the Mexican war, was made major for his services there; then was colonel of the Twenty-first and of the Ninety-eighth for the Rebellion. Twice seriously wounded, he survived to renew the recollection of his varied experiences, a veteran of many battles, dying peacefully at his home in Philadelphia.

Hartranft's commission as brigadier-general was won by his services at Bull Run, Antietam, and Fredericksburg; and as the hero of Fort Stedman he became a major-general. His services in civil life were

equally distinguished, and his career was marked by well-earned honors, as Governor of Pennsylvania, as the chief representative of the Federal government in Philadelphia, and as the head of the State militia.

The "Genealogical Record of the Schwenkefelders" (Manayunk, 1879) gives this brief biography at p. 233: "John Frederick Hartranft, born in New Hanover Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, December 16, 1830: he is the sixth in descent from Tobias Hartranft [Hertheranfft], who came to Pennsylvania, in 1734, with the early refugees from religious intolerance in their native country. He studied at Marshall College, Pennsylvania, and graduated in 1853 at Union College, Schenectady, New York. He was colonel of the First Regiment, Montgomery County militia, and led it as the Fourth Pennsylvania into the field, and served on the staff of General Franklin at Bull Run. On June 27, 1861, he was commissioned colonel of the Fifty-first Pennsylvania, and took part in the battles of Roanoke Island, New-Berne, the Second Bull Run, Chantilly, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Vicksburg, Jackson, Knoxville, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Fort Stedman, Petersburg, and Richmond. He was commissioned a brigadier-general May 12, 1864, and brevet major-general March 25, 1865. He was appointed

colonel of the Thirty-fourth United States Regiment, July 28, 1866, but declined the commission, preferring to retire to civil life. In October, 1865, and again in 1868, he was elected auditor-general, and in 1873 governor, and in 1875 he was elected for a second term." He was appointed by President Hayes post-master of Philadelphia, and by President Arthur collector of the port, and was general commanding the National Guard of Pennsylvania at the time of his death.

Everard Bierer, colonel of the One Hundred and Seventy-first Pennsylvania, was the son of German parents, settled in Fayette County. He won his first successes in the Eleventh Pennsylvania Reserves, was appointed by Governor Curtin to be colonel of the One Hundred and Seventy-first, and was promoted to the command of a brigade. Now he is a successful lawyer, legislator, and farmer in Kansas.

Colonel Lehmann, of the One Hundred and Third, was born in Hanover in 1812, was educated there at the military school, served for six years in the army, and in 1837 came to Pittsburg, where he became a teacher. He organized the Sixty-second Pennsylvania, was its lieutenant-colonel, then was colonel of the One Hundred and Third, and after the war resumed his work of education, and became president of the Western Pennsylvania Military Academy.

The Wisters who served in the war by the half a score were all of that good old German stock whose representatives are so well and honorably known in every walk of life in their native city and far beyond it.

Philadelphia sent General Isaac J. Wister, colonel of the Seventy-first Pennsylvania; Major Joseph W. Wister, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry; Colonel Francis Wister, captain of the Twelfth United States Infantry, and colonel of the Two Hundred and Fifteenth Pennsylvania; Colonel Langhorne Wister, captain of the First Pennsylvania Rifles, "Buck-tails," colonel of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Pennsylvania, and brevet brigadier-general; Colonel William Rotch Wister, of the Twentieth Pennsylvania Cavalry.

William Doster, colonel of the Fourth Cavalry, was born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where his father, a native of Swabia, settled in 1817, marrying the daughter of a Vorsteher of the Brethren's House, the granddaughter of a Revolutionary soldier. A graduate of Yale of '57, and of the Harvard Law School of '59, he studied law in Heidelberg and Paris. Returning to this country, he became major of the Fourth Pennsylvania Cavalry, led it in the Chancellorsville and Gettysburg campaigns, and was promoted for his services.

General J. William Hofmann, colonel of the Fifty-

sixth Pennsylvania, was the son of Prussian parents, who settled in Philadelphia in 1819. Long an active member of local militia organizations, he went to the field a thorough soldier, and his career was one of distinguished gallantry, characterized alike by merit and modesty. The opinion of all his superior officers was an uniform and unanimous approval of his ability and his courage, and he deserves, as he has won, and he enjoys, the respect of his fellow-citizens for the distinguished services he rendered in all the responsible positions assigned him during his long period of active service.

General Adolph Bushbeck was born in Coblenz, Prussia, in 1822, the son of a German officer. From his eleventh to his seventeenth year he was at the cadet school in Berlin, then became ensign and lieutenant, and at the suggestion of Steinwehr was appointed instructor at the cadet school at Potsdam, from 1847 to 1852. In 1853 he came to Philadelphia, and was well and favorably known as a successful teacher. When the Rebellion broke out he became major, and later colonel of the Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania, and in that and his successive commands, as general of brigade and division, won unstinted praise for his high soldierly qualities. From General Sherman he received warm commendation. The war over, he returned to Philadelphia,

and resumed his former occupation for some years, and then, going abroad with his family, died in Florence, Italy, in 1883.

Henry Bohlen was born in Bremen in 1810. As early as 1831, on the recommendation of Lafayette, he was appointed on the staff of General Gerard, and served during the siege of Antwerp. In the Mexican war he served on the staff of General Worth, and took part in many engagements. In the Crimean war he served in the French army, and at the outbreak of the Rebellion, returning from Europe, where he was living in great splendor, enjoying a large fortune and a brilliant social position, he raised the Seventy-fifth, a German regiment, mainly at his own expense, and led it with such distinguished gallantry that he was commended in warm terms by Fremont and Sigel, under whom he served, and was soon appointed a brigadier-general. His brilliant career ended in his death in action, in August, 1862.

The Vezins—Oscar, Henry, Alfred—served with credit in various branches of the service, always doing honor to a name that belongs to one of the leading merchants of Philadelphia in its days of greatness as a commercial city.

Henry Vezin was captain Company G, Fifth Pennsylvania Cavalry; Alfred, captain Company C, Fif-

teenth Pennsylvania Cavalry, and afterwards adjutant Fourth Missouri Cavalry.

The name of General John A. Koltes is perpetuated in that of Post No. 228 of the Grand Army of the Republic, which thus does due honor to that gallant soldier. He organized the Seventy-third Regiment, originally known as the Pennsylvania Legion, Forty-fifth of the line. It was recruited in Philadelphia, in June and July, 1861, and was first at a rendezvous at Lemon Hill. Colonel Koltes, Lieutenant-Colonel Muehleck, and Major Schott were the field-officers. It joined Blenker's division in September, and went with it through the West Virginia campaign under Fremont and Sigel, and then under Pope into the second Bull Run. Koltes was in command of the brigade, and Brueckner of the regiment, when they both fell in action on the 30th of August, 1862, gallantly leading their men against an overwhelming force. General Schurz, in his report as division commander, commends the conduct of Koltes and his brigade, temporarily attached to his division. It consisted of the Sixty-eighth New York, the Twenty-ninth New York, and the Seventy-third Pennsylvania, with Dilger's Battery. He says, "The gallant Koltes died a noble death at the head of his brave regiments," and he deplores "the brave and noble Koltes." General Sigel, who commanded the First Corps,

regrets, in his report, "the death of the intrepid Koltes."

General Koltes was born in Trèves in 1827, and came to this country while he was still a lad, in his seventeenth year. He became a teacher in a Catholic institute in Pittsburg, enlisted in 1846 as a volunteer in the Mexican war, and afterwards in the regular army. On his return he was employed in the United States Mint, became a member of the Scott Legion, and took an active part in the local militia. He drilled the Männerchor Rifle Guards for home service, and recruited a regiment for the war. He received a commission as brigadier-general, and it was at the head of his brigade that he fell in action at the second Bull Run. Koltes was, like Ballier, Binder, and Bohlen, among the active spirits in the early military organizations in Philadelphia: Besides the Philadelphia regiments, they furnished for the war four companies of Philadelphia Turners, who joined their comrades in the Turner Regiment, organized in New York under Colonel Soest, and many went into New Jersey regiments and those of other States.

Among the young Germans of Philadelphia, Fritz Tiedeman has a high place for his gallant services. He was, successively, quartermaster-sergeant, second lieutenant, adjutant, and captain of the Seventy-fifth

Pennsylvania, and then on the staff of General Schurz; and his brother, who fell early in the war, gave promise of equal merit.

General Louis Wagner was born in Giessen, Germany, in 1838, and came to Philadelphia as a lad, with his father, a revolutionary refugee, in 1849. Educated at the public schools, in 1861 he entered the service as a first lieutenant of the Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, and at the close of the war was colonel of the regiment and a brevet brigadier-general. Returning to civil life, he organized the Grand Army of the Republic in Pennsylvania, in 1866, and has been one of the leading men of that organization ever since. He has taken a very active part in other civil and military bodies, and has been honored by many elective offices and appointments, all of which he has filled with characteristic zeal and energy.

New York, as the gathering-place of all nationalities, naturally sent many Germans to the army. The Thirty-ninth, or "Garibaldi Guard," consisted of three companies of Germans, three of Hungarians, one each of Swiss, Italians, and French, and one of Spanish and Portuguese.

The Seventh Regiment Infantry, New York State Volunteers, or "Steuben Rangers," organized by Colonel John E. Bendix, and reorganized by Colonel G. von Schach, had, as its original officers, Lieutenant-

Colonel Edward Kapff, Major C. Keller, and Captains Goebel, Boecht, Brestel, Pfeiffer, Anselm, Hocheimer, S. L. Kapff, Schonleber, Bethan, Wratislau.

The Eighth, or "First German Rifles," was organized by Blenker, who commanded a brigade at the first Bull Run, and a division under Fremont in the valley campaign. It was in Sigel's corps in the second battle of Bull Run.

The Twentieth, or "United Turner Rifles," was organized by the New York Turn-Verein, in April, 1861, from its societies. German citizens provided the money for its expenses; a committee of ladies, called the "Turner-sisters," supplied many necessaries. Max Weber was its colonel, Franz Weiss lieutenant-colonel, and Englebert Schnepf major.

The Twenty-ninth, or "Astor Rifles," was organized by Steinwehr, who, in his farewell order, says it was the last to leave the field at Bull Run, and served with distinction under Fremont and Sigel, and at Chancellorsville, and earned a place in the history of the war.

The Fifth New York State Militia was a German organization; its officers were Colonel Schwarzwaldler, Lieutenant-Colonel Burger, Major Von Amsberg.

Of the Forty-first, or "De Kalb Guards," Colonel Von Gilsa, seven hundred of its men had been in the Prussian service in the Schleswig-Holstein war. One

company was raised in Philadelphia, and another in Newark, New Jersey.

The Fifty-second Regiment Infantry, New York State Volunteers, was organized at Staten Island, New York, in the autumn of 1861, by the consolidation of four companies of the "Sigel Rifles" and six companies of the "German Rangers," under Colonel Paul Frank. The commanders of companies were :

- A. Captain Charles G. Freudenberg.
- B. Captain Henry L. Klein.
- C. Captain Gustave Schultze.
- D. Captain Oscar von Schoening.
- E. Captain J. C. Messerschmidt.
- F. Captain Charles Mohring.
- G. Captain O. C. Garwin.
- H. Captain Jacob Rueger.
- I. Captain Adolphus Becker.
- K. Captain Francis Benzler.

The lieutenant-colonel was Louis Kasouzki ; major, Philip C. Lichtenstein. A national flag, a regimental flag, and two guidons were presented by the German ladies of New York.

It formed part of the Third Brigade, First Division, Second Corps, was brigaded with the Fifty-seventh and Sixty-sixth New York, and Fifty-third Pennsylvania, under Sumner, French, Zook, and

Frank. At Antietam it lost its lieutenant-colonel, Lichtenstein; at Gettysburg, its brigade commander, Zook; in the Wilderness campaign under Hancock, two gallant Germans, Count Haake and Baron Von Steuben, both officers of the Prussian army, serving as volunteers in that of the Union. Count Haake was a brave and gentle comrade, of kind, modest, and unassuming manners, endeared to his fellow-soldiers by his manly virtues. His epitaph is written in the hearts of all who knew him, as a brave and true soldier, who fell in battle for a noble cause.

In October of 1864 the remnant of the original Fifty-second, five officers and thirty-five men, under Major Retzius, returned to New York. Colonel Frank, promoted to be a brigadier-general, was succeeded by Colonel Karples, and under him the regiment was finally mustered out in July, 1865. Of the two thousand eight hundred whose names appear on its rolls, only two hundred returned; thirty-four of its officers were killed or disabled during its four years of service.

The Military Order of the Loyal Legion is for the Union army what the Society of the Cincinnati was for the Revolutionary army. Its records preserve and perpetuate the memories of many gallant soldiers. Among them is to be found a sketch of the life and services of Carl Gottfried Freudenberg. Born

in Heidelberg, Germany, May 1, 1833, at an early age he entered the military service as a cadet in the Karlsruhe School. While there the revolution of 1848 broke out, and, although but fifteen, he took the field with his fellow-students, and was engaged in the battle fought near Mannheim. As his mind matured it developed such conclusions upon political liberty as impelled him to forego brilliant prospects of preferment, and he came to the United States a few years before the great Rebellion. When a call was issued for soldiers he raised a company of infantry, and with it entered the service as captain of the Fifty-second New York Volunteer Infantry, August 3, 1861. On the 9th of November he became its major, and was severely wounded at the battle of Fair Oaks. On November 24, 1862, he was promoted lieutenant-colonel, and commanded his regiment at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, where he was again desperately wounded. Forced to leave the field by his injuries, he resigned his commission in the Fifty-second New York and accepted an appointment as major in the Veteran Reserve Corps, organized the Twenty-third Regiment, and on April 22, 1864, became its lieutenant-colonel, serving in the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, as commandant at Milwaukee, and as inspector-general and commandant of the District of Wiscon-

sin. On the reorganization of the army he was appointed captain of the Forty-fifth (Veteran Reserve) Infantry; in 1869 was transferred to the Fourteenth Infantry, was brevetted colonel of volunteers, and major and lieutenant-colonel of the regular army. In May, 1870, he went with his regiment to the Northwest, to quell a threatened Indian outbreak, but in December he was obliged to go on the retired list as captain, and in 1877 he was promoted lieutenant-colonel. He died in Washington, August 28, 1885, enjoying the confidence and affection of all who knew him, as the very embodiment of personal honor and soldierly virtue.

One of the most effective services rendered the cause of the Union was the long series of political cartoons furnished to *Harper's Weekly* during the civil war by Thomas Nast, born on the Rhine in 1840. His pencil was recognized far and wide as that of a sturdy champion, and his productions were heartily welcomed by the soldiers in the field and by earnest patriots everywhere. Thomas Nast was born in Landau, Bavaria, September 27, 1840, and came with his mother to New York in 1846, and was there joined in 1849 by his father, who had served on the man-of-war "Ohio." He began to work on Frank Leslie's illustrated paper, studied in the Academy of Design, made a campaign with Garibaldi in 1860,

sending sketches to the New York, London, and Paris illustrated papers, returning to New York in 1861. His contributions to *Harper's Weekly* became historical, and have received the well-merited praise of historians and art critics. They were useful in keeping alive the loyal feeling of the North, and received the hearty plaudits of the soldiers in the field. When peace was restored he won new honors in the civil contest that waged over Andrew Johnson's administration, and now he fights for good government with his pencil.

The Princess Salm-Salm, in her book, "Ten Years of My Life,"—and a very adventurous one it was,—describes the camp of the German division (Blenker's) in front of Washington, in the fall of 1861, as the principal point of attraction. It consisted of about twelve thousand men, under Blenker and Steinwehr, who had gained great credit for protecting the retreat from the first Bull Run. Blenker was born in Tours, had served in the Bavarian army and in that of Greece under its Bavarian king, took part in the German revolution of '48, fled to Switzerland, then came to New York, and was farming when the Rebellion broke out. He raised the Eighth New York, and Prussian and Austrian soldiers furnished a considerable proportion of its officers, among them Prince Salm-Salm, who served to the end of the war, then in

Mexico, and finally fell in the Franco-Prussian war. Another of his officers was Corvin, who, after six years in Prussian prisons as a penalty for his share in the German revolution, came to this country as the war correspondent of the London *Times* and the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Among other German officers were Von der Groeben; Von Schack, colonel of the Seventh New York; Von Buggenhagen, one of its captains; Von Radowitz, Schwenke, Gerber, Max Weber; Schirmer, chief of artillery of the Eleventh Corps; Von Puttkammer, of the Third Corps; Von Amsberg, Von Gilsa, Von Kusserow, Von Kleisser; Von Schrader, of the Seventy-fourth Ohio, killed in action; Von Trebra, of the Thirty-second Indiana; and Leppien, lieutenant-colonel of the First Maine Artillery, one of the most gallant soldiers from Philadelphia.

Carl Schurz was the first colonel of the first regiment of volunteer cavalry duly authorized to be raised. On his way to New York he found Chorman's Rangers also inviting recruits, while other cavalry companies were being busily raised in Philadelphia. In New York he found additional countrymen at work,—Frederick von Schickfuss, August Haurand, Count Haake, Von Blakenburg, Bern de Tavergnier, Von Strautz, Von Veltheim, Count Ferdinand Storch, and Count Von Moltke, Hendricks,

Passegger, Hertzog,—who soon found plenty of men. Schurz himself went to Spain as United States minister, and the regiment was fortunate in having for its first colonel in the field A. T. M. Reynolds, a very good, experienced soldier. The four companies of Germans were all old soldiers. Their record through the war is a very creditable one, and the First New York Cavalry did its work so well that Germans may be proud of their countrymen in it both from New York and Pennsylvania.

Carl Schurz was born March 2, 1829, in Liblar, near Cologne, studied in Bonn, where he became a friend of Kinkel, one of the noted leaders in the German revolution of 1848, took part in the attack on the arsenal at Siegburg, joined Kinkel in the outbreak in Baden, and when it was put down by the German Imperial army, under the then Crown Prince of Prussia, later Emperor of Germany, was imprisoned with Kinkel, but escaped to Switzerland. In 1850 he went to Berlin under a false name and helped Kinkel to escape from the State Prison at Spandau. He then went to London, where he married in 1852, and emigrated to America. In the United States he filled, successively, the positions of journalist, diplomatist, general, and statesman, always in the service of freedom and humanity, and doing honor to his German nativity, securing his fellow-countrymen a leading

part in the great political agitation for the Union. In 1855 he took a prominent part as a public speaker in Wisconsin for the Republican party, and helped it win its great triumph. In 1860 he was a lawyer in Milwaukee; in 1861 he was sent to Spain as minister; returning to take part in the war for the Union, he rose rapidly to be major-general, and commanded a division in the battle of Bull Run, taking an active part in a succession of battles, notably at Gettysburg and Chattanooga. After the war he became an editor, publishing in 1866 the *Detroit Post*, in 1867 the *Westlichen Post* in St. Louis, in 1883 the *New York Evening Post*, and in 1885 the *Boston Post*. In the mean time he filled with credit a succession of public positions. In 1869 he was elected United States Senator for Missouri; in 1877 he was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Hayes. Distinguished as an orator, both in English and German, an able parliamentarian, capable alike of wielding sword and pen, he has become a public man of weight in both his native and his adopted countries, demanding recognition alike of German virtues and of American capacity for self-government. His recent honors in Germany attest his popularity there.

The German element in the cavalry and artillery went far to make both of these arms of the service efficient and capable. In every regiment of cavalry

and in every battery of artillery there were found old German soldiers, trained in a way that made them models for the green recruits, and instructors alike of officers and men. In most of the regiments of the regular army there were privates and non-commissioned officers, Germans by birth and soldiers by training, who were looked on with the respect that courage and discipline always secure. Many of them were promoted to commissions, and some of them commanded volunteer regiments with great credit. One of the most notable trained and veteran German soldiers was Adolph von Steinwehr, who was born September 25, 1825, at Blankenburg, in Brunswick. His father was a major, his grandfather a lieutenant-general. He studied in the military school, became a lieutenant, came to the United States, and served as an officer of an Alabama regiment during the Mexican war. He was employed as an engineer by the United States, married in Mobile, returned to Germany, and then became a farmer in Connecticut. At the outbreak of the civil war he became colonel of the Twenty-ninth New York, part of the Germans that excited interest and admiration by their steadiness at the first Bull Run. This led to the organization of a German division under Blenker,—the First Brigade under Stahel: the Eighth, Wutschel; Thirty-ninth, D'Utassy, and Forty-

fifth, Von Amsberg, New York; and Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania, Bushbeck; Second Brigade, Steinwehr: Twenty-ninth, Kozlay; Fifty-fourth, Kryzanowsky; Fifty-eighth, Gellman, New York; Seventy-third Pennsylvania, Koltes; Third Brigade, Bohlen: Forty-first, Von Gilsa, and Sixty-eighth, Kleefisch, New York; Seventy-fourth, Schimmelpfennig; Seventy-fifth, Mahler, Pennsylvania; Fourth New York Cavalry, Dickel; batteries of Schirmer, Wilderich, and Sturmfels. There were changes in the organization in which Sigel and Schurz obtained successive commands. Finally, at Chancellorsville the tide turned, and the Germans of the Eleventh Corps were spoken of as if the ill fortune of the battle was due to them. Steinwehr, however, was always honored for the conduct of his troops, and at Gettysburg again his military reputation was enhanced by his services. Under Sherman he won fresh honors in the West, and served in the army until the close of the war. From that time until his death in 1877 he was engaged in the work of authorship on subjects for which his thorough training especially fitted him. His character was marked by many manly qualities, and his name is an enduring example of German patriotism, soldiership, and culture.

Leopold von Gilsa, colonel of the Forty-first New York Volunteers, the De Kalb regiment, was a

typical German soldier. Born in Prussia in 1825, the son of a Prussian officer, he served in that army, for which he was specially educated, became a major in the Schleswig-Holstein war, and soon afterwards came to this country. He was peaceably employed in teaching when the Rebellion broke out, and then he organized his regiment, and won for it the distinction of a thoroughly well-disciplined and capable body of good soldiers. Wounded at Cross Keys, he gained the confidence and admiration of his superiors by the way in which he handled his regiment and the brigade, and by his services as chief of staff to General Sigel when he was in command of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. He served until 1864, when he was mustered out as colonel, although he had served as commander of brigade and division. Returning to civil life, he died in New York in 1870, in consequence of the wounds and exposure incidental to four years of almost uninterrupted campaign life, marches, and battles. Gilisa Post, No. 264, of the Grand Army of the Republic, fitly marks, by the adoption of his name, the honor intended to be paid his memory by those who could best appreciate his services to his adopted country and his example of the devotion of his life to the cause in which he and his countrymen were united.

The First New York Battalion of Light Artillery,

known as Brickel's Artillery, was composed of four batteries, all Germans,—Major Brickel, Captains Dietrich, Voegelin, Knierim, and Kusserow. After Antietam, where Major Arndt, commander of the battalion, was killed, the batteries were made independent, and were numbered Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, and Thirty-second. The Twenty-ninth was afterwards consolidated with the Thirty-second, Captain Von Kusserow. Captain Kleisser was promoted to command of the Thirtieth, and the Thirty-first was subsequently consolidated with the Thirtieth. In 1865, Kusserow was appointed colonel of the Second Regiment of Hancock's Veteran Corps. The Twenty-ninth and Thirty-second Batteries were consolidated with the Fourth and Fifteenth Independent Batteries, but retained the number Thirty-second. Von Kusserow was an old officer of the Prussian army, the son of General Von Kusserow. He died in Philadelphia, and was buried in presence of the German consul, Major Mergenthaler, and H. Dieck, his old comrades in arms.

Colorado had forty-two Germans in the Second Regiment, besides others whose nationalities are given as Austria, Prussia, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Norway, Bohemia, Saxony, Holland, Bavaria, and Switzerland; so that even on the borders the proportion of foreigners was a very large one.

Among the notable officers from Illinois, besides Hecker, whose memory deserves especial mention, there was Général Knobelsdorff, a graduate of the military school at Culm, Prussia, who was a lieutenant in the Prussian army, joined the Schleswig-Holstein army, and came with hundreds of his comrades to the United States in 1851. He lived in Milwaukee and Chicago, and when the Rebellion broke out organized the Twenty-fourth and Forty-fourth Illinois, commanded a brigade in Sigel's corps, under Asboth, and had under him Colonel Nicholas Greusel, of the Seventh and Thirty-sixth Illinois, and Colonel Julius C. Raith, of the Forty-third. The Thirteenth Illinois Cavalry was also largely a German organization.

Adolph Engelmann served in the Mexican war in the Second Illinois, and during the Rebellion was colonel of the Forty-third Illinois, receiving the appointment of brigadier-general as a reward.

His predecessor in the Forty-third Illinois, Julius C. Raith, was born in Germany in 1820, came to the United States in 1837, served as lieutenant in the Second Illinois in the Mexican war, was promoted to captain, and, good Democrat as he had been, was ready to serve in the war for the Union as colonel of the Forty-third,—a German regiment largely organized by Gustav Körner. He fell at Shiloh, in command of a brigade.

Hugo Wangelin was educated at the military school of Berlin, came to the United States in 1834, served in the Twelfth Missouri, under Osterhaus, and succeeded him in command of the regiment when Osterhaus was promoted, making a reputation for distinguished gallantry for himself and his German soldiers, representatives of the best elements of German emigration in the West. Wangelin took part in twenty-eight engagements, and died in 1883.

Gustav Körner was a leading spirit in all German organizations in the West, both in peace and war, and his term of office as governor was marked by many events of importance.

Körner himself is a representative German, and his earnest efforts to advance German culture and to ingraft it on American patriotism deserve hearty recognition. His services in organizing troops and in the executive chair of Illinois are well known. His name is honorably perpetuated in his book describing the successive and successful settlement of Germans throughout the United States. He has creditably represented his adopted country abroad, and is now among the veterans around whom cluster the association of all that is best, alike in German and American patriotism.

Thielemann's cavalry battalion and Hotaling's company of the Second Illinois Cavalry, and Stolleman's

and D'Osband's and Gumbart's artillery, are among the German organizations that received frequent and always honorable mention in the history of the Western campaigns.

Gumbart's Battery, Second Illinois Light Artillery, was organized by Captain Adolph Schwarz, a son of Major-General Schwarz, of Baden. He was severely wounded at Shiloh. The first lieutenant was M. W. Mann, now a citizen of Texas.

Friedrich Hecker is one of the names that unite Germany and America in a common love of liberty. Born in Baden in 1811, educated at Heidelberg and Munich, he became a leader of the Republican party in his native country, and was recognized as one of the master-spirits of the outbreak of 1848. To its failure we owe the large accession of Germans, whose part in the Union cause has become one of the brightest pages of our history. His welcome to his new fatherland was hearty and universal. He settled down to a quiet farmer's life in Illinois, took an active share in the work of the Republican party, enlisted at the outbreak of the Rebellion in Sigel's regiment in St. Louis, commanded, successively, the Twenty-fourth and the Eighty-second Illinois Volunteers, and left the field only because he was so severely wounded that he could no longer serve in the army. Like Carl Schurz, he was invited to return to Germany to take

part in the organization of its unity as an empire, but his love of America and American freedom made it impossible for him to leave his home. He was a representative man among the Germans, active in all their best work in civil life, and his death, on the 22d of September, 1881, called forth universal expression of grief and sorrow. At his grave, and afterwards at the dedication of a monument to his memory in St. Louis, his old associates and his younger admirers bore testimony to the respect and affection in which Hecker's name was held. Sigel, Schurz, Körner, Thielemann, Rombauer, Stifel, Ledergerber, Englemann, and many who had fought together on both continents for republican principles, attested the service done to constitutional liberty in Europe and America by Friedrich Hecker, and the gratitude of Germany and of all Germans alike in the old and the new fatherland.

Colonel Emile Frey, the Swiss minister to the United States, was an officer of Hecker's Illinois regiments, the Twenty-fourth and Eighty-second; he volunteered, and was a lieutenant in the former and became a major in the latter, thus serving as a soldier in two republics, that of his native Switzerland and in that of his temporary home. The son of a distinguished Liberal leader in the Canton of Basel, the father was fortunate enough in his old age to see

him a soldier in the American republic, and later the diplomatic representative of that of Switzerland in Washington. Colonel Frey's return to the United States was made the occasion of a hearty welcome alike from his countrymen and from his fellow-soldiers, and his well-earned reputation as a soldier in defence of the American Union was heightened by his able management of the interests of the Swiss Confederation in the United States. The tie that unites the two republics was greatly strengthened by this marked instance of the good service rendered the Union cause by its Swiss soldiers. A sketch of a Swiss company of sharpshooters serving during the war was printed at Richtersweil, Switzerland, in 1865, under the title, "Drei Jahre in der Potomac-armee oder eine Schweizer Schützen Compagnie im Nordamerikanischen Kriege" (8vo, pp. 228). The report made to the Swiss Confederation by its veteran general Dufour is one of the best accounts of the Federal forces at the outset, and the visit of that gallant soldier is still remembered by all who met him during his stay in this country.*

Iowa has preserved in the reports of the adjutant-general of the State a list of the places of nativity of

* A soldiers' monument, raised in Chicago, perpetuates the heroic deeds of German-American soldiers.

its soldiers. Germany, of course, has its representatives in almost every organization, and in the Sixteenth and Twenty-sixth Iowa Volunteers there were companies entirely composed of Germans, rank and file, while the Fifth Cavalry was composed in part of Germans enlisted at Dubuque and Burlington for the Fremont Guards, by Colonel Carl Schaefer de Boernstein, who fell in action in Tennessee in May, 1862, and was mourned as a gallant soldier.

Matthes's Iowa battalion won distinction in Sherman's army. Colonel Nicholas Perczel, of the Tenth Iowa, was also commended as an excellent soldier.

From the French colonists settled at Icaria, in Iowa, came a number of soldiers, among them Anton von Gaudain, who was born in Berlin, of French-Huguenot stock,—the son of an army officer, and himself trained for an army officer. He came to the United States at twenty-five, edited a French paper in New York, taught school, joined the Icarian community in Icaria, served for three years in the Union army, and after the war made his home in Corning, Iowa, near a settlement of French Icarians, where he died, in 1883. He was a scholar of remarkable attainments, and was beloved by all who knew him.

Henry Koch, born in Baireuth, in 1800, learned the trade of watchmaker, and followed it in his native town until participation in politics of too radical a

character brought him to prison. After his release he came to America, landing in Baltimore in 1832. He established a colony of communists in Clayton County, Iowa, on the plans suggested by Fourier. He served as a captain in the Mexican war, and spent the rest of his life in Dubuque, where he died in 1879.

Another German refugee, Weydemeyer, a friend and disciple of Carl Marx, the founder of German socialism, served with distinction in the Union army during the late war, and after its close was elected auditor of St. Louis, where he died.

The civil war offered the Turnerbund an opportunity to earn a good name for themselves and their fellow-countrymen. From every quarter the Turners responded to Lincoln's call for troops, some of the unions sending more than half their members. In New York they organized a complete regiment in a few days, and in many places they sent one or more companies. There were three companies in the First Missouri, while the Seventeenth consisted almost altogether of Turners. Leavenworth and Cincinnati, too, sent a strong proportion from their unions. It is estimated that from forty to fifty per cent. of all Turners capable of bearing arms took part in the war. Prominent among them was General Franz Sigel.*

* "The Labor Movement in America," by R. T. Ely, pp. 220, 221, and 223. New York, 1886.

Connecticut had in its Sixth Regiment a company of Germans from New Haven, Norwich, and Waterbury, commanded by Captain Klein, who became lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and another, under Captain Biebel, from Bridgeport, Meriden, and New York. In its Eleventh Regiment, Captain Moegling had a company of Germans from New Haven and Fairfield.

Indiana, according to the report of the adjutant-general of that State, had in its volunteer regiments 6456 Germans,—not far short of the 7190 credited to the State by Dr. Gould after the war had enabled him to make a fuller comparison of figures,—and a fair proportion of the 14,940 foreigners serving in and for that State, and of the 155,578 of its volunteer soldiers. Among the most noteworthy of its representative German soldiers were General August Willich, and Colonel John Gerber, killed in command of the Twenty-fourth Indiana at Shiloh, April 7, 1862.

A German, Albert Lange, was one of the active staff of Governor Morton, and worked faithfully to enable that State to do its share successfully in the war of the Rebellion. Another German, John B. Lutz, led the Indiana forces in their resistance to Morgan's raids. The Thirty-second was a distinctive German regiment, organized in Dearborn, Floyd,

Fort Wayne, Jefferson, and other farming districts, from the best classes of German-American settlers.

Kentucky had many Germans among its fifty-six thousand loyal soldiers, and just as the Germans saved St. Louis and Missouri to the Union, so they helped to keep Louisville and Kentucky out of the Confederacy. F. Bierbower was major of the Fortieth Kentucky. Von Kielmansegge served in cavalry commands in Missouri, Florida, and Maryland, where Von Koerber was also a major of the First Cavalry.

Minnesota wisely preserved a list of the nativities of its soldiers in the reports of its adjutant-general during the war. Company G, of the Second Regiment, and Companies D and E, of the Fifth Regiment, were both German organizations; and Henning von Minden was captain of Company A of the battalion of cavalry raised by him, and Emil Munch was captain of the First Minnesota Light Artillery. John C. Becht, major of the Fifth Minnesota, and R. von Borgersock, colonel, are among the notable German officers from this State.

William Pfaender was first lieutenant of the First Minnesota Battery, and in command at the battle of Shiloh. Later, he became lieutenant-colonel of the Second Minnesota Cavalry.

Maine had as lieutenant-colonel of its First Artil-

lery Regiment and captain of its Fifth Battery, George F. Leppien, who had been lieutenant in a Pennsylvania battery. He was well known to Philadelphians from his residence and his connection with leading citizens of that city. Educated at a military school in Germany, he showed himself a thorough soldier in his life and in his heroic death.

Michigan supplied four thousand eight hundred and seventy-two Germans out of a total of fourteen thousand foreigners, and in addition to seventy-six thousand native-born citizens, in its portion of the army. It is worth noting that Gould's estimate gives only three thousand five hundred and thirty-four.

In the eleventh and twelfth volumes of *Der Deutsche Pionier*, Cincinnati, 1879-80, are published numerous contributions on the outbreak of the civil war in Missouri, by Friedrich Schnake, which give in great detail the part taken by its German citizens in saving that State for the Union. The leaders of German thought and opinion in St. Louis counted many who afterwards fought for their faith in the ranks of the Union army. Carl Dänzer, Theodore Olshausen, Heinrich Börnstein, and L. C. Bernays, as editors of the *Westlichen Post* and *Anzeiger des Westens*, did much to strengthen their German readers in their political views, and Friedrich Münch, Franz Sigel, Friedrich Hecker, and Gustav Körner

gave their powerful help to the cause of the Union. Carl Schurz, Friedrich Hassaurek, J. B. Stallo, and others were the leading Republican orators in the war of words that preceded the appeal to arms. Emil Rothe, Egly, Brühl, and Dresel were Douglas Democrats, and Carl Rümelin was spokesman—almost without any German following—for the Breckenridge wing of the party, although the secession lieutenant-governor, Thomas C. Reynolds, was said to be really named Reinhardt, and a native of Prague. A German, Arnold Krekel, now a judge of the United States Court, presided over the convention which forever abolished slavery in Missouri. Blair and Lyon, Schofield and Saxton, were the active representatives of the national government in Missouri, but their strength came from the support of the loyal Germans. The Third Regiment Missouri Volunteers had Franz Sigel for its colonel, the Second, Henry Börnstein. Born in Hamburg in 1801, he entered the Austrian army as a cadet, served in the Italian campaign in 1822, studied medicine in Vienna, was editor, actor, and author in Germany, Austria, Italy, and France, and finally settled in St. Louis after the revolution of 1848, where he established a successful newspaper. Later on he resumed his theatrical undertaking, and then returned to Vienna, where he corresponds with both English and German newspapers in Europe

and America. The Fourth Missouri Regiment was commanded by Nicholas Schüttner, a native of Coblenz, a soldier in the Prussian army, and an emigrant to St. Louis in 1848. One of General Lyon's most useful allies was John J. Witzig, born in Mühlhausen in 1821; educated at Châlons, at the age of nineteen chief-engineer of the Paris Orleans Railroad, six years afterwards going to Italy as chief of the construction of the Milan Turin Railroad. In 1849 he came with Cabet's Icarians to Nauvoo, where he remained until 1851, when he came to St. Louis as superintendent of a locomotive works. In 1857 he became superintendent of the North Missouri, in 1859 of the Iron Mountain Railroad, remaining in its service until 1865. He died in 1872, member of a large firm of architects and engineers. Another able ally was Captain William Jackson, commander of the German artillery company. His real name was Jacquin. Born in Metz in 1821, he came to the United States in 1834, served three years in the Second United States Dragoons in the Florida and Indian campaigns, was discharged in 1837, enlisted in 1839 in the Third Infantry, and in 1844 in the Seventh, serving under General Taylor in the Mexican war. Settled in St. Louis, he organized in 1852 a company of uhlans, which was afterwards changed to one of dragoons. In 1859 he became captain of the Mis-

souri artillery company, and when the war broke out brought his guns and his company of a hundred men—all Germans except eighteen Frenchmen and Americans—out of the rebel camp into the Union service. He was captain of the Second Missouri Artillery and lieutenant-colonel of the Fifteenth Missouri. One of the captains of Sigel's regiment was Constantin Blandowsky. Born in Prussia, on the border of Russian Poland, in 1821, he was educated at the Polytechnic School in Dresden, served in the French army in Algiers, took part in various unsuccessful Polish revolutions, then fought in Italy against Austria and in the Hungarian army, came to the United States in 1850, and later to St. Louis. He died on May 25, 1861, of wounds received in the attack on Camp Jackson, and was buried with military honors.

The work done by the German soldiers of Missouri is told in the history of the war, but the names of those most prominent in their ranks will serve as illustrations of their fitness for the new task laid upon them, and of their loyalty to their new fatherland.

Peter Joseph Osterhaus was born in Coblenz, studied at the military school in Berlin, and became an officer of the Prussian army. In 1849 he came to the United States, settled in St. Louis, on the outbreak of the civil war was chosen major of the Second Missouri, and after the battle of Wilson's Creek,

colonel of the Twelfth Missouri; under Fremont commanded a brigade, at Pea Ridge a division, and on the 9th of June, 1862, was made a brigadier-general. He was assigned the command of a division of the Thirteenth Corps at Helena, and took part in the capture of Arkansas Post on January 13, 1863, and in the subsequent siege of Vicksburg. In the campaigns in Tennessee and Georgia he took a distinguished part; on the 23d July, 1864, was made a major-general, served under General Sherman in the march to the sea, and was chief of staff to General Canby at the surrender of the army of General Kirby Smith, in May, 1865. In 1866 he was appointed American consul in Lyons, France.

Franz Hassendeubel was born at Gernsheim, in Rhenish Bavaria, in 1817, was educated at Speier and Munich, came to the United States in 1842, and settled in St. Louis in 1844. In the Mexican war he was lieutenant in a volunteer battery, and later became captain, and served in New Mexico to the end. At the outbreak of the Rebellion he returned with all speed from Germany, became lieutenant-colonel of Sigel's Third Missouri, constructed the defences of St. Louis, was made brigadier-general, was mortally wounded at the siege of Vicksburg, and died July 17, 1863.

Of the Union forces engaged at the battle of Wil-

son's Creek, the German organizations were—Osterhaus's battalion, First Kansas Infantry, Colonel Deitzler; Third Missouri, Colonel Franz Sigel; Fifth Missouri, Colonel C. E. Salomon; Colonel Henry Börnstein's regiment, five German regiments from St. Louis, Jefferson City, etc., a light battery of six guns under Lieutenants Schaefer and Schutzenbach, and two batteries of eight guns under Major Backoff.

The Third Regiment of Missouri Volunteers was organized in St. Louis by Franz Sigel for the three months' service, and took part in three battles during that time. The Fourth Regiment was the Black Yäger Regiment, Colonel Schlittner; the Fifth was also a German regiment, commanded by Colonel Salomon. Of others there were the First Cavalry, Colonel Almstedt; the Second Reserves, Colonel Kallmann; the Third, Colonel Fritz; the Fourth, Colonel Hundehausen and Colonel Wesseling; and the Fifth, Colonel Stifel. Of the three years' regiments there were the Second, Colonel Laibold; the Third, Colonel Hequembourg; the Fourth, Colonel Poten; the Twelfth, Colonel (afterwards General) Osterhaus and Colonel Wangelin; the Fifteenth, Colonel Conrad; the Seventeenth, Colonel Hassendeubel; the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first, under Kutzner, Weydemeyer, and Von Deutsch, and the Fourth Cavalry, organized out of the Fremont and the Benton Hussars,

almost entirely German in its rank and file, although it was commanded by a gallant and able American, Colonel Waring. Von Helmrich, his lieutenant-colonel, was a type of the German soldier.

General Sigel himself was the first rallying-point of the Germans, both of Missouri and the Northwest. Born in Baden in 1824, educated at the military school at Karlsruhe, in command of the republican troops and minister of war in the revolution of 1848, he came to the United States in 1850, lived in New York until 1858, when he went to St. Louis, where he became a teacher in the German-American Academy and editor of a military journal. When the Rebellion broke out he raised the first German regiment; and that old patriot, Hecker, came with his sons from their home in Illinois, enlisted under Sigel, and served with him until Hecker was made colonel of an Illinois regiment. From Wisconsin came General Salomon, who became colonel of the Fifth Missouri, a brigadier-general, and commanded a division in Fremont's army. Sigel's later services are part of the general history of the war of the Rebellion.

In the "Geschichte des 4-jährigen Bürgerkrieges in d. V. S.," von C. Sander, "Hauptman in d. k. pr. Artillerie," Frankfort-am-Main, Sauerländer, 1865, it is stated that of the forty-three thousand officers of the United States forces, from three to four hundred

only had been trained in military life abroad; and their services were interfered with by the jealousy of the native citizens, by their ignorance of the language, and of the new conditions of a war in a country in which they were strangers.

These statements are mere generalizations, not based on any precise information, and the best reply to them is found in the facts and names here gathered together.

Carl Schurz was born on the banks of the Rhine, became well known through his active share in the flight of Kinkel, gave up his embassy in Spain to be a general of volunteers, and was a member of President Hayes's cabinet. His services as an orator before the war made his name familiar to the whole country, and his return to civil life has been marked by many evidences of popular esteem and affection. As editor of a series of books on our early German history by Kapp and Seidensticker, he has done good work, and in his return to private life he has again taken the place which he has so well earned as the type of the German-American citizen, equally loyal to the country of his birth and that of his adoption and his home, and alike appreciated in both.

In Nebraska, the German soldiers did good service in the defence of the borders from Indians, in the Second Cavalry, under General Sully; and in one

engagement in Dakota, in September, 1863, the Indians, numbering two thousand warriors, were defeated, but not without a severe loss. When the regiment had served out its time, its veterans were consolidated in an independent battalion of four companies, and assigned to duty on the plains with the First Nebraska Cavalry. In the summer of 1864 the Seventh Iowa Cavalry was assigned the defence of the overland post-route from Fort Kearny to the borders,—the First Nebraska Cavalry and a company of regular cavalry continued the line, and protected the country from attacks by the Indians. The raids became more and more frequent and bloody, hundreds of homes were destroyed, and many settlers and their families killed or captured. The local government organized a force of volunteers, and the War Department strengthened it by such aid as it could give, and thus the country was saved a repetition of the bloody horrors of West Minnesota. The First Veteran Cavalry Regiment was one-half German, and under Lieutenant-Colonel Bäumer proved that it was able to cope successfully with the Indians. Almost in sight of sixteen thousand hostiles, he hanged "Black Kettle," an Indian chief, convicted by a court-martial of murder. William Bäumer was born in Münster, Prussia, in 1826, was educated there at its High School, and was by turns

carver and turner in wood, architect, and railroad employé. He came to the United States in 1852, served three years in the Thirteenth Infantry, saw some active service, worked in Cincinnati, then settled in Guttenburg, Iowa, went to Dubuque, where he established his reputation as architect and builder, then went to St. Joseph, Missouri; there he joined a German rifle company, at the outbreak of the Rebellion removed to Omaha, joined the First Nebraska, became its captain, served to the end of the war, and died in Omaha in 1869. His name is perpetuated by the Bäumer Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of Nebraska City.

New Jersey had no distinctive German regiments, although the Third New Jersey Cavalry, recruited at Hoboken and Jersey City, was largely composed of Germans; but German companies were found in its regiments, notably K of the First, D of the Second, E of the Third, A of the Fourth, and G and L of the Second Cavalry, and K and L of the Third, and batteries A,* B, and C of the First Artillery.

During the campaign on the Peninsula, Hexamer's Battery of the First New Jersey Artillery was led into action by the Prince de Joinville, then serving on

* Battery A was entirely German, and was commanded by Captain Hexamer, one of the very best artillerists in the war.

General McClellan's staff, and the prince, in his capital account of the operations of the Army of the Potomac, speaks in high terms of both Hexamer and his first lieutenant, afterwards major, Woerner. Hexamer and Woerner had been participants in the Baden revolution of 1848, and it was a curious accident that thus brought these German soldiers under the leadership of a prince of the House of Orleans, all engaged in the great war for popular government.

General George W. Mindil, a very gallant and distinguished soldier, commanded both the Twenty-seventh and the Thirty-third New Jersey Regiments, the former a nine months' organization. During the war he held several brigade commands in different corps and departments. The first brigade he commanded was in the Ninth Corps, in January, 1863, and it consisted of the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts, Forty-sixth New York, Fiftieth Pennsylvania, and Twenty-seventh New Jersey. In May and June, 1863, he had a brigade in General S. P. Carter's division, in Kentucky,—the Twenty-seventh New Jersey, Forty-sixth New York, Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Twenty-ninth Massachusetts, and Second East Tennessee. In the Army of the Cumberland, his command comprised the Twenty-seventh, Seventy-third, and One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania, One Hundred and Thirty-fourth and One Hundred and Fifty-fourth New

York, and Thirty-third New Jersey. This brigade he led in the Knoxville campaign, in the campaign and siege of Atlanta, and in the march through the Carolinas from Savannah; in General Sherman's last campaign, from Goldsboro', North Carolina, to Johnston's surrender, he commanded a brigade including the Twenty-eighth and One Hundred and Forty-seventh Pennsylvania, the Fifth, Seventh, Twenty-ninth, and Sixty-sixth Ohio. After the review of the armies at Washington, General Mindil was assigned, in accordance with his brevet rank, to the command of a division composed of Eastern regiments of Sherman's army, encamped in front of Washington, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, whose term of service had still a year to run. These troops were held in readiness for embarkation to the Rio Grande, with a view to the expulsion of the French from Mexico.

The Third New Jersey Cavalry (or Thirty-sixth New Jersey Regiment) was mustered into service, February 10, 1864, as the First United States Hussars. Among its officers were Major Siegfried von Forstner, Captains Herzberg, Schafer, Knoblesdorf, and Stoll, Lieutenants Stulpnagel, Kramer, Siebeth, Bulow, and Walpel.

Joseph Karge, formerly a Prussian officer, was lieutenant-colonel of the First and colonel of the Second New Jersey Cavalry, commanded the first brigade of

Grierson's division of cavalry, and is now professor at Princeton.

Among the familiar names distinguished in the Rebellion is that of the Roeblings, whose services in war have been overshadowed by their brilliant success in civil life; yet their share was no small one in the labors and the glories of the struggle for the Union. Major Washington A. Roebling was an aide on General Warren's staff during the entire war.

Captain Sohm as an artillerist, and General Karge as a cavalry officer, and Major Von Forstner and Major Allstrom of the Third New Jersey Cavalry, were among those who did especial service.

Colonel Wiebische was always put in command of the skirmish-line by General Kearny; he was killed at Spottsylvania.

Ohio has a large proportion of Germans in its borders, and from them have come many soldiers. In the Mexican war Cincinnati sent three German companies, Columbus, Dayton, Hamilton, each two, and the Second Ohio Volunteers was called the German Regiment. It was commanded by August Moor, who had served in the Florida war, and who served again in the Rebellion. When Fort Sumter was fired on, three German infantry companies and the Washington Dragoons were on their way to Washington the day the first call for troops was issued. Two Ger-

man regiments were soon organized, and more than a third of the soldiers from Ohio were Germans. There were eleven German regiments: Ninth, Colonel Kammerling; Twenty-eighth, Colonel Moor; Thirty-seventh, Colonel Sieber; Forty-seventh, Colonel Porschner; Fifty-eighth, Colonel Bausenwein; Sixty-seventh, Colonel Burstenbinder; Seventy-fourth, Colonel Von Schrader; One Hundred and Sixth, Colonel Tafel; One Hundred and Seventh, Colonel Meyer; One Hundred and Eighth, Colonel Limberg; One Hundred and Sixty-fifth, Colonel Bohländer; Third Cavalry, Colonel Zahm; three batteries, Hoffman's, Dilger's, and Markgraf's. The German general officers from Ohio were Weitzel, Kautz, Moor, Ammen, Von Blessing, Darr, Giese, Leister, Meyer, Von Schrader, and Ziegler.

August Moor, colonel of the Twenty-eighth Ohio, was born in Leipsic in 1814, came to this country in 1833, was an officer of the Washington Guard of Philadelphia, and with its captain, Koseritz, took part in the Seminole war in 1836 as lieutenant of a dragoon regiment. In the Mexican war he rose from captain to colonel of the Fourth Ohio, and at the outbreak of the Rebellion was made colonel of the Twenty-eighth Ohio, the second German regiment, and became a brigadier-general as a reward for his gallant service.

On the 13th of June, 1861, the Twenty-eighth

Ohio was accepted, with August Moor as its colonel. It took part in the battles of Carnifex Ferry and New River, at Princeton and South Mountain, at Antietam, Droop Mountain, and Piedmont, where it bore the brunt of the engagement, and received from General Hunter, as it had from General Averill, the highest praise. Another of its old generals, Cox, gave it unstinted commendation. The story of Moor's life, told by H. A. Ratterman in a volume reprinted from the *Deutsche Pionier*, is interesting in itself, and as another illustration of the service rendered to the United States by its German soldiers. The son of a royal officer, Mohr, a cadet at Tharand, a political prisoner and an exile for his love of liberty, he came to Baltimore in 1833, under a promise never to return to his native country; from this he was released, when he returned on a visit in 1859. In Philadelphia he met Koseritz, a fiery spirit, who had just escaped death for his share in the rebellion in Hanover, and there Mohr joined the Washington Guard, organized in November, 1835. In 1837, Koseritz and Moor raised a company of dragoons for the Florida war. At its close he found in New Orleans fellow-Germans, Roselius, Rost, Richter, Schüebing, Lützenberg, and helped to organize a military company, but soon moved to St. Louis, where he married. His eldest daughter be-

came the wife of General Weitzel; the mother, too, was a Rhinelander. Removing to Cincinnati, he helped to organize a German military company, soon followed by several others, and with these he raised a German regiment for service in the Mexican war. Its story is told by one of its officers, an old Prussian hussar, in a little book published in Halle: "Zirckel's Diary of Service with the Fourth Ohio."

Von Blessing of the Thirty-seventh Ohio, Degenfeld of the Twenty-sixth, Aug. Dotze of the Eighth Ohio Cavalry, Alex. von Schrader of the Seventy-fourth Ohio, Seidel of the Third Ohio Cavalry, Sondersdorff of the Ninth Ohio, and Tafel of the One Hundred and Sixth Ohio were among those whose services are worth remembering.

General August Willich was born in Gorzyn, in East Prussia, in 1810, of an old noble family; his father had been captain in a hussar regiment. As a child, the son, on the death of his father, became a member of the family of Schleiermacher, the famous theologian,—a connection by marriage. At twelve he was sent to the cadet school at Potsdam. In 1828, after graduating at the military school in Berlin, he became an officer of an artillery regiment, and in 1841, captain. A Socialist Democrat, he learned the trade of a carpenter in his leisure hours, and, leaving the service, soon took a foremost rank

in the revolution of 1848. In 1853 he came to the United States with the idea of organizing a force here to lead against Hamburg and Germany. He found means of livelihood in the navy-yard at Brooklyn, then was appointed to the Coast Survey, and finally became editor of the *German Republican*, of Cincinnati, where he was living when the Rebellion broke out. He enlisted in the First Ohio, became its adjutant, then major of the Ninth Ohio, and later, colonel of the Thirty-second (First German) Indiana; was made a brigadier-general after Shiloh, when his lieutenant-colonel, Von Trebra, became colonel of the regiment. He died January 23, 1878.

Christopher Degenfeld was born in Germany in 1824, and trained there as a soldier. He was major of the Twenty-sixth Ohio Volunteers, and afterwards captain of the Twelfth Ohio Cavalry. His severe wounds obliged him to retire, and his life was saddened by his suffering, until his death, in his fifty-fourth year, in Sandusky.

Captain Hermann Dettweiler was born in Baden in 1825, and was a soldier in its revolutionary army. He served in the Sixth Kentucky until his wounds obliged him to leave the field. He died in Louisville on the 11th of September, 1878.

Battery A, First West Virginia Artillery, Captain Furst, of Wheeling, was composed of Germans.

Wisconsin had for its war governor Edward Salomon, born in Halberstadt, Prussia, in 1828. He came to Wisconsin in 1849, and was by turns school-teacher, county surveyor, court clerk, lawyer, and governor. The Ninth Wisconsin was raised by Colonel—later General—Frederick Salomon. Born in Prussia in 1826, engineer, architect, and soldier in Germany, he too came to the United States. He first served in a Missouri regiment, but returned to organize a German regiment in Wisconsin. His companies were, among other striking titles, The Sheboygan Tigers, The Sigel Guard, The Wisconsin Tigers, and The Tell Sharp-shooters. When the colonel became a brigadier-general, the regiment was commanded by Colonel Jacobi and by Colonel Charles E. Salomon, the third and eldest brother.

Colonel Charles E. Salomon was born in Germany in 1822. He was educated as a surveyor, served as a volunteer in the Pioniers, and in 1843 became an officer of that corps. He was employed, too, in railroad and other engineering work. In 1849 he came West; in 1850 went to St. Louis, where he was elected county surveyor,—defeating Ulysses S. Grant in the contest for the popular vote,—county engineer, and held a variety of other technical offices in the city's service. He organized and was colonel of the Fifth Missouri Volunteers, and when it was mustered out

took command of the Ninth Wisconsin, winning the brevet of brigadier-general. Returning to civil life, he was frequently employed by the United States, and died on February 8, 1880.

The Twenty-sixth Wisconsin was another German regiment, organized at Camp Sigel, Milwaukee, and commanded by Colonel Jacobi and General Winkler. It served in the Eleventh Corps, and shared in its varying fortunes in the East and its brilliant successes under Sherman. The Twenty-seventh was also a German regiment, under Colonel Conrad Krez; so were the Thirty-fourth, under Colonel Fritz Anneke, and the Thirty-fifth, under Colonel Henry Orff. Gustav von Deutsch commanded a company of cavalry from Wisconsin, which became Company M of the Fourth Missouri Cavalry. The Second Battery, Wisconsin Artillery, was also a German organization. The Fritz Anneke of the Thirty-fourth Wisconsin was also the author of the "Zweite Freiheitsampf," published at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1861.

Rudolf Aschmann, who was captain of the First U. S. Sharpshooters, gives an interesting account of that organization in his modest little book, "Drei Jahre in der Potomac Armee oder Eine Schweizer Schützen Compagnie in Nord-Amerikanischen Kriege" (Richtersweil, 1865, pp. 228). Organized by a Swiss, Caspar Trepp, a native of Splügen, Canton Graubünden, who

afterwards fell at Mine Run, in December, 1863, and composed largely of German-Swiss and Germans, it was at first a company, but soon grew to be a regiment, commanded at the outset by an American, H. Berdan, with an officer of the regular army, F. Mears, as lieutenant-colonel, to whom it owed its subsequent success. One company came from Michigan, another from New Hampshire, but the others from New York were largely made up of Germans,—in one company, out of one hundred and six men, eighty were Swiss, the rest Germans, and the regiment was full of men of curious antecedents. Trepp became major of the regiment, and under him it did effective service, in Porter's division, in the Peninsula campaign, in the Second Bull Run, and at Antietam. Trepp became lieutenant-colonel, and the command of the regiment fell to him, to its great satisfaction, and it was assigned to Sumner's corps in the Fredericksburg campaign. When Hooker relieved Burnside, two regiments of sharpshooters were consolidated, and Berdan, resuming the command, was assigned to Sickles's Third Corps. In 1863, in April, the Swiss soldiers were delighted with a visit from Colonel Fogliardy, of the Swiss army. At Chancellorsville the division commander, General Whipple, was killed, and the regiment suffered heavy losses. At Gettysburg it was also hardly tried. Colonel Trepp's death at Mine Run was a heavy blow to

his men, and his loss was greatly felt. Assigned to Hancock's corps, the regiment was tried in the Wilderness campaign; Aschmann's company, in eighteen engagements, was reduced to twelve men on its final return to New York, and its division commander, Hayes, fell too. Rilliet de Constant, an old soldier, formerly in the Neapolitan and English service, with Colonel Trepp, and later on a sergeant in the Fourteenth Infantry, at Spottsylvania Court-House pluckily turned and served three rebel guns against the enemy with great effect. He was made brigade adjutant. The advance to Richmond and the siege of Petersburg were the closing tasks of the Swiss sharpshooters. On the 19th of August, 1864, the enlistment of the regiment ended, after some hard knocks in the operations around Deep Bottom, in which Captain Aschmann lost his leg. Thus he experienced at the close of his service, as at the outset, the hospitality of the Refreshment Saloon in Philadelphia, and then was taken to the officers' hospital in Camac's Woods, by the volunteer ambulance corps organized by the Philadelphia firemen. In September he was on his crutches, in October again in New York, where he received an honorable discharge, which was followed by a pension for life.

Of the German soldiers in the Rebellion, those mentioned in these pages may well be considered

typical examples. These are but a small proportion of the great number who served with equal patriotism. It is not possible in any brief way to give a detailed account of all of those who were fortunate enough to be distinguished in their special services. These pages are only a sketch of the active share taken in every part of the country by its German citizens, and perhaps some more diligent student may yet complete the picture by an exhaustive study of the subject. Imperfect as it is, with all its omissions and shortcomings, it will, however, serve to show that the Germans did their share in the war for the Union, alike in numbers, in courage, in endurance, in zeal, and in all the qualities that make the good soldier and the good citizen. They may fairly point with pride to the record of their achievements and claim for them the reward of duty well done. Both those who brought with them the training, skill, and experience acquired in Germany, and those who had as part of their inheritance their national qualities, deserve to be remembered; this will have been, at least in part, successfully done, if their names be for even a little while rescued from forgetfulness and oblivion.

When, in 1830, the Germans fled from oppression at home to America, they took various directions. Rachnitz and Scherf led them to Texas; Bromme urged

them to settle in Florida. Saxony and Thüringen organized joint-stock companies to secure new homes in the West for their overcrowded populations. Duden led the largest number to Missouri, and his book setting forth the charms of that State is as attractive as Goethe's "Italy." Körner and Köpfler showed the advantages of Illinois, and Gerke was their literary advocate. Arkansas and Michigan were next chosen, and later on, Texas, Iowa, and Wisconsin received their share of German emigrants. Many educated people joined in these settlements, and they were especially tempted by the plan of associated enterprises. In 1833 an emigrant society was established at Giessen, in which there were united men of university training from Hesse, the Main, Westphalia, and the Saxon countries; but the science and the means of its members could not prevent failure, in spite, too, of the old bell brought from home to keep alive patriotic feeling, and the telescope set up in an old block-house near St. Louis. The unity of action failed either at the outset or soon after it was put to the test. "Teutonia," in Columbiana County, Ohio; Keil's colony, in Iowa; Pastor Stephani's, at Wittenberg, near the mouth of the Ohio; the Free German Society, in Wyoming and Lycoming Counties, with seventeen thousand acres, bought in 1841; the German Society of Industry, in McKean County, with forty

thousand acres, bought in 1843; the German Protestant Society, in Warren County, with ten thousand acres, all failed in Pennsylvania, and one in Parkersburg, Virginia, followed the same course, after brief trials.

The German Catholic Society, with ten thousand acres in Warren County, and the German Catholic Union Bond Society, with thirty-five thousand acres, and others in Hermann and Gütenberg, Texas, succeeded far better. Plans for the establishment of a German State, to be carved out of the Territories in the West, of course received no favor in Congress, but the discussion led to the creation of German societies, newspapers, and other organs intended to guide and stimulate public opinion in its behalf. In 1835-36 efforts were made in Pennsylvania to found a German city, with schools, an university, and all the attractions of the Fatherland. Northampton, Schuylkill, Berks, Bucks, Montgomery, York, and Lancaster followed the example set in Lehigh, and formed associations to secure equality to the German language in all instruction, in courts, and even in the legislative proceedings. In 1837 six States sent forty delegates to Pittsburg to formulate a plan for the German State, but it ended in disputes and dissensions. In 1838 a second convention was held in Philadelphia, with twenty-eight delegates, but the only result was to invest its fund of

three thousand dollars in a German school for teachers in Phillipsburg, which two years later was sold for a brewery. Philadelphians established a colony on twelve thousand acres in Gasconade County, Missouri, where the town of Hermann still perpetuates the old faith in a German community. Cities, schools, newspapers, thoroughly German in language and sentiment, in thought and action, are now found throughout the United States; but they are the natural expression of the thousands who make part of the nation, and do not depend for their existence on artificial efforts. Music, art, science, gymnastics, military exercises, all unite the Germans, but in no wise separate them from their fellow-citizens.

The German religious associations have made many successful colonies, but mostly on a small scale. As early as 1732, Schäferstadt, now Sheafferstown, was settled by German Jews; and the various Christian sects, and especially the dissidents from the older colonies, have preserved and perpetuated their peculiar dogmas and practices in all parts of the Union. The orthodox Germans have largely united with the English-speaking churches of the same theological caste. In North Carolina hardly a trace is left of the early German settlers,—the names of people and places, as well as their language, have been anglicized, often almost past recognition. From its western

borders its German settlers sent emigrants to the South and Southwest, where, in Arkansas, they met the colonies established in 1833 by Klingelhöffer and Grolmann. In Tennessee, "Wartburg" was settled in 1846 by the purchase of two hundred thousand acres for a Catholic colony, headed by its pastor. The Protestant emigrants found in that State a Lutheran synod, with eighty congregations, established in 1819 by the German settlers from North Carolina. In Illinois, as early as 1814, German colonies were established, and Teutopolis and Belleville are the centres of much German culture and industry of that and later emigration. Texas still points to the remains of the attempt to colonize in 1844 by an aristocratic association of German noblemen, and in two or three years the three thousand Germans, brought under the most tempting promises, were scattered in the pursuit of a bare existence. Princes and titled persons disappeared under a great load of obloquy, but the working-people remained, united with others, and formed successful establishments, to which, from time to time, have been joined the large number that make a very prosperous part of the population.

The Germans maintain their old military spirit intact, and on every occasion have responded promptly to the call for soldiers for the defence of their new fatherland. In the war with Mexico, the first troops

to volunteer in St. Louis were Germans, and St. Charles and Hermann sent their proportion. In Kentucky a German raised the first company. In New Orleans six hundred Germans volunteered. In Cincinnati the first regiment to be organized was German. From all the States where the Germans were established came soldiers in large numbers, while the Anglo-Saxon citizens were still discussing the right or wrong of the war, for the German spirit submitted itself to the government as the final authority. The war over, the Germans were foremost in condemning the measure which was at the bottom of the movement then begun for the extension of slavery, and their vote and voice were felt and heard in the agitation that preceded the final outbreak of the Great Rebellion. Then the Germans again showed their readiness to become soldiers in defence and support of the Union and the nation, and their efforts in the field and at home were incessant until the final triumph of their cause was secured. Peace re-established, the Germans have continued to add to the strength and wealth of the country by a large and steady stream of emigration, and without in the least ceasing to be good American citizens, they have made German thought, German customs, German virtues at home in all parts of the United States. The German element in all social respects is seen

at its best in all rural sections, and the absence of any political partisanship among or against the Germans is the best proof of the recognition of their right to citizenship.

There were, of course, on the surface, many Germans who rose early to a dangerous eminence, and some ended their career with anything but credit to themselves or their countrymen, but these were soon thinned out by the actual experiences of real war. As they disappeared, their places were taken by men of merit, and the German soldier earned the rank which his own achievements had gained for him. It was in the ranks, and as non-commissioned officers, that their steadiness, courage, discipline, endurance, and other manly virtues were especially marked. Courage is not such a rare virtue, but the capacity to be a good soldier in the long and weary months of inaction, in the depression incidental to defeat, in the license that follows victory, in the trying hours of imprisonment and sickness,—this was the marked characteristic of the German soldier, and it shone out in those regiments and companies in which the mass was made up of impetuous and undisciplined Americans, unaccustomed to obedience and self-sacrifice. Here and there a German was found who steadied the others by his example, sometimes without a word, occasionally by a little en-

couragement, always by his manly and soldierly qualities.

The literature of the war is largely made up of the heroic achievements of those who gained promotion and distinction, but there is also found in regimental histories and in the dry annals of State records the occasional mention of some special gallantry of the enlisted man. The story of his part in the hardships and the successes of the war remains to be told,—it cannot, perhaps, in view of the vast number of soldiers, ever be fully told,—but wherever the German soldier served, there he made his mark by characteristic virtues, the distinguishing traits of his nationality, alike in his native country and in his new home.

The Hon. Andrew D. White, lately President of Cornell University, and formerly United States Minister to Germany, gave an admirable summary of the intellectual debt of the United States to Germany in his address, delivered October 4, 1884, at the centennial celebration of the German Society of New York. The title is the key to the note he strikes. It is entitled "Some Practical Influences of German Thought upon the United States," and it is full of suggestive ideas and profound thoughts. He refers to the Revolution, when "the organizing power of Steuben, the devotion of Kalb, and the

rude courage of Herckheimer were precious in establishing the liberties of the country;" to the recognition of the infant republic by Frederick the Great, first of all European rulers; and to the "earnestness of German-American thinkers so long as the struggle was carried on with the pen, and the bravery of German-American soldiers when it was carried on by the sword." He pays fitting tribute to the words and deeds of sympathy that came from Germany in the fearful darkness and distress of the civil war, when "German scholars and thinkers, men like Theodore Mommsen and his compeers, proclaimed their detestation of slavery and their hope for the American Union." In another place he shows the reflex effect of the great work done by a German-American as orator, soldier, and statesman, speaking of Carl Schurz as "first of all the recent American thinkers," when he tells us that Bismarck said to him, "As a German I am proud of the success of Carl Schurz." He closes in an earnest hope that "the healthful elements of German thought will aid powerfully in evolving a future for this land purer in its politics, nobler in its conception of life, more beautiful in the bloom of art, more precious in the fruitage of character." What the Germans have already done in and for the country is the best assurance that this fervent prayer will be granted. To

show their share as soldiers in the wars of the United States is at least a justification of the right and duty cast upon them to see that, so far as in them lies, neither from within nor without shall any injury befall the republic.

GERMAN OFFICERS
OF THE
RÉVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

- De Kalb, John, maj.-gen., 1777.
Steuben, F. W. A., maj.-gen., 1778.
De Woedtke, Frederick William, brig.-gen., 1776.
Muhlenberg, T. P. G., brig.-gen., 1777.
Weedon, George, brig.-gen., 1777.
Weisenfels, F., lieut.-col. com. 4th N. Y., 1779.
Ziegler, D., capt. 1st Penna., 1778.

GERMAN BATTALION.

- Weltener, Ludwick, lieut.-col., 1776.
Burchart, D., maj., 1777.
Bunner, J., capt., 1776.
Boyer, P., capt., 1777.
Boetzel, Charles, capt., 1777.
Rice, William, capt., 1778.
Hubley, Bernard, capt., 1778.
Myers, Chr., capt., 1778.
Boyer, Mich., capt., 1778.
Schrauder, Ph., capt.-lieut., 1778.
Weidman, John, lieut., 1777.
Sugart, Martin, lieut., 1777.
Gremeth, Jacob, lieut., 1778.
Cramer, Jacob, lieut., 1778.

- Swartz, Godfrey, lieut., 1778.
 Young, Marcus, lieut., 1778.
 Morgan, David, lieut., 1778.
 Weidman, John, ens., 1777.
 Shrupp, Henry, ens., 1777.
 Desenderfer, David, ens., 1778.
 Spech, Henry, ens., 1778.
 Raboldt, Jacob, ens., 1778.
 Glickner, Ch., ens., 1778.
 Prue, William, ens., 1778.
 Hehn, Henry, ens., 1779.

INDEPENDENT CORPS.

- Schott, John Paul, capt., 1776.
 Selim, Anthony, capt., 1776.

INVALID REGIMENT.

- Nicola, Lewis, col., 1777.
 Woelpper, David, capt., 1778.

MARECHAUSEE LIGHT DRAGOONS.

- Van Heer, Barthol., capt., 1778.
 Manaeké, Christ., lieut., 1778.
 Maitinger, Jac., lieut., 1778.
 Struebing, Phil., lieut., 1778.

ARMAND'S LEGION, CAVALRY.

- Markle, Chas., capt., 1778.
 Schaffner, George, capt., 1778.
 Seibert, Henry, lieut., 1778.
 Schwartz, Godfried, lieut., 1778.
 Segern, Fred., lieut., 1778.
 Riedel, Henry, ens., 1778.

REGULAR ARMY.

- Bauman, Sebastian, maj.-com't. Art., 1778.
 Kalteisen, Michael, capt. Art., 1794.
 Muhlenberg, Henry, lieut. Art., 1794.
 Ziegler, David, capt. 1st Inf., 1784.
 Strubing, Philip (Van Heer's Corps), capt., bv't., 1784.

The following officers of the regular army were described as born in Germany :

- Adam, Emil, Alton Yägers, 1861; capt. 9th Ill., 1861; maj. 114th Ill., 1865; capt. 5th U. S. Cav., 1870.
 Adolphus, Philip, Prussia; surg., 1861-65; Md.
 Axt, Godfrey H. T., Germany; surg. 20th N. Y. Vols.; U. S. A., 1867.
 Balder, Christian, enl. U. S. A., May 12, 1857; 1st lieut. 25th Inf., 1862.
 Bendire, Charles, enl. U. S. A., 1854; capt. 1st Cav., 1873; retired 1886.
 Bentzoni, Charles, enl. U. S. A., 1857; col. 56th U. S. Col. Troops, 1865; capt. 26th Inf., 1866.
 Clous, John W., enl. U. S. A., 1857; capt. 24th Inf., 1867.
 Conrad, Joseph, capt. 3d Mo., 1861; col. 15th Mo., 1862; capt. 11th Inf., 1869; retired as col., 1882.
 Crone, L. E., 22d Mass., 1861; capt. 42d Inf., 1866; retired 1870.
 Decker, Th., 4th Art., 1875; 2d lieut. 24th Inf., 1879.
 De Gress, Jacob C., capt. 6th Mo. Cav.; capt. 9th U. S. Cav., 1867; retired 1870.
 Ebstein, F. H. E., enl. U. S. A., 1864; capt. 21st Inf., 1885.
 Eggenmeyer, A., 1st lieut. 12th Inf.; killed June 1, 1864.
 Falck, William, enl. 1858; capt. 2d Inf., 1866; retired 1883.

- Freudenberg, C. G., capt. 52d N. Y., 1861; capt. 14th Inf., 1869; retired as lieut.-col., 1877.
- Fuger, F., enl. 4th Art., 1856; 1st lieut., 1865.
- Gaebel, F., 1st lieut. 45th Inf., 1866.
- Gardener, Corn., 2d lieut. 19th Inf., 1879.
- Gerlach, William, enl. 1856; 1st lieut. 3d Inf., 1879.
- Goldman, H. J., 2d lieut. 5th Cav., 1877.
- Green, John, enl. July 1, 1846; maj. 1st Cav., 1868; lieut.-col. 2d Cav., 1885.
- Grossman, F. E., 2d lieut. 7th Inf., 1863; capt. 17th Inf., 1871.
- Gunther, S., enl. 1st Cav., 1855; capt. 4th Cav., 1870; retired 1884.
- Heger, A., surg. U. S. A., 1856-67.
- von Hermann, C. J., maj. A. A. D. C.; capt. 4th Inf., 1866.
- Hesselberger, G. A., 2d lieut., 1866; 1st lieut. 3d Inf., 1871.
- Hoelcke, William, German army, 1849-51; British Legion in Crimea; 1st lieut. Mo. Vols.; 1st lieut. 39th U. S., 1866-70.
- Hoffman, Ernest F., Royal Engineers, Berlin; lieut. Prussian army, 1844-56; capt. and maj. Italian army; 2d lieut. 35th Inf., 1867.
- Hoppy, E., enl. 2d Art., 1854; 1st lieut. 9th Inf., 1871; retired.
- Ilges, Guido, 14th Inf., 1861; lieut.-col. 9th Inf., 1871.
- Johnson, Lewis, 10th Ind., 1861; bvt. brig.-gen. U. S. Vols., 1865; capt. 24th Inf., 1869.
- Kautz, A. V., 1st Ohio, 1846; 2d lieut. 4th Inf., 1852; capt. 6th Cav., 1861; col. 2d Ohio Cav., 1862; brig.-gen. Vols., 1864; bvt. maj.-gen., 1865; col. 8th Inf., 1874.
- Keller, J. W., 6th Mass., 1861; 1st lieut. 42d Inf., 1866; capt. retired list, 1870.
- Keye, F., 2d lieut. 10th Inf., 1869.
- Koerper, E. A., surg. 75th Pa., U. S. A., 1867.
- Kopp, William, 1st lieut. Washington Territory Vols., 1862; 1st lieut. 13th Inf., 1867.

- Kramer, A., 2d Dragoons, 1857; capt. 15th Penna. Cav., 1862; capt. 6th Cav., 1874.
- Kroutinger, A. W., enl. 2d Inf., 1848; capt. 2d Inf., 1864; retired 1879.
- Liedtke, F. W., 11th Penna., 1861; 2d lieut. 43d Inf., 1866; 1st Inf., 1871.
- Lockwood, T. A., 2d lieut. 17th Inf., 1880.
- von Luettwitz, A. H., 54th N. Y., 1862; 1st lieut. 3d Cav., 1874; retired 1879.
- Luhn, G. L., enl. 1853; capt. 4th Inf., 1875.
- Magnitzky, G., 20th Mass., 1861; capt. 1864; 2d lieut. 14th Inf., 1870; retired 1871.
- Mahnken, John H., 1st N. Y. Cav.; 1st lieut. 8th U. S. Cav., 1877.
- Meinhold, Charles, 3d Cav., 1862; capt. 3d Cav., 1866; died 1877.
- Merkle, Charles F., 1st lieut. 4th Art., 1862.
- Meyer, Martin, capt. 12th Inf., 1861.
- Meyers, Edward, 2d lieut. 1st Cav., 1862; 7th Cav., 1866.
- Michaelis, O. E., 23d N. Y.; capt. Ordnance, 1874.
- von Michalowsky, T. B., 2d lieut. 1st Art., 1861; 1st lieut., 1863.
- Motz, John, 1st lieut. 11th Inf., 1847.
- Orlemann, L. H., 103d, and capt. 119th N. Y.; 1st lieut. 10th Cav., 1867; retired 1879.
- Patzki, J. H., surg. 15th N. Y.; capt., asst. surg. U. S. A., 1869.
- Paulus, Jacob, 5th and 50th Penna.; 2d lieut. 18th U. S. Inf.; capt. 25th Inf., 1873.
- Phisterer, F., 2d lieut. 18th Inf., 1861; capt. 36th Inf. and 7th Inf., 1869.
- Quentin, J. E., capt. 103d N. Y.; 1st lieut. 14th Inf., 1867.
- Rawolle, W. C., 2d lieut. 2d N. Y. Art., 1861; 2d lieut. 2d Cav., 1868; adjt., 1878; capt., 1880.

- Reichmann, Carl, enl. 1881; 2d lieut. 24th Inf., 1884.
- Renaldo, H. O., 2d lieut. 9th Inf., 1861; 1st lieut., 1863.
- Rendlebrock, J., enl. 1851; 2d lieut. 4th Cav., 1862; capt., 1867; retired 1879.
- Ritzius, H. P., 5th N. Y., 1861; maj. 52d N. Y., 1864; 1st lieut. 25th Inf., 1875.
- Roemer, Paul, enl. 5th Art., 1858; 1st lieut., 1866.
- Ruhlen, George, 1st lieut. 17th Inf., 1876.
- Sachs, H., 2d lieut. 3d Cav., 1861.
- Schaurte, F. W., 2d lieut. 2d Cav., 1862; capt., 1866.
- von Schirach, F. C., 54th N. Y., 1861; 1st lieut. 43d Inf., 1866; retired 1870.
- von Schrader, Alexander, 2d lieut. 11th Inf., 1866; maj. 39th Inf., 1866; died 1867.
- Schreyer, George, 2d lieut. 6th Cav., 1866.
- Schultze, Thilo, 12th Mo., 1865; 2d lieut. 14th Inf., 1865.
- Schwann, Theo., enl., 1857; capt. 11th Inf., 1866.
- Sellmer, Charles, enl. 1854; capt. 11th Me., 1862; 1st lieut. 3d Art., 1877.
- Simon, Charles, 2d lieut. 5th Art., 1862; 1st lieut., 1866.
- Smith, John E., col. 45th Ill.; col. 27th Inf., 1866; retired 1881.
- Smith, Thos., enl. 1867; first lieut. 15th Inf., 1877.
- Steinmetz, William R., capt. and asst. surg., 1871.
- Stelyes, Claus, 2d lieut. 4th Art., 1863.
- Sternberg, Sig., 2d lieut. 27th Inf.; killed 1867.
- Stiebner, Eugene; army, 1st Art. Fort Sumter, 1861; 1st N. Y. Art., 1862; 3d Penna., 1863; 16th N. Y., 1864; 2d lieut. 15th Inf., 1865; 1st lieut. 33d Inf.
- Stommel, Julius, 41st N. Y.; 2d lieut. 43d Inf., 1866; 1st lieut., 1869.
- Syberg, Arnold, capt. 11th Inf., 1847.
- Thibaut, F. W., 2d lieut. 7th N. Y., 1861; 1st lieut. 6th Inf., 1868.

- Thies, F., enl. 1866; 2d lieut. 3d Inf., 1873.
 Urban, Gustavus, army; 2d lieut. 5th Cav.; capt., 1866.
 Valois, Gustavus, capt. 4th Md., 1862; capt. 9th Cav., 1884.
 Veitenheimer, Carl, 74th Penna.; 2d lieut. 4th Inf.; 1st lieut.,
 1866. .
 Vermann, Otto, 2d lieut. 13th Inf., 1866.
 Wagner, Henry, enl. 1856; 2d lieut. 11th Inf., 1863; capt. 1st Cav.,
 1869.
 Walbach, John de B., 1st lieut. Cav., 1799; col. 4th Art., 1842; died
 1857.
 Warrens, C. N., 1st lieut. 4th Mo., 1861; capt. 14th Inf., 1883.
 Wedemeyer, W. G., enl. 1861; capt. 16th Inf., 1865.
 Wenckebach, E. F., 2d lieut. 13th Inf., 1865; capt. 22d Inf.,
 1867.
 Wesendorff, Max, 1st lieut. Washington Territory Vols., 1862; 2d
 lieut. 24th Inf., 1867; capt. 1st Cav., 1880.
 Wilhelmi, Louis, 2d lieut. 1st Inf., 1865; 1st lieut., 1880.

The following, mainly from a "List of Field Officers of U. S. Volunteers," were of German birth or descent:

- Abell, Caspar K., maj. 72d N. Y.
 Abell, Charles C., maj. 6th N. Y. and 10th N. Y. Art.
 Almstedt, Henry, col. 1st Mo.; 2d Mo. Lt. Art.
 Alstrom, John V., maj. 3d N. J. Cav.
 Ammen, Jacob, col. 12th Ohio.
 von Amsberg, George, col. 45th N. Y.
 Anselm, Albert, lieut.-col. 3d Mo.
 Arn, F., maj. 31st Ind.
 Balling, O. H. P., maj. 145th N. Y.

- Banghof, C., maj. 1st Mo. Cav.
von Baumbach, C., maj. 24th Wis.
Bausenwein, V., col. 58th Ohio.
Becht, John C., maj. 5th Minn.
Beck, Arnold, lieut.-col. 2d Mo.
Beck, Christian, lieut.-col. 9th Ind. Cav.
Beck, Fred., maj. 108th Ohio.
Beck, William, maj. 27th Mo.
Becker, Adolph, lieut.-col. 46th N. Y.
Becker, Gottfried, lieut.-col. 28th Ohio.
Becker, Philip, lieut.-col. 5th Penna. Cav.
Behlendorff, F., maj. 13th Ill.
Bendix, John E., col. 7th N. Y.
Bierbower, F., maj. 40th Ky.
Blenker, L., col. 8th N. Y.
von Blessing, L., lieut.-col. 37th Ohio.
von Boernstein, Shaeffer, col. 5th Iowa Cav.
von Borgersock, R., col. 5th Minn.
Botchfur, Hugo, maj. 1st Ark. Cav.
Bramlich, Charles, maj. 2d Ark. Inf.
Brutsche, John D., lieut.-col. 8th Mo. Cav.
Burger, Louis, col. 5th N. Y.
Cantador, lieut.-col. 27th Pa.
Degenfeld, Christian, col. 26th Ohio.
Deitzler, George W., col. 1st Kansas.
Diechman, Julius, maj. 15th N. Y. Heavy Art.
Dotze, Aug., lieut.-col. 8th Ohio Cav.
Duysing, Emil, lieut.-col. 41st N. Y.
von Egloffstein, F. W., col. 103d N. Y.
Ehrler, Francis, lieut.-col. 2d Mo.
von Einsidel, D., lieut.-col. 41st N. Y.
Erdelmeyer, F., lieut.-col. 32d Ind.

Ernenwein, C., lieut.-col. 21st Penna.
Faltz, Ernst M., lieut.-col. 8th Md.
von Forstner, S., maj. 3d N. J. Cav.
Gaebel, F. A. H., maj. 7th N. Y.
Gellman, F., lieut.-col. 58th N. Y.
von Gerber, G., lieut.-col. 6th Ind.
Glapcke, Herman, maj. 22d Conn.
Goebel, Chris., maj. 73d Penna.
Goelzer, Aug., lieut.-col. 60th Ind.
Gruesel, Nich., col. 7th Ill.
von Hammerstein, H., col. 78th N. Y.
Happel, Christian, lieut.-col. 10th Mo.
von Hartung, Adolph, col. 74th Penna.
Hassendeubel, F., col. 3d Mo.
Hedterich, lieut.-col. 8th N. Y.
Heinrichs, Gus., lieut.-col. 4th Mo. Cav.
Heintz, R., maj. 28th Ohio.
Heintzleman, M. T., lieut.-col. 172d Penna.
von Helmrich, G., lieut.-col. 5th Mo. Cav.
Hequembourg, A. G., lieut.-col. 40th Mo.
Hequembourg, W. A., maj. 3d Mo.
Hundhausen, Julius, lieut.-col. 4th Mo.
Hundhausen, Robert, col. 4th Mo.
Jacobsen, Aug., lieut.-col. 27th Mo.
Jaensch, F., maj. 31st Mo.
Jussen, Edm., lieut.-col. 23d Wis.
Kaercher, Jac., lieut.-col. 12th Mo.
Kahler, F. M., maj. 62d Ohio.
Kammerling, Gus., col. 9th Ohio.
von Kielmansegge, E., col. 4th Mo. Cav.; 1st Florida Cav.
Knobelsdorff, Charles, col. 44th Ill.
Knoderer, Charles, col. 167th Penna.

- von Koerber, V. E., maj. 1st Md. Cav.
Kohler, Jacob, lieut.-col. 12th Penna. Cav.
Koltcs, John A., col. 73d Penna.
Kozlay, E. A., col. 54th N. Y.
Krekel, Arnold, maj. Mo. Batt'y.
Kreutzer, William, lieut.-col. 98th N. Y.
Krez, Cornel., col. 27th Wis.
Kummell, A. H., lieut.-col. 13th Wis.
von Kusserow, C., lieut.-col. 2d U. S. Vet. Vols.
Laiboldt, Bernard, col. 2d Mo.
Landgraebcr, Clemens, maj. 2d Mo. Lt. Art.
Ledergerber, F. T., maj. 12th Mo.
Leppien, George F., lieut.-col. 1st Me. Art.
Mahler, F., col. 75th Penna.
von Matzdorff, A., lieut.-col. 75th Penna.
Mehler, Adolph, lieut.-col. 98th Penna.
Metternich, G., lieut.-col. 46th N. Y.
Minden, von Henning, maj. Hatch's Batt'n Minn. Cav.
von Mitzel, Alex., lieut.-col. 74th Penna.
Moor, Aug., col. 28th Ohio.
Mueller, Charles, lieut.-col. 107th Ohio.
Osterhaus, P. J., col. 12th Mo.
Perczel, N., col. 10th Iowa.
Porchner, F., col. 47th Ohio.
Possegger, F., maj. 1st N. Y. Cav.
Reichard, F. H., maj. 188th Penna.
Reichard, George N., lieut.-col. 143d Penna.
Riedt, Aug., maj. 27th Penna.
Rolshausen, F., maj. 82d Ill.
Rosa, Rudolph, col. 46th N. Y.
Rosengarten, Adolph G., maj. 15th Penna. (Anderson) Cav.
Salm-Salm, Prince, col. 8th N. Y.

- von Schach, G. W., col. 7th N. Y.
 Schadt, Otto, lieut.-col. 12th Mo.
 Schaeffer, F., col. 2d Mo.
 von Schickfus, F., lieut.-col. 1st N. Y. Cav.
 von Schilling, F., maj. 3d Penna. Art.
 Schimmelfennig, A., col. 74th Penna.
 Schirmer, L., col., 15th N. Y.
 Schlittner, Nich., col. 4th Mo.
 von Schluembach, Alex., maj. 29th N. Y.
 Schnepf, E., lieut.-col. 20th N. Y.
 Schoeffel, F. A., lieut.-col. 13th N. Y.
 Schopp, Phil., col. 75th Penna.
 von Schrader, Alex., lieut.-col. 74th Ohio.
 Schumacher, F., maj. 21st Wis.
 Segebarth, H., maj. 3d Penna. Art.
 Seidel, C. B., col. 3d Ohio Cav.
 Seidel, G. A., maj. 7th N. Y.
 Seidlitz, Hugo, maj. 27th Penna.
 Soest, Clemens, col. 29th N. Y.
 Sondersdorff, C., lieut.-col. 9th Ohio.
 Stahel, Julius, col. 8th N. Y.
 von Steinhausen, A., lieut.-col. 68th N. Y.
 von Steinwehr, A., col. 29th N. Y.
 Stetzall, lieut.-col. 11th Penna. Cav.
 Tafel, Gust., lieut.-col. 106th Ohio.
 Tassin, A. G., col. 35th Ind.
 Thielemann, Christian, col. 16th Ill. Cav.
 Thielemann, Milo, maj. 16th Ill. Cav.
 Thoman, Max, lieut.-col. 59th N. Y.
 Tiedemann, D. F., lieut.-col. 110th U. S. Colored.
 von Trebra, H., col. 32d Ind.
 von Vegesach, E., col. 20th N. Y.

Veitenheimer, Carl, lieut.-col. 74th Penna.

Wagner, Louis, col. 88th Penna.

Wangelin, Hugo, col. 12th Mo.

Weber, Max, col. 20th N. Y.

von Wedell, Carl, maj. 68th N. Y.

Wilhelm, lieut.-col. 23d Penna.

Willich, A., col. 32d Ind.

Zakrzewski, H., lieut.-col. 2d Mo.

ADDENDA.

SINCE the foregoing pages were printed, Mr. Ad. Kiefer, formerly adjutant of the One Hundred and Sixty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers, has furnished the following notices of German officers who served with credit in the army of the United States during the war for the Union, viz.,—

Lorenz Cantador, born in Düsseldorf about 1815, served for some years as an officer in the Prussian Landwehr, took a not unimportant part in the political uprising of 1848 in the Rhenish Provinces, came to Philadelphia about 1851, went into the volunteer service as lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania, under Bushbeck, and died in New York in 1880.

Adolph Dengler, born in Baden about 1825, took part in the revolution in 1849 in that state, came to the United States in 1850, entered the service in a Missouri regiment as captain in 1861, and as colonel

of the regiment at the siege of Vicksburg, was wounded and shortly after died. He was an earnest, single-minded patriot, and a conspicuously gallant soldier.

Hugo Dilger, probably the most brilliant German officer of the war, familiarly known in the war correspondence of the time as "Leather-breeches," commanded an independent Ohio battery during the war, and therefore never obtained a higher rank than that of captain, but more brilliant service, and more of it, was not rendered by any officer of German birth. He resigned a lieutenancy in the Baden Mounted Artillery to take part in the American civil war, and after the war became a farmer in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. (See p. 253.)

Philip Schopp was born in Bavaria in 1828, and was engaged in the revolution of 1848-49; came to the United States in 1850, was employed as a civil engineer in Pennsylvania until 1861, raised a company for the Seventy-fifth Pennsylvania Volunteers, (Bohlen's regiment), and was made by General Bohlen his assistant adjutant-general, and afterwards colonel of the Seventy-fifth, which he led through Pope's campaign. After the war he again became a civil engineer in the West.

Max Weber was a promising young officer of the Baden army, when the revolution of 1849, in which

he took part as commander of a battalion, drove him into exile. At the outbreak of the civil war he was appointed colonel of the Twentieth New York (Turner) Regiment; for his services at the capture of Norfolk and of Hatteras he was made brigadier-general of volunteers early in 1862; at the battle of Antietam a severe wound disabled him and thus cut off a career that gave promise of great brilliancy, He received enthusiastic praise from his corps commander. (See p. 218.)

— Hetterick, born in the Palatinate about 1815, in the military service of Greece for a short time with Blenker, served under him as major and lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth New York Volunteers, was both in character and appearance an ideal *vieux sabreur*. He died in poverty a few years after the close of the war.

Adolph Engelmann (see p. 231) was the son of Frederick Theodore Engelmann, who took an active part in the revolution of 1833. He was born in Jusboch, Bavaria, in 1825, and came to this country with his parents in 1834. He served in the Mexican war, and was wounded at Buena Vista. In 1849 he went to Germany with Hecker, but the revolution was over. He served through the war with Denmark, returned to America, and at the outbreak of the civil war became lieutenant-colonel of the Forty-third

Illinois Volunteers, and was for a time in command of a brigade. He was appointed postmaster of Belleville, Illinois, in 1885, by President Cleveland, and served until 1889. He died at his home, Shiloh Valley, Illinois, in September, 1890.

I N D E X.*

- Aaronsburg, von, 33.
Abel, J., 152.
Adenbousch, J. N., 189.
Alabama, 189.
Allstrom, 3d N. Y. Cav., 252.
Almstedt, 1st Mo. Cav., 245.
Alner, J., 152.
Ammen, Gen. J., 166, 253.
Amsberg, von, 7th N. Y., 205,
218, 224.
Anneck, F., 34th Wis., 181, 258.
Anselm, 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
Anspach, P., 2d N. Y. Art., 137.
App, M., 154.
Armlinsen, von, La., 188.
Arndt, J., 154, 230.
Asboth, 197.
Aschmann, R., 259.

Bachmann, W. K., S. C., 185.
Backoff, Mo. Art., 245.

Bahncke, La., 188.
Ballier, 98th Pa., 204, 209.
Baltzel, C., 100.
Barringer, Gen. R., 37.
Bauer, 104.
Baum, 75.
Baumann, 106, 136, 188.
Bäumer, 1st Neb. Vet. Cav., 248.
Bausenwein, 58th Ohio, 253.
Becht, J. C., 5th Minn., 239.
Becker, 124, 155, 219.
Bendix, J. E., 7th N. Y. Inf., 217.
Bentinck, 21.
Benzler, F., 52d N. Y. Inf., 219.
Bergmann, C. H., S. C., 185.
Bergmeier, B., Va., 188.
Bernays, L. C., 240.
Bethan, 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
Beyer, P., 154.
Biebel, 6th Conn., 238.
Bierbower, F., 40th Ky., 239.

* Prepared by Ch. Grosse, translator of the German edition.

- Bierer, E., 171st Pa., 211.
 Biesenbusch, Tex., 187.
 Bilderbach, C., 15.
 Bitzel, A., Va., 188.
 Blandowsky, C., 243.
 Blankenburg, 181, 224.
 Blenker, Gen., 8th N. Y., 192,
 200, 218, 223.
 Blessing, von, 37th Ohio, 255.
 Block, 153.
 Blücher, 177.
 Boecht, 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
 Boernstein, C. S. de, 5th Iowa
 Cav., 236.
 Bohländer, 165th Ohio, 253.
 Bohlen, H., 75th Pa. Vol., 204,
 214.
 Bollabaker, H., 154.
 Boone, 124.
 Borcke, H. von, 179.
 Borgersock, R. von, 239.
 Börnstein, H., 2d Mo. Vol.,
 240.
 Bose, 82.
 Bosi, Tex., 187.
 Bouquet, Gen., 16, 21, 126.
 Bowman, A., 156.
 Boyer, 100.
 Brandenburg, 85.
 Brehm, 21.
 Brenholz, 50th Pa., 208.
 Brestel, 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
 Breymann, 75.
 Brickel, 1st N. Y. Art., 230.
 Bromme, 261.
 Bruchs, 115.
 Brückner, 73d Pa., 215.
 Brühl, 241.
 Brummenstadt, La., 188.
 Buggenhagen, von, 7th N. Y.,
 224.
 Bunner, 100, 102.
 Burckhardt, 103, 106.
 Burger, 188, 218.
 Bürstenbinder, 67th Ohio, 253.
 Bush, Ph., 154.
 Bushbeck, Gen. A., 27th Pa., 204,
 213.
 Chorman, 224.
 Christern, La., 188.
 Cincinnati, Society of, 136.
 Claus, Daniel, 47.
 Closen, von, 143.
 Colorado, 230.
 Connecticut, 238.
 Conrad, 181, 245.
 Cordes, T., S. C., 184.
 Cornehlisen, C., 182.
 Corvin, 8th N. Y., 224.
 Cramer, J., 101.
 Crowle, J., 154.
 Custer, Gen. G. A., 2d Cav., U.
 S. A., 172.

- Dänzer, C., 240.
 Darr, 253.
 Darrel, La., 188.
 Dasher, 53.
 Degenfeld, 26th Ohio, 255, 256.
 Deitzler, 1st Kan. Inf., 244.
 Demler, H., 2d N. Y. Art., 137.
 Derr, M., 154.
 Desenderfer, D., 101.
 Dettweiler, H., 6th Ky., 256.
 Deutsch, von, 41st Mo., 245, 258.
 Deux-Ponts, Count, 142.
 Dickel, 29th N. Y., 228.
 Dieck, H., 230.
 Diemann, von, 73.
 Diemar, von, 77.
 Dieskau, Baron L. A., 40.
 Dietrich, 41st N. Y. Vol., 228.
 Dilger, Ohio Batt'y, 253.
 Dillman, G., 153.
 Ditfurth, von, 153.
 Dölba, J. K., 89.
 Domiller, M., 154.
 Donel, C., 153.
 Donop, 65, 153.
 Doster, W., 4th Pa. Cav., 212.
 Dotze, A., 8th Ohio, 255.
 Dreer, F. E., 107, 115.
 Dreisbach, 104.
 Dresel, 241.
 Duden, 262.
 Duer, W., 163.
 Dufford, J., 154.
 Dupont, G., 126.
 Eelking, Max von, 54.
 Egly, 241.
 Eichel, 53.
 Eichholz, La., 188.
 Eickhoff, A., 181.
 Elbert, 36.
 Emmerich, A., 55, 73.
 Engelhard, J. A., 189.
 Engelhart, 153.
 Engelmann, A., 42d Ill., 231.
 Ermentrout, D., 13.
 Esebeck, 141.
 Estvan, B., 180.
 Ewald, 78, 82, 143.
 Ezbech, 115.
 Faesch, R., 21.
 Farmer, 155.
 Fassbinder, La., 188.
 Feese, Ph., 153.
 Fersen, Count, 115, 143.
 Fischer, F., 150.
 Fish, N., 136.
 Flournoy, Tex., 187.
 Forstner, S. von, 3d N. J. Cav.,
 251.
 Frank, P., 52d N. Y. Inf., 219.
 Freilich, T., 2d N. Y., 137.
 Fremder, S. C., 185.

- Freudenberg, C. G., 52d N. Y. Inf., 219.
 Frey, E., 82d Ill., 234.
 Frick, 124.
 Fridebach, La., 188.
 Fritz, 3d Mo. Res., 245.
 Froes, 154.
 Frutches, 154.
 Fry, G., 154.
 Fry, Gen. J. B., U. S. A., 192.
 Furmann, J., 1st N. Y., 137.
 Fürst, 1st W. Va. Art., 256.

 Gans, R. M., 189.
 Garwin, O. C., 52d N. Y. Inf., 219.
 Gau, 143.
 Gaudain, A. von, 236.
 Gause, L. C., 189.
 Gellman, 29th N. Y., 228.
 Gerber, 224, 238.
 Gerdes, La., 188.
 Gerke, 262.
 Giese, 253.
 Gillon, 126.
 Gilsa, L. von, 41st N. Y., 205, 218, 224, 228.
 Gist, 144.
 Glassbeck, von, 36.
 Glichner, Ch., 101. *
 Gneisenau, 120.
 Gob, L., 154.
 Goebel, 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
 Graff, G., 154.
 Graffenried, 32, 130.
 Greble, J. T., 2d Art., 173.
 Grelsbalk, H., 154.
 Gremeth, J., 101.
 Greusel, N., 36th Ill., 231.
 Gries, 104th Pa., 208.
 Griesinger, T. 191.
 Groeben, von der, 8th N. Y., 224.
 Groff, Tex., 187.
 Grohmann, 265.
 Gruber, I., 154.
 Gumbart, 233.

 Haake, 142, 220, 244.
 Haas, de, 101, 139, 144.
 Hafner, Tex., 187.
 Hagar, J., 153.
 Hagner, 166.
 Hahn, M., 177.
 Haller, H., 151.
 Hambright, 158, 176.
 Hanke, Tex., 187.
 Hanleiter, C. R., 189.
 Harms, H., S. C., 184.
 Harpel, J., 154.
 Hartmann, J. A., 150.
 Hartranft, 51st Pa., 204, 209.
 Hassaurek, F., 241.
 Hassendeubel, F., 3d Mo., 244, 245.

- Haupt, Gen. H., 166.
 Haurand, A., 224.
 Hausner, La., 188.
 Haussegger, N., 103, 138.
 Hecker, F., 82d Ill., 205, 231,
 233.
 Heer, von, 105, 139, 155.
 Heeringen, von, 72.
 Hehn, 36, 101.
 Heib, Jost, 34.
 Heileman, J. F., 165.
 Heine, W., 174.
 Heinrich, 124.
 Heintzelman, S. P., 167.
 Heister, 13, 65, 72, 149, 153, 154.
 Helfenstein, 52, 156.
 Helmrich, von, 4th Mo. Cav.,
 189, 246.
 Helsley, J., 153.
 Helvenstein, A. H., 189.
 Hendricks, W., 105, 224.
 Henkelmann, 99.
 Hequembourg, 3d Mo., 245.
 Herchheimer, Gen., 46, 128, 150.
 Herkimer, Joh. Jost, 46, 47.
 Hermann, von, 177.
 Hermsdorf, 51.
 Hertzog, 225.
 Herzberg, 3d N. J., 251.
 Hesse, 22.
 Hessher, A., 154.
 Hexamer, 1st N. J. Art., 249.
 Hocheimer, 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
 Hoffman, Ohio Batt'y, 253.
 Hofmann, Gen. J. W., 56th Pa.,
 204, 212.
 Hogenbach, H., 154.
 Hoke, 189.
 Hollenback, La., 188.
 Holsendorf, W., 53.
 Holtzclaw, J. T., 18th Ala., 189.
 Holtzendorff, von, 112.
 Hotaling, 2d Ill. Cav., 232.
 House, N., 153.
 Howelman, 149.
 Hubley, B., 100.
 Huff, 154.
 Huger, 112.
 Hundehausen, 4th Mo. Res., 245.
 Huth, La., 188.

 Illinois, 231.
 Indiana, 238.
 Ingen, von, 22.
 Iowa, 235.
 Isenhardt, J., 154.

 Jackson, 15th Me. Art., 242.
 Jacobi, 9th Wis., 257, 258.
 Jaulmann, P. 137.

 Kalb, de, 54, 102, 109, 110, 128.
 Kallmann, 2d Mo. Res., 245.
 Kalteisen, M., 125.

- Kammerling, 9th Ohio, 253.
 Kapff, E., 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
 Kapp, F., 38.
 Karge, J., 2d. N. J. Cav., 251.
 Karples, 52d N. Y. Inf., 220.
 Kasouzki, L., 52d N. Y. Inf., 219.
 Kautz, Gen. A. V., 171, 253.
 Kehrwald, La., 188.
 Keibler, L., 154.
 Keil, 262.
 Keller, C., 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
 Kellermann, Gen. de, 161.
 Kentucky, 239.
 Kerchner, A., 154.
 Kern, P., 154.
 Kersshler, M., 154.
 Kielmansegge, von, 40th Ky.,
 239.
 Klaedon, Tex., 187.
 Kleefisch, 29th N. Y., 228.
 Klein, 219, 238.
 Kleinbeil, 22.
 Kleisser, von, 7th N. Y., 224.
 Klingelhöffer, 160, 265.
 Kloch, J., 150.
 Knierim, 1st N. Y. Art., 230.
 Knobelsdorff, 44th Ill., 231, 251.
 Knoderer, C. A., 168th Pa. Vol.,
 205, 208.
 Knyphausen, Gen. von, 55, 72.
 Koch, H., 236.
 Kochlein, P., 152, 154.
 Koenig, La., 188.
 Kohler, 98th Pa., 208.
 Kollmauer, Tex., 187.
 Koltcs, Gen. J. A., 73d Pa., 215.
 Köning, Tex., 187.
 Köpffi, 262.
 Koppinger, J., 153.
 Körber, von, 1st Ky. Cav., 239.
 Körner, G., 43d Ill., 231, 262.
 Koseritz, 253.
 Kospoth, von, 80.
 Kozlay, 29th N. Y., 228.
 Kramer, 3d N. J., 251.
 Krekel, A., 241.
 Krez, C., 27th Wis., 258.
 Krueiling, 21.
 Kryzanowsky, 54th N. Y., 228.
 Kuntze, Dr., 35.
 Kusserow, von, 7th N. Y., 224,
 230.
 Kutzner, 39th Mo., 245.
 Kydle, A., 153.
 Lachenmeyer, La., 188.
 Laibold, 2d Mo., 245.
 Lange, A., 238.
 Langenheim, W., 177.
 Lasher, J., 152.
 Lederer, 14, 183.
 Ledergerber, 234.
 Lehmann, 188, 211.
 Leisler, Jacob, 9.

- Leister, 253.
 Leonards, W., 152.
 Leppien, G. F., 1st Me. Art., 240.
 Lichtenstein, Ph. C., 52d N. Y.,
 219.
 Lieber, 167.
 Limberg, 108th Ohio, 253.
 Linkensdorff, de, 103.
 Lissingen, 153.
 Lohr, 154.
 Lord, S., S. C., 184.
 Lossberg, Gen. von, 99.
 Louisiana, 188.
 Loy, M., 154.
 Ludwick, Ch., 139.
 Luettwitz, 177.
 Luther, 166.
 Lutterloh, 128, 136.
 Lutz, 150, 154, 238.
 Lützenberg, 254.

 Mahem, 36.
 Mahler, 29th N. Y., 228.
 Maine, 239.
 Mangold, 188.
 Mann, 2d Ill. L. Art., 233.
 Markgraf, Ohio Art., 253.
 Marks, J., 154.
 Marold, G. T., Tex., 187.
 Marschall, Dr. L., 158.
 Matthes, 236.
 Mauser, J., 154.

 Mausher, Kaspar, 50.
 Melchers, F., S. C., 185.
 Memminger, R. W., 182.
 Mentges, 105, 155.
 Mergenthaler, 230.
 Meserly, C., 153.
 Messerschmidt, J. C., 52d N. Y.
 Inf., 219.
 Meyer, 107th Ohio, 253.
 Michalowsky, 177.
 Michigan, 240.
 Miller, 153, 154.
 Minden, H. von, Minn. Cav.,
 239.
 Mindil, Gen. G. W., 33d N. J.,
 250.
 Minnesota, 239.
 Minnigerode, von, 80, 153.
 Mintzer, Ch., 154.
 Mirbach, von, 153.
 Moegling, 11th Conn., 238.
 Mohring, C., 52d N. Y. Inf., 219.
 Moltke, Count von, 224.
 Moor, A., 28th Ohio, 253.
 Mordecai, A., 171.
 Morgan, D., 101.
 Muehleck, 73d Pa., 215.
 Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior, 26.
 Muhlenberg, 29, 91, 156.
 Müller, La., 188.
 Münch, 239, 240.
 Münchhausen, von, 113.

- Myers, Ch., 100.
 Mytinger, J., 105.

 Nast, Thomas, 222.
 Nauman, G., 166.
 Nebraska, 246.
 Nechtritz, 104.
 Neighast, Ch., 154.
 Neslett, P., N. Y. Art., 137.
 New Jersey, 248.
 New York, 217.
 Nieswanger, P., 15.
 Nisie, 154.
 Nohrden, C., S. C., 183.
 North, W., 106.
 North Carolina, 182.

 Ochs, Gen. von, 121.
 Ohio, 252.
 Olshausen, T., 2d Mo. Vol., 240.
 Orff, H., 35th Wis., 258.
 Osband, Ill. Art., 233.
 Osterhaus, Gen. P. J., 12th Mo.,
 232, 243, 245.
 Ottendorff, N. D. von, 103, 148.
 Overfeld, R., 154.

 Passegger, 225.
 Pennsylvania, 203.
 Pennypacker, Gen. C., 9th Pa.
 Vol., 204.
 Perczel, N., 10th Iowa, 236.

 Peres, P., Germ. Rgt., 103.
 Peters, La., 188.
 Petz, de, La., 188.
 Pfaender, W., 2d Minn. Cav.,
 239.
 Pfeiffer, 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
 Pfeil, Dr., 113.
 Pionier, der Deutsche, 128, 240.
 Poe, 146.
 Porschner, 47th Ohio, 253.
 Post, Christian F., 31.
 Poten, 4th Mo., 245.
 Prux, W., 101.
 Pury, P., 33.
 Puttkammer, von, 7th N. Y., 224.

 Quitman, Gen. J. A., 159.

 Rabenhorst, 33.
 Rabolt, J., 101.
 Rachnitz, 261.
 Radowitz, von, 7th N. Y., 224.
 Rahl, 67.
 Raith, J. C., 43d Ill., 231.
 Ratterman, H. A., 14, 141.
 Ratzer, 22, 153.
 Reefer, A., 154.
 Reitmeier, La., 188.
 Retzius, 52d N. Y. Inf., 220.
 Reynolds, F. C., 241.
 Rice, W., 100.
 Richter, 254.

- Riedesel, Gen. F. A. von, 54, 68.
 Riefner, G., 15.
 Ritzema, R., 151.
 Robenhorst, La., 188.
 Roebing, W. A., 252.
 Roland, 166.
 Rombauer, 234.
 Rose, J., 3d Reg., 105.
 Roselius, Ch., 184, 254.
 Rosenbaum, La., 188.
 Rosengarten, A. G., 15th Pa.
 Cav., 3.
 Rosenheimer, Tex., 187.
 Rosenthal, G. von, 15, 102.
 Rosenvelt, 124.
 Rost, 254.
 Rothe, E., 241.
 Rudolph, M., 36.
 Rueger, J., 52d N. Y. Inf., 219.
 Ruhl, La., 188.
 Rümelin, C., 241.
 Runge, G. H. W., N. C., 182.
 Rüstow, 181.

 Sabath, Tex., 187.
 Salm-Salm, Prince, 205, 223.
 • Salomon, 245, 257.
 Sander, C., 181, 246.
 Sarasin, Tex., 187.
 Sauer, Christopher, 27.
 Schach, G. von, 7th N. Y. Inf.,
 217, 224.
 Schaefer, 245, 251.
 Schall, 51st Pa., 208.
 Scheff, J. W., 45.
 Scheibert, 179.
 Scheppert, 126.
 Scherer, E., 121st Pa. Vol., 206.
 Scherf, 261.
 Schickfuss, F. von, 224.
 Schimmelpfennig, 29th N. Y.,
 228.
 Schirach, von, 177.
 Schirmer, 224, 228.
 Schlatter, Rev. Michael, 22, 25.
 Schleicher, G., 177, 190.
 Schleuning, Tex., 187.
 Schlittner, 4th Mo., 245.
 Schnake, F., 240.
 Schneider, 13, 54, 188.
 Schnepf, E., 20th N. Y., 218.
 Schoening, O. von, 52d N. Y.
 Inf., 219.
 Schonleber, 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
 Schöpf, Dr. J. D., 91.
 Schott, 101, 104, 155, 215.
 Schrader, A. von, 74th Ohio, 176,
 224, 253.
 Schrauder, Ph., 100, 103.
 Schriver, Gen. E., 166.
 Schübing, 254.
 Schulken, 182.
 Schultze, G., 52d N. Y. Inf., 219.
 Schulz, F. C., 189.

- Schurz, Carl, 149, 224, 247.
 Schüttner, N., 4th Mo., 242.
 Schützenbach, Mo. Art., 245.
 Seidel, 3d Ohio Cav., 255.
 Seidensticker, 137, 154.
 Selin, A., 101, 104.
 Shade, 154.
 Shepherd (Schaefer), 15.
 Sherhagen, Tex., 187.
 Shifle, J., 153.
 Shiras, Gen. A., 166.
 Shitz, F., 153.
 Shrupp, H., 101.
 Shutt, J., 153.
 Sieber, 37th Ohio, 253.
 Siebeth, 3d N. J., 251.
 Sievers, La., 188.
 Sigel, Gen. Franz, 197, 200, 205,
 237, 246.
 Sigwald, C. B., S. C., 184.
 Slotner, J., 153.
 Small, J., S. C., 184.
 Soest, 216.
 Sohm, 3d N. Y. Cav., 252.
 Sondersdorff, 9th Ohio, 255.
 Spangler, 154.
 Spech, H., 101.
 Speiss, J., 154.
 Stahel, 205, 227.
 Stallo, J. B., 241.
 Stark, 75.
 Stedingk, Count von, 143.
 Stegin, J. H., Ga., 189.
 Steiner, 215.
 Steinwehr, 29th N. Y., 218, 223,
 229.
 Stephani, 262.
 Stephens, P., 34.
 Steuben, von, 54, 57, 115, 118,
 128, 136.
 Stidinger, M., 154.
 Stiell, W., 21.
 Stifel, 5th Mo. Res., 234, 245.
 Stirk, 53, 54.
 Stirn, von, 153.
 Stockholm, A., 152.
 Stoll, 3d N. J., 251.
 Stolleman, Ill. Art., 232.
 Storch, Count von, 224.
 Strautz, von, 224.
 Stricker, 105, 154.
 Strickner, 103.
 Strohaker, R., 54.
 Stulpnagel, 3d N. J., 251.
 Stump, Ch., 154.
 Stümpel, 34.
 Sturmfels, 29th N. Y., 228.
 Sugart, M., 101.
 Swartz, 101, 154.
 Swayer, A., 153.
 Sybert, Th., 154.
 Tafel, 106th Ohio, 253.
 Tavergnier, B. de, 224.

- Texas, 187.
 Thielemann, 2d Ill. Cav., 232.
 Tichout, H., 1st N. Y., 137.
 Tiedeman, F., 75th Pa., 216.
 Trebra, von, 32d Ind., 224, 256.
 Trepp, C., 259.
 Triesback, J., 154.
 Trumbach, von, 153.

 Uchtritz, von, 72.
 Uhl, Tex., 187.
 Utassy, 129th N. Y., 227.

 Veltheim, von, 224.
 Vezin, 214.
 Virginia, 187.
 Voegelin, 1st N. Y. Art., 230.
 Vollers, H., 182.

 Wagener, F. W., S. C., 185.
 Waggaman, La., 188, 189.
 Wagner, Gen. L., 88th Pa. Vol.,
 204, 247.
 Walbach, J. de Barth, 160, 165.
 Walbrack, La., 188.
 Walpel, 3d N. J., 251.
 Walstein, 19.
 Wampler, G., 154.
 Wangelin, 12th Mo., 232, 245.
 Wangenheim, J. von, 91.
 Warburg, La., 188.
 Waring, 4th Mo. Cav., 189.

 Warth, Joh., 15.
 Wassernagel, La., 188.
 Waul, J. N., 189.
 Weber, M., 20th N. Y., 218, 224.
 Weedon, 148.
 Weidknecht, J., 154.
 Weidman, 101, 103.
 Weise, 188.
 Weiser, 13, 15, 38, 40, 102.
 Weiss, F., 20th N. Y., 218.
 Weissenfels, F. W. von, 21, 73,
 131, 135.
 Weitzel, 51, 102, 105, 154, 175,
 253.
 Weltener, L., 100, 103.
 Werner, S. C., 185.
 Wert, G., 154.
 Wesseling, 4th Mo. Res., 245.
 Wetterstrom, 21.
 Wetzel, 2d N. Y., 137, 144.
 Weydemeyer, 4th Mo., 237, 245.
 Wiebische, 3d N. J. Cav., 252.
 Wieden, von, Gen. Ger., 148.
 Wilderich, 29th N. Y., 228.
 Wile, 154.
 Wilhelm, 18th Pa., 204.
 Will, 102.
 Willich, Gen. A., 32d Ind., 238,
 256.
 Winkler, 26th Wis., 258.
 Winter, 22.
 Wisconsin, 257.

- Wister, 212.
 Wittgenstein, Count von, 115.
 Wittsteen, 21.
 Witzel, Ludwig, 15.
 Witzig, J. J., 4th Mo., 242.
 Woedtke, F. von der, 128.
 Woelpper, D., 138.
 Woerner, 1st N. J. Art., 250.
 Wohlken, H., S. C., 185.
 Wollrath, La., 188.
 Wratislau, 7th N. Y. Inf., 218.
 Wreden, 78.
 Wutschel, 29th N. Y., 227.
 Wyche, G., 54.

 Yager, W. O., 189.

 Yoder, J., 158.
 Young, M., 101.

 Zahm, 3d Ohio Cav., 253.
 Zedwitz, von, 151.
 Zenger, J. P., 11.
 Ziegler, 101, 124, 253.
 Zimmermann, 22.
 Zincken, von, La., 188.
 Zinn, 130th Pa., 208.
 Zirckel, 4th Ohio, 255.
 Zollikoffer, Gen., 190.
 Zook, 52d N. Y. Inf., 219.
 Ztuni, Tex., 187.
 Zweibrücken, Count von, 83,
 115.

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