Table of Contents

Foreword (Isabelle Laboulais)

The Manuscript
The Writing of the Manuscript (Edern Hirstein)
Geographic Knowledge and Description (Isabelle Laboulais)

The People
Biography of Georg Daniel Flohr (Edern Hirstein)
Christian de Deux-Ponts (Daniel Fischer)
Guillaume de Deux-Ponts (Daniel Fischer)
The Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment (Grégoire Binois and Daniel Fischer)

The Places
The Itinerary and the Explanation of this Itinerary (Edern Hirstein and Isabelle Laboulais)
The American Population (Daniel Fischer)
German Colonization of the American Colonies (Daniel Fischer)
The Antilles in the 1780’s (Thomas Tricot)

The Facts
The American Revolution and the War of Independence (Isabelle Laboulais)
The Attack of Redoubt 9: Between Historical Account and Memory (Edern Hirstein)
Foreword

The “Flohr” is a text that is unique in form and content. A major work in the collection of manuscripts conserved in the department of cultural heritage of the André Malraux multimedia library, it is a rare account of the European participation in the process by which the Insurgents won their independence and founded a State based on new values; it also delivers useful observations that nourished multicultural, multiracial, and multiethnic history, centered around the exchanges and interactions between the Europeans, American Indians, and Africans, this “Atlantic history” that some historians—still few in number in France—have been writing for about twenty years.\(^1\) Beyond the account of a decisive moment in Atlantic history, the Flohr also illustrates the complexity of travel literature in the eighteenth century, the porosity of genres and the influence that its most widespread forms exerted upon a young rifleman enrolled in the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment when he set about writing an account of the expedition of his regiment. A close study of the text was essential in order to put Flohr’s account into perspective, and to measure the importance of rewriting in retrospect. Far from nullifying the value of this tale, this collective work, on the contrary, aims to facilitate its readability and underscore its complexity.

The original manuscript was transcribed and translated into French by Albert Schreiber. This version of the text was the object of a collective effort aimed at facilitating the reading of the text composed by Flohr and highlighting its major contributions. This preliminary research was undertaken by four second-year Master’s students. Grégoire Binois worked mainly on Flohr’s contributions to the history of war practices and culture, Daniel Fischer on American history, Edern Hirstein on Flohr in particular, and on the reconstruction of his itinerary, the precise analysis of his text, and Thomas Tricot carried out the iconographic research that accompanies the footnotes.

In the coming months this version will be completed by contributions from Jean-Luc Eichenlaub on the codicological analysis of the manuscript, from Mireille Pétry, who traces the manuscript’s journey until it reached the department of cultural heritage collections at the André Malraux multimedia library, and from Martial Guédron on the drawings that Flohr included to enrich his text.

Isabelle Laboulais
Modern History Professor
University of Strasbourg–EA 3400/ARCHE

\(^1\) For more on Atlantic history, see the historical record organized by Cécile Vidal for a one-day workshop organized at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in 2006: 
http://nuevomundo.revues.org/10233#1-histoire-atlantique-de-part-et-d-autre-de-l-atlantique
The Writing of the Manuscript

Kept in the André Malraux multimedia library (Strasbourg), Flohr’s manuscript is one of remarkable richness in many ways. Though the illustrations are the most noticeable, they are only the tip of the iceberg. In the pages of this account the reader will also enjoy the many informative, naturalistic, or simply anecdotal digressions that Flohr slipped into his war diary. Such diversity is surprising when compared to the title of the manuscript: “Account of the Land and Sea Expedition in America of the Acclaimed Deux-Ponts Regiment”, or considering the intended purpose: “concerning the present description of America as I have scrupulously noted day after day during the war opposing England and American colonies.” Taken from the Erklärung and written by Flohr, this citation implies that the description of America contained in this manuscript is faithful to the notes he took during the military campaign. This preliminary statement is inevitably refuted by a close reading of the text.

The framework of the text is made up of information dealing with the destination, of indications of the number of kilometers traveled each day, all elements that evidently correspond to the distinct genre that is the war diary, which presents itself as the practice of systematic and concise writing. The resulting work is as useful to military staff officers as it is to mapmakers, but also to individuals who keep fact records for private or collective interest.4

The writing of such a diary requires regular note taking in the field. In this context the written record is limited to mentioning the date and the names of the places the soldiers passed through; it is at times embellished by a short description of the landscape that was encountered or the risks of the voyage, the day’s events and the number of kilometers traveled are mentioned. With Flohr the war diary genre is the object of a certain number of adjustments, or rather, additions. Nevertheless, his field notes make up the primary source of his account. A comparison with other available war diaries, or with the records kept by the aides-de-camp or the mapmakers shows this. Thus when Flohr mentions the town he passed through or the stages of the journey accomplished by his regiment, he transcribes their names phonetically. The town of Bowling Green becomes “Bollingen” by his pen, Page’s Bridge is similarly transformed into “Bettesbrück”. Such place names could not be reproduced afterwards, Flohr most likely took up the spelling used in his field notes. The distances covered also do not correspond to those

2 Ms f 15
3 In L’art de lever des plans, de tout ce qui rapport à l’architecture civile et champêtre (3rd edition, Firmin Didot, Paris, 1792), Dupain de Montesson dedicates an entire section to the characteristics of travel diaries.
4 For a comparison, see the diaries of Claude Blanchard, Guillaume of Deux-Ponts or Dupont d’Aubevoye de Laubèrðière. The latter notes in his diary: “I write for myself, for my own satisfaction, and to one day remind myself of some of the most extraordinary times and of the most glorious revolution found in history.” see “Journal de l’armée aux orders de Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau pendant les campagnes de 1780, 1781, et 1783 dans l’Amérique Septentrionale” (At the Bibliothèque nationale, N.A.F. n° 17691, fol. 209 and fol. 3).
This rudimentary note taking that makes up the framework of Flohr’s voyage is accompanied by commentaries on the landscape he encountered (“On the road we passed through a lovely little town on a beautiful plain”, diary page 51) including a multitude of flattering descriptions. The descriptions of towns, as superficial as they may be in some cases, include such precise indications that their direct origins cannot be called into question (“In this city of B. one can find quite a few Frenchmen, who live there: most of them live on the same street, which is why it is called the Rue Française.”, diary page 115). The numerous digressions concerning the specifics of the local flora and fauna stand out due to their length and fact that they are written in the first person singular. These two characteristics suggest that they were written by Flohr and that they reflect his own vision of the American landscape. However, it is difficult to differentiate between the parts written “in the field” and those added later based on memories. In all likelihood the majority of the text does indeed have its origins in the day-to-day notes taken by the author. Yet the use of stories from third parties, rumors, as well as the integration of numerical data or official texts rules out the hypothesis of a sole source of inspiration.

The digressions are the most interesting parts of the account. Besides the author’s personal observations on the local environment, vegetation or the conditions of slaves, some of them allude to well-known incidents of the American War of Independence. For example, the digressions about the Treason of Benedict Arnold, the battle of Trenton or Princeton, and the sinking of the ship, *Le Bourgogne* are enlightening. In the case of these three digressions, the information could not have come from the author alone. The treason of Benedict Arnold and the battles of Trenton and Princeton took place in what would have been the recent past, and Flohr, despite what he may say, could not have witnessed the sinking of *Le Bourgogne*. These three notable accounts must have been taken from the author’s notes, not from his personal observation. Flohr most likely collected this information from his fellow soldiers and integrated it into his diary without indicating its source. The author alludes to this practice when he recounts the story of when the Indian delegation visited Rochambeau in Newport. When Flohr describes the Indians’ lifestyle, he cites the man who supplied him with the information he uses, the German interpreter (a certain Frey, originally from Schwetzingen according to the Baron von Closen), which gives weight to his account. Otherwise Flohr describes events that he did not always experience and observations that were not always his. The passage concerning the assault of redoubt nine shows this: it is written in the first person plural, which supports a certain vagueness regarding Flohr’s status as a witness. Similarly, when Flohr describes the capture of a

---


7 See later for the explanation dedicated to this specific event and Flohr’s narration.
Royal Deux-Ponts military group by an English ship at sea and their captivity in Jamaica, he inserts a third party’s account into his own without explicitly indicating it nor distinctly introducing it, the inclusive “we” marking the collective regiment remains to recount this episode.

In order to carry out his description of the Royal Deux-Ponts expedition, the author incorporated direct accounts of his fellow soldiers, but also tales that must have been circulating within the troop. This is most likely the case for the account of Benedict Arnold’s treason and of the battle of Trenton/Princeton. Flohr also introduces in his manuscript documentation that is almost like that of an appendix: here we find tables with the names of the ships of the different flotillas, registers showing the casualties that were suffered at Yorktown. To this he adds reproductions of several official texts such as the exchange between the Indian delegation and Rochambeau as well as a letter from Ministre Ségur addressed to the same general. Moreover, these two texts are faithfully reproduced. Such additions are indeed quite different from the note taking based on observations. Integrating these accounts required the collection of information and attests to the collection of documents undertaken by Flohr while he was writing his manuscript in the meantime. The origin of the data presented in the tables remains problematic.

There are documents that provide the opportunity for comparison. Once again the data presentation is not similar, despite the fact that this data itself is nearly the same. An example is one of the many tables that lists the names of the naval vessels that took part in the combats at sea as well as the number of canons, Flohr’s information and that of the Baron von Closen differ: the order in which the entries are arranged is not the same. Yet Flohr must have copied these letters or tables from some other source. There are multiple hypotheses concerning this. The transmission of information within the expeditionary forces was rather good, as is proven by the existence of the Gazette Françoise in Newport, printed using the printing press brought over from France and intended to be used by the army officers (for example, this newspaper provides a detailed account of the naval battle of Cap Henry on March 6, 1781, a battle recounted by Flohr as well). The Gazette Françoise was only published for a few months in 1781, nonetheless Flohr was able to make use of this newspaper. Yet Flohr only returned to France in 1783. In addition he most likely made use of rare documents that were presented to the troops, such as congratulatory letters sent by the King and Count Ségur. However, his having access to the number of casualties suffered by the entire army at Yorktown suggests that Flohr had access to precise sources. In this respect we can assume that Flohr the rifleman was in contact with a military staff officer either during the military campaign or once he returned to Strasbourg.

---


9 We can go so far as to hypothesizing that Flohr was asked to write his manuscript by a “superior”, like Officer Saint-Exupéry did. The latter was asked to write a diary by his colonel based on the notes he had taken during his expedition: “I saw almost everything that will be read” “the specific study that I was doing on the timeless work of the Abbé Raynal made me want to verify all the ...that it contains. I worked on it as often as I had a break, on the culture and American goods, on ..., the population, the negros, etc. and at the end of my military campaigns a few fragments will be found.”, taken from Bodinier (Gilbert), Les officiers de l’armée royale, combattants de la guerre
Flohr enriched his text with personal accounts, military campaign documentation, but also with geographic knowledge. Certain information about North America is approximated: on the other hand he seems well-informed about the South American continent. Thus he notes: “This tall mountain range, which is marvelous to behold, stretches all the way to Peru, where it is much taller still and more untamed. In geography it is described as being the tallest mountain range in the world” (pages 203-204). The fact that he notes “in geography” suggests that Flohr consulted a geographic dictionary or a similar book that mentions South America. It is most likely thanks to this precise information that he manages to describe the whole of the Spanish empire from Mexico to Chili (page 205-206) and the different groups of people that occupy those territories (page 188-191). The details of these descriptions indicate that Flohr turned to books and that he was not inspired only by his field notes.

Flohr’s treatment of the siege of Yorktown, a major event of the military campaign and of the account, shows another kind of intervention done to the diary later on. Flohr precisely explains that when the army finally left Yorktown in June 1781 it headed directly for Virginia to put an end to the abuses committed by the English. The damages committed by Arnold and then by Cornwallis in Virginia are mentioned in succession to justify the army’s march south starting in March 1781 (page 26). But the military staff officer only makes the decision on August 14. The actual account of the siege is the opportunity for the author to indulge in multiple “narrative fantasies”. The dramatization of the relations between the officers, the portrait of Cornwallis or mentioning certain military feats show Flohr’s willingness to make his account of the siege of Yorktown thrilling, by surpassing the realistic.

If the notes Flohr took day to day represent the base of the account, Flohr enriches and completes them with witness accounts taken directly or stemming simply from rumors (as it is particularly inaccurate, see the treason of Benedict Arnold or the Battle of Trenton/Princeton), and also with documents that he consulted once he had returned. The “present description” is therefore not the one that Flohr is supposed to have recorded, day after day, during his voyage. The manuscript brings together sources of diverse origins, gathered during and after the campaign, presented in what is essentially a collective perspective—recounted several years after the events of the Royal Deux-Ponts expedition, by a zealous compiler. It is therefore necessary not to read Flohr’s diary as a faithful trace of the events experienced by the Royal Deux-Ponts but rather as the point of view of a young rifleman on this unique moment in history.

Edern Hirstein

d’Indépendance des Etats-Unis, de Yorktown à l’an II, SHAT, Château de Vincennes, 1983. This diary was the subject of a brief article: “Journal d’un officier du régiment de la Sarre-Infanterie pendant la guerre d’Amérique (1780-1782)”, Carnet de la Sabretache, 1904, p. 178-179.
10 Particularly his remarks about the Blue Ridge Mountains and the rivers that flow into the Chesapeake Bay.
11 For more precise information, consult the notes of the critical edition as well as the Master’s dissertation by Edern Hirstein, “Le Voyage de Flohr (1780-1783), à la croisée des mondes et des pratiques d’écriture”, directed by Isabelle Laboulais, Professor of Modern History at the University of Strasbourg, 2013.
Geographic Knowledge and Descriptions in the Late Eighteenth Century

In his account, Flohr does not settle for simply reproducing the route that the Royal Deux-Ponts traveled, but his account is punctuated by descriptions of the spaces they crossed, glimpsed, or observed, and as such it shows in its own way the place held by geography in the culture of the eighteenth century. At the time geographic publications were “descriptive”, which resulted in a more and more clearly defined link between description and geography. The proposed definitions in the different editions of the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie* demonstrate this. In 1694 the first edition of the dictionary defines geography as simply “a science that teaches the position of all regions of the earth, in relation to one another, and in relation to the Heavens”. But in the fifth edition of 1798 geography is defined this time in relation to its purpose, but also in relation to a kind of discourse: “a science that teaches the position of all regions of the earth, in relation to one another, and in relation to the heavens, and with the description of their primary contents”.

In the sixteenth century, and under the name “universal cosmography”, a system of writing and composing texts was developed which renewed the compilations inherited from the Middle Ages. In 1528 Sébastien Münster explained that descriptions should be founded upon precise observations and linked to an experience that could be called experience in the field; that they should not merely be summaries and a measurement of position and distance, but also an inventory of natural and human elements of the described regions, their goal was therefore one of totality that required the mobilization of a community, even though the focus and the publication of the results fell only on one man: Münster himself as it would happen. In *Cosmographia*, which he published in 1552, he claimed to put in writing all the information available about the surface of the globe as it is divided into continents, regions, or particular areas. This work has the appearance of an encyclopedia organized in order of geographical procession, as if its purpose was to imitate real movement in a described space. The linearity provides a sort of cohesion to this succession of descriptions, breaking away from the simple juxtaposition of sites. It is a listing of places on the earth’s surface in the form of an itinerary. Thus, the travelers’ texts, like those of geographers, look like itineraries; they have the same way of listing places in topographic order. Münster took up this tradition inherited from Pausanias’s *Periegesis*, and the texts by Strabon and Denys d’Alexandrie. Furthermore Münster writes in *Cosmographie* that he wants to allow his reader to embrace and become familiar with the towns, mountains, rivers, mines, animals, plants, national traditions, customs, religions and important events, the succession of kings and princes, and the foundations of the places as if the author were leading him from country to country and was pointing everything out to him. The

---

description that takes on the form of a trip allows the reader to carry out a journey in his mind that reproduces the first-hand experience.

This importance of descriptive geography contributes to the success of several editorial genres that reserve a major place for this particular area of knowledge. In the eighteenth century “universal cosmographies” are not the only works to appear, but also specific descriptions of certain territories: for France there is Pignanol de la Force’s *Nouvelle description historique et géographique de la France* (1715); but these undertakings concern far away territories as well: French Guyana (see Bellin’s *Description géographique de la Guyane*, 1763), China (Du Halde’s *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique de l’empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, 1735) and even America (Bellin’s *Remarques sur la carte de l’Amérique septentrionale (...) avec une description géographique de ces parties*, 1755). This genre is ultimately applied at the level of provinces. Only citing French production, there is Duplessis who in 1740 published a *Description géographique et historique de la Haute Normandie qui comprend le Pays de Caux et le Vexin*, or Durival, who between 1778-1779 comes out with his *Description de la Lorraine et du Barrois*. This form of geography is often validated, notably in the prefaces, by the political usefulness of such descriptions.

Geography dictionaries also attest to the place held by descriptive writing in publishing production of the eighteenth century. Like all other dictionaries, these publications were often reedited over the course of the century and adorned with additions. Such is the case of Moreri’s dictionary; we can also mention Vosgiens, who gave numerous editions of his translation of L. Echard’s *Dictionnaire géographique portatif, ou Description de tous les royaumes, provinces, villes, patriarchats, évêches, duchés, comtés, marquisats... des quatre parties du monde*. And finally the *Dictionnaire géographique universel* by Baudrand was originally published in latin, then in 1701 the author produced a French version; yet that same year, Charles Maty came out with a work entitled *Dictionnaire géographique universel... tiré du Dictionnaire géographique latin de Baudrand, des meilleures relations, des plus fameux voyages et des plus fidèles cartes*. A growing number of portable geography dictionaries—that is octavos or duodecimo, were also in circulation, for example the *Dictionnaire géographique portatif de la France, où l’on donne une connaissance exacte des provinces, gouvernements, villes, bourgs, villages, fleuves, rivières, abbayes, etc, qu’il y a dans ce royaume* (1765); the *Dictionnaire historique et géographique portatif de l’Italie* (1775).

Just like descriptions and geography dictionaries, travelers’ accounts contribute to promoting geographic knowledge in eighteenth-century Europe. In *Histoire de l’édition française* Roger Chartier points out that travel literature makes up one of the most successful

---

14 Livingstone (David L.), Withers (Charles W.J.), *Geography and enlightenment*, Chicago, 2000


genres of the modern era. Boucher de la Richarderie, in *Notice complète et raisonnée de tous les ouvrages de voyage anciens et modernes dans les différentes parties du monde, publiés tant en langue française, qu’en langue étrangère* (6 volumes, 1806-1808) takes inventory of 456 travel logs published in the sixteenth century, 1566 published in the seventeenth century, and 3540 published in the eighteenth century, and this is still not a complete inventory. In order to construct a complete panorama of eighteenth-century travel literature, this growth in the number of published volumes must be placed opposite the new distribution of genres. Indeed, the areas concerned in these accounts evolved: the spot that was traditionally held by journeys to the Holy Land, journeys to barbaric lands and to the distant lands of the Americas loses ground while, on the other hand, oriental journeys to Persia and Turkey, to the Indies, to China and Indochina occupy a more and more important place. In the eighteenth century, journeys to Asia and America each occupy 13% of all titles, voyages to Africa occupy 7%, and those to the southern hemisphere, 2%. Journeys to Europe therefore occupy the largest place, which was indeed reinforced in the eighteenth century, they represent 53% of the total, compared to only 35% in the seventeenth century. The remaining 12% are works dedicated to different regions.

Alongside individual travel accounts, anthologies of travel writings and authentic collections became widespread starting at the end of the seventeenth century. The first is Thévenot’s *Relations des divers voyages curieux* published in four volumes in Paris between 1666 and 1672, then republished. In order to produce this work, which was widely circulated, Thévenot had works translated from English, Portuguese, German, Dutch, Spanish, or Arabic, unveiling narratives that were previously unheard of; he inserted maps into his work, in particular a map drawn by the Dutch of Northern European regions drawn by the Dutch, and maps of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. In addition to this 17th-century publication the Jesuits’ *Lettres édifiantes* must also be included. They remained respected and widely circulated through to the following century. This admiration diminished little by little in the eighteenth century when the Jesuits’ behavior in the New World was condemned; de Pauw rebukes them for their prejudice and lies. A sorting out of the *Lettre édifiantes* was carried out in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was based on this principle that Rousselot de Surgy published an anthology in 1767 entitled *Mémoires géographiques, physiques et historiques sur l’Asie, l’Afrique et l’Amérique*; in the preface he indicates that he tried to “assemble all the interesting elements from the *Lettres édifiantes*, the anthology of the missions to the Orient, and a few other Jesuit expeditions, and to eliminate the absurdities and prodigies that are so numerous in the work”.

These anthologies became more and more thematic at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In this way Jean-Frédéric Bernard published *Recueil des voyages qui ont servi à*
l’établissement et au progrès de la compagnie des Indes orientales (1702-1706), and later Recueil des voyages du Nord (1715-1718), and Recueil des voyages dans l’Amérique méridionale (1738) etc. Each time extracts are gathered from expeditions to the same place, with the information contained in the text taking precedence over the very act of traveling. In contrast Abbe Prévost’s Histoire générale des voyages, ou nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre qui ont d’abord été publiées jusqu’à présent dans les différentes langues, distinguishes itself from all these collections. Firstly, it probably remains the most ambitious collection, the one that comes closest to the encyclopedic ideal. In total, sixteen volumes appear between 1746 and 1761. The first seven volumes are the result of a simple translation from an English collection. The authors of that collection had carried out a compilation, but unlike their predecessors they had visibly intervened in the text. In this way, the diary of each traveler and the account of his adventures were separated from his “observations”, which were put together with those made by other travelers on the same regions. The travelers’ “extracts” were thus followed by “reductions” which grouped together all the remarks about the traditions, customs, religions, and sometimes “specific writings on the core of the problem” would be proposed when a question seemed to require more attention. Nevertheless, after the seventh volume appeared the publication was suspended. Between the eighth and twelfth volume Prévost, who was no longer just a translator but an author, progressively transformed this method. Starting from the twelfth volume, Prévost adopted a new order. He suggested opening with a general exposition containing the history of the discoveries and establishments proceeded by a critical examination of the sources of the New World’s history. Finally Abbe Prévost set himself the goal of establishing “a complete system of history and modern geography that will represent the current state of all nations,” in any case, this goal is announced in the subtitle of the work. Here is found the most standard definition of geography which appears to be a description of the earth. Prévost carries out a true critique of his sources and, according to Michèle Duchet he inaugurates the critique of travel accounts in France, and, by reducing the anecdotal and miraculous parts, he accentuates their documentary value”. These great collections are quite sought-after in the eighteenth century, the most well-known are found in the great libraries and they are praised for their documentary merits, notably in scholarly periodicals.

While it is difficult to know what printed documentation Flohr used to gather information and complete his field observations, he had evidently acquired a certain familiarity with geography books, whether they be descriptive, dictionaries, or travel accounts. He not only drew a certain amount of data from these, but also models of discourse— and figures of speech that are omnipresent in the geographic literature of the Age of Enlightenment.

Isabelle Laboulais

Biography of Georg Daniel Flohr

The author of manuscript “Ms f 15”, kept at the André Malraux multimedia library is anonymous, a man whose life would never have attracted the attention of historians if it had not been for the discovery of his “work”. Georg Daniel Flohr’s modest fame comes from his “Account of the Land and Sea Expedition in America of the Acclaimed Deux-Ponts Regiment”. Contrary to numerous authors of war diaries or travel accounts, Flohr does not mention the reasons for enlisting, nor his life prior to departure, not even his relationship with his peers, topics that are addressed by Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Joseph Plumb Martin or the Baron von Closen, to cite just a few authors who participated in the same military campaign as Flohr. Generally speaking, Flohr disappears in his account and in the description of the expedition his regiment undertook. Retracing his life story before and after this experience forces historians to acknowledge the silence of the archives and the enigmas surrounding this historical figure, starting with his date of birth. Parish records reveal 1756, Pastor Tabler 1759, the records 1758 and 1760, and finally the year 1762 appears on the tombstone of Reverend Flohr.

Georg Daniel Flohr was originally from the Deux-Ponts duchy in the Palatinate. Studying regimental records allows us to link a few traits to this figure: “born in 1760 in Annweiler in the Deux-Ponts province, Bergzabern jurisdiction, six feet three inches in height, black hair, dark eyes, long and narrow face, of the Lutheran faith.” But historian Robert A. Selig estimates that Flohr was born in Sarnstall, in the vicinity of Annweiler, on August 27, 1756 and baptized in the Lutheran church on August 31. According to Selig, the Flohr family was part of the village’s middle class, the father of Georg Daniel was a butcher and farmer. The Flohr family would have left northern Bavaria around 1741. Johann Paul Flohr, the father, born in Rothenburg ob der Tauber (in Bavaria) in 1695, supposedly died when Georg Daniel was five years old. The education of young Georg Daniel or that of his half brothers and sisters (five in all) is unknown, although we can imagine they attended the small school in Sarnall or in Annweiler.

On June 7, 1776, when he was a young man who had just turned twenty, he enlisted in the fourth company of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment, otherwise known as the “Von Böse company” after the head officer, all for a total of eight years. Flohr entered the regiment with the status of rifleman. At that stage, his life path looked like that of many other young Frenchmen.

---

22 Scroll Y 1C 698, at the Service Historique de l’Armée de Terre in Vincennes.
24 For more on the local history, see: Georg Biundo and Hans Hess, Annweiler: Geschichte einer alten Reichsstadt, Annweiler, 1968.
25 According to the above-cited record.
or Germans born to working-class families in a predominantly rural society and drawn by the possibilities offered by a military life (training, pay, travel or adventures).

The expeditionary force placed under the command of Count Rochambeau left the port of Brest on May 2, 1780 and headed for America. Flohr was on board the ship *La Comtesse de Noailles*. In his account, we find the young soldier in a music hall in Newport, visiting the fields and forests surrounding Williamsburg, Virginia, and even fighting against the effects of poisonous plants of the Venezuelan jungle. The only mention of personal experiences, denoted in the account by the use of the first person, only relates to anecdotes unrelated the military context. These experiences give us a glimpse of a young man interested above all in nature, its vegetation and animals, the natives’ traditions, the religious practices and hospitality, and of course the “local curiosities”: the Indian and slave populations. There are no elements in the text nor anything in the archives that could allow us to confirm that Flohr distinguished himself in any particular way during the campaign or even if he participated directly in combat. His career in the army came to a close with the end of his eight-year contract on August 10, 1784, a little more than a year after his regiment returned to Europe (the Royal Deux-Ponts returned to Landau on September 4, 1783).

Once Flohr left the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment, the only biographical indications available are those left in the manuscript, at the end of the short text written in approximated English and put at the beginning of the volume: “Strasbourg, June 5, 1788”. Flohr likely spent a few years in Strasbourg for reasons unknown. He was perhaps in the service of one of the members of the Deux-Ponts family, of which one of the most illustrious members, Maximilien, owned a private mansion at 13 Rue Brûlée; it is possible that he met up with one of the members of his family, perhaps the Georg Flohr mentioned as being the owner of the manuscript in 1800; he also could have come to Strasbourg to collect the documentation necessary for writing his work, as is suggested by the presence of precise information in his account.

If we compare Flohr’s text to other witness accounts, his manuscript stands out. His “Description of the Land and Sea Expedition in America of the Acclaimed Deux-Ponts Regiment” is one of the only military diaries written by a simple soldier, a soldier who, a few years later, crossed the Atlantic again. In a 1907 monograph dedicated to the German presence in the southwest of Virginia, we learn that “Georg Daniel Flohr was born in Germany in 1759. He was a student of medicine in Paris in 1793, and a witness of the many crimes of blood committed in the name of liberty. After coming to America he studied theology under Mr. Carpenter, in Madison County, Virginia; and a year or two prior to 1799, entered upon a long term of ministerial and pastoral service in Wythe County and adjacent sections of southwest Virginia. He

---

26 According to Robert Selig, this man is one of the sons or grandsons of Johann-Georg Flohr, a half-brother of the author of the manuscript.
27 Such as the congratulatory letter from the Count de Séguir to Rochambeau, or the tables of data and other summaries of the battle order found in the manuscript.
died in 1826.\textsuperscript{28} If we believe John W. Wayland, the excesses of The Reign of Terror of the French revolution would have convinced Flohr to emigrate. Unfortunately this author does not cite his sources but suggests that a collection of sermons by Reverend Flohr of Wytheville, preceded by a preface with biographical information, did exist.\textsuperscript{29} The Reverend John T. Tabler, the author of the collection’s preface and who took up the pastoral duty left unfilled after Flohr’s death, said that “the morning of the execution of Louis XVI, the accidental, but awful death of an individual close to Mr. Flohr, so operated on his mind as to render him averse to the further prosecution of his medical studies. This change of purpose may no longer create surprise in the reader, when told that a part of the mangled body happened to fall onto Mr. Flohr”.

In this same article, Selig confirms that the soldier and the reverend are the same person thanks to a comparison between the handwriting of the diary of 1788 and some of Flohr’s letters that were found in Wytheville. Flohr would therefore have left France for Virginia just after 1793. That period only gives rise to speculation. Nonetheless, in a letter dated August 1, 1799, he informs one of his friends of his arrival in the west, in Wythe county where he acted as a pastor before being given the official title in 1803 in Baltimore. On October 5, 1802 Flohr married Elizabeth Holsapple. He also became the owner of a large piece of land and a house six years later. Having no children of their own, the couple adopted a young girl named Polly Hutzle around 1810, then another child by the name of Elizabeth Kegley in 1820.\textsuperscript{30} George Daniel Flohr was the first Lutheran pastor in the region of Wytheville. His death on April 30, 1826 left the community that he served for 25 years in mourning. The tombstone of the soldier and Reverend Flohr, paid for by the congregation, can be seen in the cemetery of the Old Saint-John’s Church.

Flohr was a minor player in the American War of Independence. He is one of many Germans from Rhineland who tried to emigrate to America at the end of the eighteenth century. The son of a farmer from Palatinate, Georg Daniel Flohr ended his life as a pastor on another continent. If, unlike La Fayette, he is not a “hero of the Two Worlds”, his path remained inseparable from the “Atlantic world”.

Edern Hirstein

\textsuperscript{28} John Walter Wayland, \textit{The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia}, Charlottesville, 1907, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{29} Selig (Robert A.), “Private Flohr’s other life, the young German fought for American Independence, went home, and returned as a man of peace”, \textit{American Heritage}, vol. 45 n°6, October 1994.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
Christian of Deux-Ponts (1752-1817)

Christian de Deux-Ponts was the first son born from the morganatic union of Christian IV, Duke of Deux-Ponts and Marianne Camasse, a commoner from Strasbourg whom he met while she was a dancer in Mannheim and who would later be given the title of Countess of Forbach by Louis XV.\(^{31}\) With his father’s death on November 5, 1775, and for lack of another legitimate heir, the duchy is handed down to Charles II, Christian’s cousin and the father of future king Maximilian of Bavaria. Even though the marriage, which was considered illegitimate at the time, was revealed by the widow’s brother, after the death of Christian IV his illegitimate children had to leave Deux-Ponts to go and live with their mother in Forbach. Having this fiefdom in their possession ensured them freedom from want, but the Deux-Ponts’ Parisian residence had to be sold.

Christian rejoined the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment on April 20, 1768 with the status of second lieutenant;\(^{32}\) he became a captain in 1772. Three years later the regiment became the property of the new Duke of Deux-Ponts, but Christian de Forbach retained the command of it and became lieutenant colonel of it in 1777. That same year the Countess of Forbach and the reigning duke reached a compromise concerning the previous duke’s estate. The 1757 union was recognized as legitimate, the widow received the moveable and immovable property, the fiefdoms and an annual revenue of £57,000 as well as a £28,000 dowry for her daughter. In the treaty that was definitively signed on April 10, 1777, Christian appears by the name “de Deux-Ponts, Count of Forbach, Colonel of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment”. In 1780 he took part in the Rochambeau’s expeditionary force that was involved in the United States War of Independence. In addition to doing his duty while he was there, he was made aware of the American cause by the writer Beaumarchais, whom he met when the latter was acting as an arms supplier to the insurgents. In America he and General La Fayette are some of the figures whom George Washington consulted (they met at Westpoint on January 13, 1781).\(^{33}\) Christian stayed in America after the battle of Yorktown, whereas his brother received orders to bring the copy of the English surrender and the enemy flags back to Versailles.

The companies of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment headed by Christian established Williamsburg as their headquarters. There he built a relationship with Miss Lucy Randolph who wished to return to his side in France, but in Versailles his mother was weaving a more ambitious

---


\(^{32}\) Richard Rush, United States ambassador in Paris in June 1849 records the statements of military service of the French officers stationed in America during the War of Independence and notes “Second Lieutenant without pay”.

\(^{33}\) George Washington’s correspondences, gathered together by Sparks (Jared), \textit{The Writings of George Washington, Being His Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and Other Papers, Official and Private}, Boston, American Stationer’s Compart, 1837, vol. VII, p. 319, mentions the Count of Deux-Ponts in a letter dated December 10, 1780. General Washington is pleased to have met the French officers but did not have the chance to greet the Count of Deux-Ponts who had left for Philadelphia on a mission, which he regrets hoping to be able to see him again soon.
marriage alliance with Queen Marie-Antoinette: Christian de Deux-Ponts and his mother exchanged numerous letters through which she kept him informed about what was happening at court. Thanks to her influence she obtained authorization from the minister of war for his return to France as soon as the campaign ended. On December 7, 1782 in Boston, he boarded the Brave headed for the Caribbean under the protection of the Spanish flotilla.

To repay him for his service, Louis XVI gave him the title “Marquis de Deux-Ponts” and the position of field marshal of the Chabot-Jarnac Dragoons regiment, which changed its name and was henceforth known as “Deux-Ponts Dragoons”. Starting in 1781 Christian nonetheless appeared in the Royal Almanac under the title “Count of Deux-Ponts.” While his mother and the Queen were waiting for him to marry Adélaïde (1761-1823), the daughter of the Marquise of Béthune-Pologne, in Versailles, Christian was taken prisoner in March 1783 while boating near Caracas. He took advantage of the peace treaty to undertake an expedition with two friends but was attacked by an English ship commanded by Horatio Nelson, the future admiral who would be victorious at the Battle of Trafalgar. Unaware of the end of the fighting, Nelson was convinced that he had taken the Duke Maximilian Joseph of Deux-Ponts, the reigning duke and future king of Bavaria prisoner, which created a diplomatic incident. Released the next day, Christian de Deux-Ponts left Puerto Cabello on April 3, 1783.

He arrived in Brest on June 20, 1783 and reached Versailles where, on the 29th of July and in the presence of the royal couple, he married the Duchess of Polignac, the bride chosen for him by his mother and the Queen. Adélaïde and Christian de Deux-Ponts had three daughters who grew up at the Château of Forbach. Once the country gained its independence, George Washington made Christian de Deux-Ponts a member of the Cincinnati Group that brought together all the officers who fought for liberty.

Daniel Fischer

---

Guillaume de Deux-Ponts (1754-1810)

Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Count of Forbach, then Viscount of Deux-Ponts was the second son born of the morganatic union of the Duke of Deux-Ponts, Christian IV and Marianne Camasse. He entered the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment at the age of sixteen with the title of second lieutenant, then became a second-ranking colonel in 1777, at the same time that his brother Christian took command of the regiment with the rank of lieutenant colonel. In the treaty resolving the inheritance of the duchy of Deux-Ponts between the widow of the former duke and the new duke in 1777 he was mentioned under the name “Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Count of Forbach, Captain of the Dragoons of Schomberg regiment”, a regiment that his father set up just before his death in order to leave him in command. Second lieutenant of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment since November 12, 1778, and named lieutenant colonel of that same regiment on October 2, 1779, in 1780 he became part of the expeditionary forces going to help the American insurgents battling the English in a war of independence.

Guillaume de Deux-Ponts held the title “count of Forbach” at the time of his participation in the American War of Independence. He appeared under this title in letters from the Baron of Viomenil, second in command of the French expeditionary forces, and it is under this name that he wrote an account of his American military campaign. On April 4, 1780 he boarded the Eveillé and set off with his brother. The convoy arrived off the coast of Newport, after an English attack, on July 11. Guillaume was charged with commanding the infantry battalions and the grenadiers of his brigade. More so than his older brother, he distinguished himself at the Battle of Yorktown in taking the left redoubt by storm the night of October 14, 1781. Tarleton, the English officer who suffered the assault of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment, mentions that Count Guillaume was among “the most unremitting of assailants.” The wound inflicted upon him during the siege reinforced his prestige all the more. Rochambeau entrusted the copy of the English surrender and the enemy flags, both to be handed over to Louis XVI, to the Duke of Lauzun and Guillaume de Deux-Ponts.

In October 1781 he appeared aboard the Andromaque heading for Europe. With the return to Versailles, the American War of Independence came to an end for Guillaume. Séguir, the Minister of War, informed him in a letter dated December 5, 1781 that the king had awarded him the Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis as well as the command of the first regiment of

35 Deux-Ponts (Guillaume, Count of), My Campaigns in America (1780-1781), Boston, Wiggin & Parsons Lunt, 1868. His regimental comrade, Baron Ludwig von Clossen also brought a war diary back from America: Clossen (Ludwig, Baron of), Revolutionary Journal (1780-1783), Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
36 Tarleton (Banaster, lieutenant-colonel), History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781, Dublin, Colles-Exshaw-White-H. Whitestone-Burton-Byrne-Moore-Jones and Dornin, 1787, p. 386.
dragoons. He was also rewarded with the title “Viscount of Deux-Ponts”. However, he only appeared in the Almanac under the title “Knight of Deux-Ponts.”

Daniel Fischer

The Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment

Georg Daniel Flohr served in the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment that was raised on the French and German lands of the duke. It was one of a number of foreign regiments that fought for France. At the dawn of the Revolution the foreign regiments in the royal armies totaled twenty-two, representing about 20% of the troops according to André Corvisier. The presence of foreigners within the French army is an ancient phenomenon that allowed monarchs to supplement their troops by purchasing mercenaries’ services. Even though the number of military troops increased during the modern era, this practice became widespread. As Maurice de Saxe pointed out in 1748, recruiting foreigners became attractive for France for three reasons: “one German serves us like three men: he spares one of ours, he takes one away from the enemy, and he serves us as one man.” After the failure of direct recruiting within the Empire that was carried out by a specialized agency in Hamburg (in 1735), the French monarch, at the instigation of Maurice de Saxe, turned to establishing negotiated treaties, be it with the Prince of Nassau-Sarrebruck in 1745, or with Duke Christian IV of Deux-Ponts in 1756. This method also enabled him to engage the services of the princes of the Empire. It is therefore from a perspective that is as diplomatic as it is military that the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment was raised in 1757, reviving the old tradition of alliances between two powers.

To do this, Duke Christian IV de Deux-Ponts received 80,000 guilders annually (later 40,000 guilders, but at that time France was taking care of the operating costs of the regiment). The epicenter of recruitment must have been the Deux-Ponts duchy (known today as Zweibrücken in Rhineland-Palatinate). However, the difficulties encountered enrolling soldiers pushed the recruiting sergeants to turn rather quickly to other German provinces along with Lorraine and Alsace. Posters were put up throughout this German-speaking land; the recruiting sergeants traverse the villages of Palatinate, appearing generous with eau-de-vie and promises. The recruits accepted to sign up on account of the desire to travel the world, to escape from poverty, the hope of learning to read, write, dance, and wield the sword as they were promised by the recruiting sergeants, or even to follow a friend who had signed up, like Georg Daniel Flohr, who accompanied a certain David Wittmer as well as other acquaintances from Sarnstall and Annweiler who joined the regiment.

39 Idem.
40 The Deux-Ponts duchy, until the beginning of the 1730’s, was owned by the king of Sweden. The duchy therefore was part of the Franco-Swedish rear alliance, the aim of which was to contain the Empire during the whole of the seventeenth century.
41 Alsace was a traditionally a recruiting ground. Its inhabitants had the reputation of being good soldiers. Moreover, until 1727 French recruiters did not have the right to work beyond the Vosges mountains. Alsatian soldiers were therefore keenly contested by the Germans and the Swiss.
Once enrolled, these recruits donned the uniform of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment composed of a pair of white pants, a royal blue frock coat, originally with red lining, later with yellow, and silver-plated buttons. The emblem, which was modified in 1770, displays a Saltire, golden fleurs-de-lis, a royal crown, and the dukes of Deux-Ponts’ coat of arms. The soldiers received a pay, as do their wives who are looked after for as long as they stay with the army. Initially divided into three battalions, the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment changed to four in 1760 during the Seven Years’ War. It was at that time under the command of the Baron von Closen who answered to Soubise. As soon as the fighting ended, it went back to two battalions.

The leadership of the regiment is the tricky question. A question that has to do with the multiple personal and family strategies that sought to insure Christian de Deux-Ponts’ illegitimate sons a position. After falling in love with Marianne Camasse, a Catholic, when he saw her dancing on stage at the Mannheim Opera, the Duke of Deux-Ponts, a protestant, had two sons out of wedlock: Christian and Guillaume de Forbach. Christian IV renounced Protestantism and married a commoner in 1757, the same year the agreement of the regiment’s creation was signed. In 1764 a royal decision reserved the leadership of the regiment for the eldest of the Counts of Forbach. This leadership was no easy task for the two sons of the Countess of Forbach, who dreamed of making them into great generals like Turenne or the Marshal of Saxe (he himself born out of wedlock). They received their military training at the artillery and military engineering school in Bapaume and later, starting in 1770, at the military engineering school in Mézières. Christian de Deux-Ponts entered the Royal Deux-Ponts as a sergeant in 1768, he was named second lieutenant on April 20th that same year when the regiment was garrisoned in Strasbourg. In July 1769 the Royal Deux-Ponts participated in the drills at Compiègne before the king, who appeared satisfied with the leadership of the eldest of the young Deux-Ponts. So in 1772 he was promoted to colonel of the regiment as lieutenant colonel of the Royal Deux-Ponts, garrisoned at Sélestat. In 1775 Duke Christian IV de Deux-Ponts, the owner of the regiment, died a brutal death after a hunting accident. As his two sons were illegitimate, it was his nephew, Charles Auguste, who became duke. At first the latter refused to see the regiment under the command of his cousins, but an arrangement was finally found: the new duke remained the owner of the regiment, and Christian was allowed to take control of it. On October 2, 1777 Christian partnered with his brother Guillaume, now named lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment.

Contrary to popular belief, the army of the Ancien Régime was not an exclusively masculine environment. A certain number of women and children did indeed follow the troops. Thus, the *Journal politique, ou gazette des gazettes* told of a woman of the regiment, Elisabeth Ebert, who embarked in Brest while pregnant, gave birth when she arrived in Rhode Island. This woman carried her baby with her during the whole of the campaign, refusing the enticing propositions of the Americans who were eager to purchase the newborn. Struck by the courage of this woman, the regiment granted her 25 Louis d’or when she returned to France. The incident was built up as an example in the April 1784 edition of the Gazette, *Journal politique, ou gazette des gazettes*, first fortnight of April 1784, Bouillon, 1784.

In 1780 the Royal Deux-Ponts was part of the expeditionary forces directed by the Count Rochambeau and was sent to America to support the insurgents against the English. The regiment that embarked in Brest on April 4, 1780 was composed of 60% Germans and 40% Alsace/Lorraine natives. Divided between five ships (the Éveillé, the Vénus, the Comtesse de Noailles, the Loire and the Écureuil), the regiment had 69 officers (31 French, in particular from Alsace and Lorraine, 25 from the Holy Roman Empire, and 12 others from small European states), 1013 noncommissioned officers and foot soldiers (491 of them being from Alsace/Lorraine), 6 women and 3 children. The experiences crossing the American countryside are well known thanks to the diaries that were brought back by Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Baron Ludwig von Closen, the son of the first commander of that regiment in 1757, the captain of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment and Rochambeau’s batman, and finally Georg Daniel Flohr.

Once they had disembarked in Rhode Island, the troops undertook the whole campaign, they particularly distinguished themselves during the Siege of Yorktown. Count Guillaume of Deux-Ponts was the first to penetrate the English redoubt (see the redoubt n°9 assault notice). To thank the regiment for its bravery, the Americans gave them English cannons.

Several studies have been done on the question of the casualties the regiment suffered. The first is contained in a work entitled Les combattants français de la guerre américaine, 1778-1783. Based on the inspections of the troops, it was criticized in the 1930’s by Warrington Dawson in two works: Les Français morts pour l’Indépendance Américaine de septembre 1781 à août 1782, and “Les 2112 Français morts aux Etats-Unis de 1777 à 1783 en combattant pour l’Indépendance américaine”. For this author, the evaluation based on troop inspection registers is biased due to non-enlisted men who show up to be counted at roll call in order to make the troops’ numbers seem greater. By crosschecking a large number of sources, from troop inspections to state registers, the historian tallies 2,112 French soldiers who died in America as a result of combat. The Royal Deux-Ponts regiment would therefore have lost 49 soldiers in the United States. Looking into the places of these deaths, he also shows that the majority of them died not in Yorktown, but in Williamsburg and Baltimore, where the main military hospitals were located.

---

46 One of these is kept at Les Invalides.
47 Les combattants français de la guerre américaine, 1778-1783, ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris, 1903.
48 Dawson (Warrington), Les Français morts pour l’Indépendance Américaine de septembre 1781 à août 1782, OEuvres latines, 1931.
49 Dawson (Warrington), “Les 2112 Français morts aux Etats-Unis de 1777 à 1783 en combattant pour l’Indépendance américaine”, in Journal de la société des américanistes, tome 28 n°1, 1936, p. 1-154. These studies on the casualties suffered were used in a debate opposing Selig and a Xenophon group (see the forward of L’assaut de la redoute 9: entre histoire et mémoire).
50 He thus does not take into account the deaths at sea.
Embarking in Boston during the winter of 1781, the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment awaited the signing of the peace treaty in the Antilles before returning to Brest in 1783. Upon his return he was garrisoned in Landau, where Georg Daniel Flohr spent the remaining nine months of his military service prior to his discharge that took place in 1784. Later the regiment moved to Phalsbourg, Belfort, Huningue, and Neuf-Brisach, the city he was in when the Revolution erupted in 1789.\textsuperscript{51} In 1791 Christian de Deux-Ponts left the army, and the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment changed its name, becoming the 99th infantry regiment. It lost its status as foreign regiment in order to be fully integrated into the French army. It thus participated in numerous revolutionary and Napoleonic victories, from Valmy to Austerlitz.

Grégoire Binois and Daniel Fischer

\textsuperscript{51} Susane, (Louis), \textit{Histoire de l’ancienne infanterie française}, Paris, Coréard, 1853.
Leaving from Brest, the convoy was delayed, first by bad winds, then by damages incurred to one of the boats. On May 2, 1780 the convoy finally left the port of Brest and headed south. The precise destination was known only to the general staff surrounding the Count Rochambeau. The flotilla was supposed to head to Charleston, South Carolina in order to bring help to the besieged American forces, but the capture of a privateer on the 18th of June brought word of the capture of this town by the English. De Ternay, who was in command of the fleet carrying Rochambeau’s expeditionary forces, then headed north towards Newport. The southern route crossing the Atlantic was favored over the other options. Admittedly, it was the route that was “the longest, that of commercial vessels”, but also the one that was the safest, the one by which de Ternay hoped to avoid English fleets.

On July 12th and 13th, the convoy’s troops disembarked in Rhode Island. The expeditionary forces stayed there for a while due to the health of the troops—a large number of men had come down with scurvy—but also because the English were blocking the sea. The expeditionary forces finally took up their winter quarters in Newport. In March 1781 Chevalier Destouches, the fleet commander, organized two expeditions to the Chesapeake Bay. Meanwhile, Rochambeau, along with several of his aides-de-camp, took part in the Wethersfield Conference, during which they met General Washington and agreed upon the rest of the military operations. The French corps had to meet up with the American army around New York in preparation for an operation against the city.

On June 10, 1781, the troops left the island of Newport on small boats and headed for Providence. The troops’ march to the American army camp in Phillipsburg lasted from June 18th to July 6, 1781. To do this, the expeditionary forces were divided into four divisions that
followed each other with one day’s march between each group. The Royal Deux-Ponts regiment was part of the second division, which explained why Flohr remembers June 19th as the date the troops left Providence and not the 18th. The direction, stages, and number of kilometers covered coincide more or less with those of this plan until they reached Ridgebury, Connecticut. This change of plan was due to a decision made by Washington. Thus the French marched towards the southwest in the direction of Phillipsburg instead of going to Peekskill near King’s Ferry, as was originally planned. The trip from Ridgebury to Phillipsburg took two days. 57

Flohr indicates that they reach Phillipsburg on July 9th, the other divisions arrived on the 8th or the following days. The whole of the united army, composed of Americans and Frenchmen, exerted strong pressure on the English garrison in New York. A few skirmishes occurred between the front-line soldiers of each camp. The legion of Lauzun and the dragoons of Delancey were involved in one of these fights on July 5th.

An attack against New York remained the most favorable option for Washington until the arrival of Admiral de Grasse’s telegram on August 14th. It informed Rochambeau and Washington that he was heading towards the Chesapeake Bay. Whereas he had received orders to work in the Antilles, an operation against Chesapeake Bay, located much further south than New York, seemed to allow him to return faster. This decisive choice can mainly be explained by the arrival of de Grasse who gave the allies the naval support necessary to encircle Cornwallis, hidden away in Yorktown. Incidentally, New York was better defended by Clinton who had more men under his orders than the junior officer in Virginia.

When Rochambeau’s troops left Phillipsburg, he was supposed to meet up with Lafayette and Daniel Morgan in Williamsburg as fast as possible and before Cornwallis. To do this, the troops had to cross the Hudson River, and march to Chesapeake Bay to board the ferryboats at Head-of-Elk that were going to Williamsburg. According to Berthier, the army separated into two lines until they reached King’s Ferry (ferryboats facing the Westpoint fortress north-east of the camp). 58 In all likelihood, Flohr advanced with the second line, the left one (composed of the logistics group and the artillery group), but his journey does not correspond exactly to the one Berthier describes. The two wings of the army met up at Hunt’s Tavern (Honds Tavern in Flohr’s diary) on August 21, 1781, before crossing the river on the 24th. Starting at Haverstraw, the journey Flohr describes roughly corresponds to the army’s up until Wilmington (a port at the opening of the Delaware river, beyond Philadelphia). 59

---

57 It is detailed in The American Campaigns of Rochambeau’s Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, op. cit., p. 9-17.
58 According to the “Itinéraires des marches que l’armée a faits pour se rendre de camp à Philipsburg au camp devant Yorck en 1781. Premier cahier, de Philipsburg à Whippany, 86.5 miles”, Ibid.
59 “Itinéraire des marches que l’Armée a faits pour se rendre du Camp à Philipsburg au Camp devant Yorck, troisième cahier, de Princeton à Head-of-Elk, 89.5 miles”, Ibid.
After the crossing of the Hudson, Flohr’s indications correspond within a mile or two to the itinerary indicated by the officers, except for the sixteen-mile journey between Whippany and Bullion’s Tavern, which Flohr considers to be just six miles. It is likely that this rather large difference is related to a transcription error. A second difference—that of the journey between Wilmington and Head-of-Elk: 21 miles according to the officers against 12 according to Flohr—can be explained by the fact that Flohr did not have to immediately board the ferry that may have been at a distance.

Due to a shortage of ferryboats, only a small part of the army boarded in Head-of-Elk in order to be transported to Yorktown. Flohr and a large part of his regiment continued the march to Annapolis, which they reached on September 18th. In Annapolis the ferryboats sent by de Grasse took on a large part of the troops, but there was no space for the logistics group and the large artillery. While Flohr landed in College Creek (Kolletz Kanting in his diary) and arrived in Yorktown on the 25th of September, the logistics group had to march to Yorktown. In Yorktown the Royal Deux-Ponts occupied a position on the left wing of the united army. Once Cornwallis was defeated, the troops remained stationed in Williamsburg from November 17, 1781 to July 2, 1782 for its winter quarters.

At the time of departure from Virginia, the Royal Deux-Ponts repositioned itself opposite New York and threatened the English garrison to avoid it being deployed towards the south or towards the islands. Nonetheless, Cornwallis’s surrender put an end to the fighting in North America; the English evacuated Savannah and Charleston (all of the South) to concentrate on New York. The English defeat in North America was complete, but the fighting continued in the Antilles, India, and Europe (Gibraltar, Minorca) in order to obtain some advantages in anticipation of the peace settlement, which seemed very close at this date. As Flohr indicates, the French army marched on once it had been split up in four divisions (it follows, more or less, the route taken by Berthier with the logistics group for the outward journey). As is indicated in the month-long stage (July 25th–August 25th) in Baltimore, the troops were not pressed for time. On September 25th a camp was made between Crompond and Hunt’s Tavern. On October 22nd the march towards Boston started up again. Under orders of the King and the Minister of War, the expeditionary forces were summoned to leave North America to go to the Antilles to come to the aide of the flotilla in Boston, in preparation for a collaboration with Spain concerning the capture of Jamaica. An operation against Jamaica had been intended for some time, but the defeat of the French flotilla at the Île des Saintes (April 9-12, 1782) compromised any serious attempt against the English in the Antilles. The movement of the expeditionary forces from then on was more in response to defensive considerations.
The troops arrived in Boston on December 6, 1782. The routes mentioned by Flohr roughly correspond to those of the “Plans of the different camps occupied by the army under the order of Monsieur the Count de Rochambeau (1782 campaign)”.

Placed under the orders of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the flotilla left Boston on December 25 and 26, 1782 to head south in direction of Porto Cabello in Venezuela, where it had to await either orders or imminent peace. The hardships met at sea led to a great deal of damage. They led the admiral to authorize certain ships, among them the *Ile de France* with Flohr aboard, to stop in Curaçao, a Dutch island, to make necessary repairs and obtain supplies. A few days after the reunion of the whole army in Porto Cabello on March 24, 1783, the news of the peace proclamation was announced to the troops.

On April 3rd, the flotilla left Venezuela for Santo Domingo and Cap-Français, where a return voyage was supposed to be organized. On April 15th the troops landed at Cap-Français. On May 4th the convoy left the island of Santo Domingo.

On June 17th some of the flotilla arrived at the port of Brest where the Royal Deux-Ponts landed on June 20th.

Edern Hirstein and Isabelle Laboulais

---

60 *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, op. cit.*
The American Population at the Dawn of the War of Independence

The American eighteenth century is characterized by impressive population growth. In 1760 the Thirteen Colonies were home to 1,267,800 inhabitants, whereas in 1660 the first six colonies totaled only 134,000 inhabitants. Multiplied by an average of nearly 10 in a century, with rapid successes in colonies like Pennsylvania where the number of inhabitants multiplied eightfold between 1710 and 1760, this population was split up more or less equally between the New England colonies in the North (437,000 inhabitants), the central colonies (400,000), and the southern colonies (432,000).

Immigration from Europe played a large role in this population growth: it is estimated that 320,000 Europeans settled in the British colonies between 1700 and 1775, among them one third was Irish and Scottish, one third German and Swiss, one quarter English or Welsh, and 10,000 were French Huguenots, Dutchmen or Jews of other nationalities. This multicultural population of European origin, and not strictly English, gave these colonies the image of openness and liberty, where a mix of cultures was not feared. Thomas Paine praises this in \textit{Common Sense} written in 1776 and Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, in his \textit{Letters from an American Farmer} in 1782.

However, after 1740 immigration no longer represented the driving force behind population growth of the American colonies (there is barely a 14% rise in the number of inhabitants in the eighteenth century), whereas it was responsible for 75% of the population growth in the previous century. The causes of the population explosion in America can be found in the strong and durable natural growth. According to Benjamin Franklin, whose demographic observations in 1751 were revived at the end of the century by Malthus, the population of the Thirteen Colonies doubled every 20 years, an estimation that is a little exaggerated by one Philadelphian with 13 brothers and sisters, all of whom reached adulthood. Between 1760 and 1790, the population grew from 1.3 to 4 million inhabitants. There are many reasons for this natural growth: a drop in the mortality rate that was, however, very high when the first settlers arrived, settlers who had to overcome epidemiological challenges (yellow fever and malaria in the south) or hard winters in the North, but which ended up being lower than in Europe due to the more rural setting in a time when over-crowding in cities accelerated the spread of disease; medical advancements (inoculation against small pox or mumps starting in 1721); greater life expectancy; a smaller percentage of unmarried people than in Europe (3% against Europe’s 10%); lower marriage age to increase the number of fertile years for a woman (whereas in

---

Europe postponing marriage for more than two years on average in relation to Americans was used as a form of contraception); access to grains that are abundant in the fertile regions and to the meat of the numerous livestock, whereas in Europe it was only eaten by the upper classes. It was not uncommon for an American couple to have ten children for whom the parents feared neither famine nor lack of land to cultivate. At the end of the War of Independence, the American population was so young that the median age among Whites was sixteen.

Urbanization progressed in the colonies. Philadelphia, with its 35,000 inhabitants in 1760 became the most populated city in the Anglo-Saxon world after London. The number of cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants rose from two in 1720 (Boston and Philadelphia) to five in 1770 (with the development of Newport, New York, and Charleston). But even if there were more cities that were more populated in the eighteenth century, the Thirteen Colonies, especially the inland regions, were still mostly rural up to the War of Independence.

With the help of the population explosion in the 1760’s, the colonization of the inland regions accelerated, all the way up to Indian territory: the zones between Vermont and the Savannah River in the South, the Ohio valleys, the Monongahela River and the Allegheny to the west of the middle colonies and along the Connecticut River and Mohawk Valley in New England were settled at a regular rhythm, benefiting from migrations from within the colonies. Before, the port cities and grain-growing valleys were favored. Friction began between the communities that had been sparsely settled in inland regions for some time (often members of Protestant sects like the Quakers or the Presbyterians) and the newcomers who traveled in massive numbers to cultivate the land. Those lands, at the height of diversity and where one moves into higher social classes very fast, had the reputation of being very different, sometimes deprived of stable landmarks like a well-defined parish, and where there was a concentration of vice and frustration. In each of the colonies a dual society emerged bringing the elite from the cities along the east coast in opposition with the “new” inland colonies, the inhabitants of which felt disregarded by those living in the elite cities when they often had to undertake long voyages towards the main coastal city to complete administrative procedures. Revolts against the domination of the elite in the east broke out in the 1760’s and 70’s: the Regulators in North and South Carolina between 1768 and 1771 or the Paxton Boys in Pennsylvania in 1763-1764, accusing the authorities of protecting the American Indians who converted to Christianity while the Whites were living in misery.

The relations between the American Indians of the inlands were complex. At first, the British established cordial relations with them founded upon bartering and skillful diplomacy. Until the 1750’s at the earliest, Pennsylvania or even New York maintained peaceful relations with the Iroquois tribe. Pressure from the population and the breaking of certain alliances soon disrupted these relations. Throughout the Seven Years’ War, several Indian nations (Algonquins, Hurons) came down in favor of the French who, unlike the English, traded with them without
threatening their territory. This new power struggle led to the occupation of their lands by various means:

- Following a negotiation and/or the conclusion of a treaty: this is the case for the six Iroquois nations, by the Treaty of Lancaster in 1774, which let the inhabitants of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia colonize the Shenandoah Valley. In the same way, in 1752 the Treaty of Logstown between the Iroquois, the Shawnees, and the Delaware Indians of Virginia authorized the colonists to settle on the southern bank of the Ohio River.

- The purchase of land by the colonists of European origin: in the 1760’s, James Wright, Governor of Georgia, bought millions of hectares primarily from the Creek Indians.

- Occupation by violence: in 1760 and 1761, South Carolina waged a war against the Cherokees, a war that devastated the western borders of the colony, creating a zone where tensions remained strong.

The case of the American Indians shows that the American colonies were not only multicultural, but also multiethnic. In the study of American history, much has been written on the presence of Blacks on the Eastern coast of America, which for a long time had remained subject to a vision inherited from the Civil War, bringing the pro-slavery South in opposition to the modern and progressive North and encouraging giving up the slave trade and slavery. The reality is surely more complex: all of the American colonies, from the North, Center, and South, began in the seventeenth century as societies with slaves (until the 1680’s incidentally, there was a servile labor force made up of Whites rather than Blacks, with many Irish among them), before each colony, at its own pace, became slave-states in which the inferior legal status of slaves—most of them black at the end of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century—was essential for the economic development of the colonies. Between 1670 and 1807 the British transatlantic slave trade is said to have included 3 million individuals, but three quarters of those slaves were deported to the Antilles. The North American market therefore remained secondary (1/6 of the total) even if a portion of the deported slaves in the islands were, in the end, re-exported to the continent. Boarded onto slave ships from London, Bristol, and Liverpool in Senegambia, the Bay of Biafra, Angola, or Mozambique, the slaves most often arrived in Newport, in the Chesapeake Bay and especially in Charleston. The arrivals were numerous, but half of the 1,000 ships arriving in Charleston each year from 1735 to 1775 between June and August most often carried only a dozen slaves, slaves who were quarantined on Sullivan’s Island before being sold in the city and immediately put to work.

Starting in 1696, each colony adopted a slave code. The first one was written in South Carolina, a colony born from slavery, it became stricter as slave revolts and runaways intensified. The legal status of slaves did progress as one moved further north: in New England
courts, Blacks received the same treatment as Whites, except in cases of murder. Employed as servants or artisans, they had a greater chance of being freed, which was shown by the example of Kofi Slocum, freed in the 1740’s and whose son later gained the reputation of the “Richest Blackman” in America, or that of Phillis Wheatley, slave-servant of tailor John Wheatley’s wife, who became a poet in the 1770’s. In 1790 nearly all the Blacks of the New England colonies were free, which was certainly not the case for the southern colonies: Virginia, Maryland, Georgia, and South Carolina were the largest slave buyers.

In 1776, the Revolution initiated a transition phase of which Blacks attempted to take advantage in various ways: escape, lawsuits, Sons of Africa petitions starting in 1773 calling for the acquisition of rights, and enrolling in one of the two armies that promised freedom after a certain amount of service. They were assigned dangerous and/or unusual tasks, or they were stationed in an all-Black regiment or amongst the militiamen, since prejudices still ran high. Paradoxically, by enrolling in one of the two armies in an attempt to earn their freedom, the Blacks became merchandise once again since slaves suspected of having escaped or of having moved over to the enemy’s side, could at any moment be captured and used as loot or exchanged for money, exemplified by the 23 slaves of Thomas Jefferson’s Virginia plantation who chose to follow General Cornwallis.

Daniel Fischer
The German Colonization of the American Colonies

Flohr’s remarks concerning the number of Germans and German-speakers he met in North America are hardly surprising. 100,000 Germans were probably living in America during the colonial era (110,000 German and Swiss natives, the two origins are not differentiated in the statistics until 1820). 50,000 other German-speaking migrants probably joined them between 1780 and 1820. Even if English was spoken more than German, a third of the population of Pennsylvania in 1790, or 141,000 individuals, was of German descent. At the beginning of the American Republic, a total of 227,000 American citizens were of German descent, or 10% of the population; 94% of the names on the naturalization lists in the eighteenth century were those of Germans. An overwhelming majority of these migrants and descendants of German migrants spoke dialects from the southwest of the Germanic Holy Roman Empire: Flohr thought he heard the German of his native country everywhere in America. This is not an exaggerated statement, as a good number of those who spoke that language were originally from Palatinate, the Bishoprics of Worms, Speyer, Mainz, or Trier, Alsace, Hanau, Nassau as well as the Landgraviate of Hesse-Darmstadt.

The Anglo-Saxons made the crossing of the Mayflower into a founding myth. This vessel was carrying 102 immigrants, the Pilgrims who landed at Cap Cod in 1620. For the Germans, the equivalent of this landmark crossing, with the first 33 German-speaking emigrants aboard the Concord, took place in 1683. Thirteen Quaker and Mennonite families originally from Krefeld (near Dusseldorf) and Kriegsheim (near Worms) landed in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on October 6, 1683. The story of the birth of a baby during the crossing, which lifted the burden of sadness caused by the death of one of them, comforted the Christians who wished to practice their faith far from the established Churches with the hope of a new world ready to be used to the fullest on the other side of the Atlantic, under the watchful eye of God. These 33 Germans were not, however, the first German-speakers to have tried their luck in America. In 1562 the Spanish destroyed Port Royal in South Carolina, built by French Huguenots with Alsatians and Hessians among them. Afterwards the first Germans to definitively settle on the east coast of America were the “Deutschmen” of Jamestown who had been in Virginia since 1607. The English

---

confused them with the Dutchmen because they asked to be called “Deutsch”. Before Pennsylvania, Virginia was therefore populated with Germans early on, since several Germans could be found living there as early as 1607, among them a certain Johannes Fleischer, a Lutheran pastor originally from Breslau, two Hessians who were masters of glass work, and also four carpenters from Hamburg as early as 1608. Other Germans settled in the colony to develop tobacco cultivation, and then in 1653, wine-growers originally from Heidelberg introduced vineyards in the colony. Prince Edler von Buchen emigrated from Pomerania with 54 families and settled in New Amsterdam, just like Heinrich von Elswich, a merchant from Lübeck, as well as Jacob Leister, born in Frankfurt and who arrived in 1660; he became rich thanks to trading with the Indians and by marrying into the Dutch aristocracy; he later would become governor of New York.

Even if German-speaking colonists settled in the American colonies sporadically in the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century, German emigration to these new settlement lands only picked up after 1683. William Penn—the English Quaker who received the lands that would later bear his name from the King of England as repayment of a debt owed to his father—played a deciding role in attracting German migrants to Pennsylvania. A strong propaganda campaign using brochures that sung the praises of the New World, firstly for religious freedom, caught the attention of western German Pietists who came together to form a “Frankfurt Company” which sought to buy thousands of acres of virgin land in Pennsylvania. But they did not, however, physically settle there. Only their agent, jurist Franz Daniel Pastorius, arrived in Pennsylvania in August 1683 and organized the convoy of the first 13 German families who settled in the colony in October of the same year. The newly-arrived Germans in Pennsylvania settled in a Philadelphia neighborhood six miles from the center of town that they named “Deutschstadt”, or Germantown. In 1689 Germantown became a city in its own right, with Pastorius as its mayor.

The first German migrants were members of Protestant sects seeking more freedom of conscience and religion, like the Labadists who settled in Maryland; the largest portion of the German-speaking population in the eighteenth century was made up of Protestants or Lutherans. The head of the Pennsylvania Lutherans was an important figure: the most famous of them was Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, educated in Göttingen, and who had the Church of Sion, the largest church in Philadelphia, built and consecrated in 1769. This massive immigration of members of churches established in principalities of the Holy Roman Empire shows that the causes of emigration evolved with the great migratory wave of Germans, which began between 1707-1708 and which included mainly German Palatines. The abuses committed by Louis XIV’s armies combined with the hardships of the winter of 1709 made the propaganda to attract migrants to the new colonies very effective. The contenders for emigration were poor, rural families. They would have voluntarily emigrated to Prussia if the plague had not struck the area. 3,000 Palatines tried their luck and left for New York starting in 1710. 773 passengers died of fever during the crossing and one of the ships of the convoy was damaged off the coast of Long
Island. 600 families landed in North and South Carolina, drawn there by the propaganda brochures that promised them free land. Palatines awaiting departure for America already numbered 6,000 in London in 1709, and it is estimated that in the 1710’s there were 30,000 of them who passed through Rotterdam or London, leading the novelist, journalist and trader Daniel Defoe to give them to nickname “Poor Palatines”. The intensity of this stream of Palatines reached a climax in the middle of the century: between 1749 and 1754 a large wave of German migration hit Philadelphia: 37,000 Germans arrived, an average of 6,000 each autumn, in a city whose capacity is at best an estimated 17,000 inhabitants in 1756.

Germantown remained the center of the social and cultural life for the Germans who often passed through before settling in neighboring counties or colonies. New Jersey was developed by Germans, notably in the “German Valley”. Johann Peter Rockefeller, for example, the ancestor of the dynasty of industrialists and bankers, settled there in 1733. Starting in 1729, western Maryland was populated by Germans from Pennsylvania who were drawn by the favorable conditions heralded by Lord Baltimore in 1732 (very low rent, rent exemptions for land for the first three years). Frederick Town was founded by about one hundred Palatine families in 1745 and was led by Thomas Schley, the mayor, pastor, and magistrate of the new city. Migration of German-speakers within the American colonies was structured around Pennsylvania as well: in 1728 the Palatines from New York went through the inlands to escape difficult living conditions and settled in Pennsylvania as well.

Books, almanacs, and newspapers were printed in German, often with an enthusiasm that resisted the passage of time. Johann Christoph Sauer, a Dunker who arrived in Pennsylvania between 1719-1720, published a newspaper starting in 1739 that was printed in German gothic characters imported from Frankfurt, Der Hoch Deutsche Pennsylvanische Geschichtsschreiber (known later by the name Germantauner Zeitung), he also had a Bible printed in German. Around 1750, Philadelphia boasted close to 200 publications in German. Benjamin Franklin tried to start a German newspaper in Philadelphia, but his periodical did not gain a large enough readership, as it was so full of errors and was unreadable for the Germans who preferred the Gothic characters used by Sauer. Five newspapers were successfully printed in German up to the Revolution. For that matter another printer, Henry Miller, boasted of being the first to print the Declaration of Independence in German typography on July 5, 1776.

Though certain pastors began preaching in English in the 1740’s and 50’s, the descendants of German colonists continued to use German in church, even if they were able to mumble a bit in English in order to communicate elsewhere. Looking for stability, the new arrivals chose to settle primarily in villages or valleys already populated by Germans. The uncontested domination of German-speaking areas in certain towns or valleys did not encourage the Germans and their descendants to open their community to the outside and move into the English-speaking world, something that raised the question of their loyalty, notably during the
Seven Years’ War (1756-1763). The Germans only managed to add English words or verbs into their lexicon that were “germanized” and sometimes transcribed phonetically, which led to misunderstandings all while forging a hybrid language little by little, proof of a German-American creolization. In a letter addressed to a fellow printer in 1750, Benjamin Franklin complained of the linguistic power struggle in which English was in an unfavorable position against German in certain colonies, and of seeing colonists of other origins forced to move away in order to leave an environment where too much German was spoken. According to him, a more evenly divided mix of German-speakers among the English-speakers should be encouraged. Christopher Sauer, the printer from Philadelphia, acknowledged his responsibility for the slow pace at which the Germans adapted to English, indeed he published numerous books and periodicals in German, even though in 1752 he made sure to publish a *Anleitung zur Englischen Sprache vor die Teutsche Neuankommende* (“Introduction to the English language for German New Comers”). Families remained bilingual for quite some time, despite the often rapid anglicization of their last names (*Jäger* becomes *Hunter*, *Schmidt* is rapidly transformed into *Smith*), something that optimistically anticipated their mastery of the English language. In 1789, the doctor and politician Benjamin Rush drew up a linguistic assessment that differed only slightly from the one left by Franklin forty years earlier: the descendants of German colonists continued to communicate between themselves in German, even if those who lived in the bigger cities or who dealt with commerce had a satisfactory command of English. The massiveness of the German immigration in America led to the birth of a new German-American culture: Germans permeated the English-speaking world with their sense of business and their know-how, but deep down, in church, and in their taverns and bookstores they continued to use the mother tongue, to see each other as compatriots, and to cultivate a sociability between themselves.

German settlers interested the authorities for the development of certain American economic sectors, notably for glasswork. As early as 1607 in Jamestown, Virginia, and until the end of the colonial period, Germans were renowned for their know-how: In 1784 Maryland was proud to welcome 300 Germans originally from Bremen who practiced manual and skilled craftsmen professions. Notably, they opened the glass-manufacturing factory in Fleecy Dale. Alexander Spotswood, the governor of Virginia whose wife was a German originally from Hanover, encouraged the arrival of Germans: 12 German families from Westphalia, recruited by the Swiss baron Christoph von Graffenried, settled in Virginia in 1714 as iron workers. The town of Germanna was founded for them: it welcomed 20 additional families in 1717 then 40 others between 1717 and 1720. Several town were founded in Virginia by Germans: New Mecklenburg in 1726, Staufferstadt (later called Strasbourg) by Jacob Stauffer in 1728, Harpers Ferry at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers by Robert Harper in 1734. Once these valleys proved to be fertile, numerous Germans from Pennsylvana also migrated to these territories to contribute to their cultivation. Some German communities were still small in numbers before the 1730’s, but they were already very active in sectors such as leather, tobacco, shipyards, and
international commerce. The groups from Bremen and Hamburg established agencies in cities like Baltimore.

The presence of German colonists often meant economic dynamism. But this population with an industrious reputation also distinguished itself for its lack of interest in public affairs. Pastor Mühlenberg compared them to busy bees in a hurry to return to their hives. While debates about taxation and the American Colonies’ representation in the British parliament began, the Germans remained in the background of the political turmoil. Even in Germantown there had been a fine of $4 since the time of Pastorius for the far too many who refused to join the town council, even though their position in the town should have driven them to do so. This lack of interest in politics showed through even in Flohr’s account. He was delighted to find German communities in America at each stage of his route, but did not actually make inquiries about political opinions or verify beforehand that they did indeed support the same cause as him. Many Protestant sects (Mennonites, Dunkers, Quakers) refused to bear arms for religious reasons and purchased their exemption from military duty by paying a tax, similar to the threefold tax in North Carolina. However, a significant number of Germans remained Loyalists: a letter from John Adams to Thomas McKean, Pennsylvania’s Chief Justice, states that a third of the population of that very German-speaking colony were Loyalists. In Georgia as well, two-fifths of the Germans are Loyalists, and ardent patriots like John Adam Treutlen, the first governor of Georgia, had to deploy a large amount of energy so that the colony would shift to the insurgent’s side. In the more commercial colonies, the Germans who were unhappy about English taxes (the Stamp Act required that they pay double for stamped paper) supported the American cause, but the hierarchy of Lutheran and Protestant churches was forced to become involved to appeal to the Germans in New York and North Carolina who were still shy to resist the English despotism. With this goal in mind, a 40-page pamphlet was published in Philadelphia in 1775. In addition to Pastor Peter Mühlenberg of Virginia, other German-speakers who were also ardent patriots were distinguished by their courage and determination during the War of Independence. Such was the case for baker Christopher Ludwig, a former sailor and soldier of the Prussian army who spoke only German; his English-speaking abilities were as small as his devotion to the American cause was great. He enrolled in the militia at age 55. Tall and unshakeable, he impressed his contemporaries by taking part in the committee of gunpowder and ammunition, and in several revolutionary groups. In May 1777, Congress named him superintendent and chief baker of the entire continental army. The army asked him to produce 100 pounds of bread for 100 pounds of flour, but he managed to deliver 135 by making 6,000 loaves a day, commanding the admiration of General Washington who saw him as a close friend.

As for the military, the Germans were enlisted on both sides: a regiment of Germans from Pennsylvania and Maryland was raised by Congress starting in 1776, and Rochambeau’s expeditionary forces that landed in 1780 also had German-speaking regiments, among them Flohr’s regiment the Royal Deux-Ponts. On the other side, the English enlisted German
mercenaries who, recruited by money-hungry princes, bore the name of “Hessians” although not all of them were from Hesse-Kassel. At the battle of Yorktown, orders were given in German on both sides provoking some confusion. In 1781 the Hessians deserted or were captured, and often fraternized with the Germans enrolled in the continental army. Sent to Lancaster, Pennsylvania or Frederick Town, Maryland, they received a warm welcome from the local farmers and they bettered themselves in the fields of commerce, agriculture, or education. As for their rapid integration, the baker Ludwig, he himself a Hessian, was optimistic.

At the end of the War of Independence, 17,300 German soldiers enlisted in the two rival armies return to Germany. The losses total 7,500 dead and missing, which leads historians to believe that 5,000 German-speakers must have remained in America, all without taking into account those who returned later, like Flohr who chose to return to America to work as a pastor, probably between 1793 and 1799, the date when his presence was counted in the Wythville parish in West Virginia.

Daniel Fischer
The Antilles in the 1780’s

Stretching from the island of Cuba to the coast of Venezuela, the archipelago of the Antilles has traditionally been divided into several groups united around the same island structure. The Lesser Antilles are composed of small islands of volcanic rock or limestone that form an arc. The largest islands (Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola—known today as Haiti and the Dominican Republic—and Puerto Rico) form the Greater Antilles. Farther north, the Keys, the Bahamas, and the islands of Turks and Caicos are grouped together under the title of Northern Caribbean islands. These islands scattered in the Caribbean Sea, “discovered” by Christopher Columbus and occupied by the Spanish, attracted the attention of other Western powers. These new territories became one of the major challenges of one nation’s quest to assert its domination on the world: control of the sea and arms opened the American territories to the claims laid by the kingdoms of western Europe, as much on a political level as an economic level, notably starting at the end of the seventeenth century.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Antilles was the battle site between western powers that hoped to increase their economic and territorial power. Because of the islands’ location between English colonies in North America and the French and Spanish territories, the Caribbean sea was an area that was particularly coveted by Westerners: the most economically-developed islands attracted the interest of nations that saw the area as a means of domination outside of the old continent. During the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763), France and England fought over Dominica, which became English. More than a decade later, Saint Vincent was taken by the French in 1779 during the war in America before being handed over to the opposing side in 1783. The nationality of the Antilles’ islands varied over the course of the second half of the eighteenth century depending on wars, treaties, and changing hands. The English gave Guadeloupe and Martinique back to France in 1763; Havana was under English rule for two years at the end of the Seven Years’ War before finally becoming a Spanish territory again during the war in America, whereas the French occupied numerous English islands (Saint Christopher Island, Nevis, Montserrat, Saint Lucia, Tobago), the majority of which were given back following a treaty in 1783.

Beyond the territorial domination, the Antilles was seen as an essential economic zone at the turn of the century: 15% of the disputes in 1789 directly concerned the Santo Domingo sugar industry. The economy was essentially a plantation economy that relied on the slave trade. The cultivation of sugar, which was introduced in America around the 1720’s, coffee, notably in Santo Domingo, indigo, and cotton built the territories and their ports. France dominated commerce in the Antilles thanks to the increase in the number of sugar refineries. Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Western Santo Domingo were in full development at the beginning of the

---

1780’s, so much so that Santo Domingo became the largest sugar and coffee producer in the world at the end of the 1780’s. England also took advantage of the transatlantic economy, firstly with Jamaica, and in 1773 nearly a quarter of British imports came from the Antilles.64

This prosperity was due first and foremost to the exploitation of black slaves bought in western Africa and taken by boat in extremely precarious conditions to the American coasts. Between the Seven Years’ War and the Revolution, the French Antilles received more than 400,000 of them.65 The lands where sugar was the major crop progressively saw their demographics dominated by people of African origin, notably in the Lesser Antilles. According to Jean-Pierre Sainton, political trouble and changes of ownership in these islands in this part of the world did not challenge the established system of slavery in these societies, notably in the Lesser Antilles: “slavery was the socio-legal system that unified and stabilized the base of the social structure of the islands.”66 To maintain this system, the nations sent truly colonial troops to the territories. In the 1770’s, the French navy kept four colonial infantry regiments in the Antilles, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Port-au-Prince, and Cap-Français.67 Yet slavery was maintained first and foremost by the slavemasters who were sometimes hard for a faraway royal power to control. In the mid-1780’s, planters in Santo Domingo opposed texts governing the working conditions of black slaves, which established in particular the right to complain about the master’s conduct. The planters also admonished the monarchy for its economic policy that forced the colonies to trade only with the home country.68 A gap began to widen between the colonists’ and mainlanders’ mentalities, especially as the strong African presence on the territories led to the emergence of new cultures, like the creole language and religious rites that were a mix of Catholicism and animism. Faced with mistreatment and torture, certain slaves ran away. Escaping seemed like a form of resistance; a few groups of fugitives armed themselves and attacked the Santo Domingo plantations before 1791. At the time of the Revolution, slavery opponents were becoming more and more vocal in France.69

In the 1780’s the Antilles was a fertile area in many ways. Fertile for the western powers who saw in the area a way to increase their domination though the territory war and the plantation economy. Fertile for the colonists who built their wealth by cultivating the lands of the New World. Yet when the system of slavery was progressively called into question and slave revolts multiplied, the organization was somewhat shaken in the islands that were occupied

64 Devèze (Michel), Antilles, Guyanes, la mer des Caraïbes de 1492 à 1789, Paris, Société d’édition d’Enseignement supérieur, “Regards sur l’histoire” p. 275.
66 Sainton (Jean-Pierre) (dir.), Histoire et civilisation de la Caraïbe (Guadeloupe, Martinique, Petites Antilles), t. 2 “Le temps des matrises, Economie et cadres sociaux du long XVIIIe siècle”, Paris, Karthala, p. 29.
68 Solé (Jacques), op. cit., p. 96.
principally for industrial and commercial reasons. Sugar, coffee, and cotton: at the end of the eighteenth century, the Antilles asserted themselves as the source of raw materials reserved for Westerners.

Thomas Tricot
American Revolution and War of Independence

In 1763 the end of the Seven Years’ War seemed like a guarantee of security for the British colonies of North America because, starting in that year, the French no longer had any territories on that part of the continent. In the same year, a royal proclamation reserved an area for the Indians that separated the Appalachians from the Mississippi and opened Florida and Quebec to colonization. This decision irritated the colonists settled in America as it stripped them of prized land, particularly the Ohio Valley. Yet this measure favored the development of Florida where rich Britons invested. The Thirteen British Colonies established on the American territory were thus governed by the principles of the colonial pact and the all-encompassing regime that reserved the control and near-monopoly of the Thirteen Colonies’ external trading for the homeland. After the Seven Years’ War, the English government tried to make its territories across the Atlantic assume a portion of the expenses generated by the conflict that had just ended. New taxes were created there in 1764 and 1765 (on sugar, tea, stamps, etc.). This policy quickly provoked protests that quickly took on a political meaning. Beyond the rejection of fiscal policies, a new style of government was sought.

Bernard Cottret sees the 1763-1773 period as that of “the crisis of the Empire.” The colonists considered themselves to be English citizens and felt that no tax could be imposed upon them without their consent or that of their delegates. But the colonists did not participate in English elections and only the territory assemblies were authorized to express opinions in their name. The British government remained deaf to such arguments, which were directly inspired by the political culture of the European Enlightenment. In their eyes, the London Parliament represented all subjects of the crown. Very quickly, the British government took repressive measures that impaired the colonists’ freedom of expression or their freedom of assembly. The King of England and his Prime Minister North even sent military reinforcements to America. This sparked the first bloody incidents in Boston as early as March 1770. The English colonists responded with a boycott of English merchandise submitted to the new taxes that worked so well that the government was forced to do away with taxes that had become useless.

In December 1773 in Boston, the rebel colonists, who called themselves the “Sons of Liberty”, attacked the ships of the West Indies company, which had won the tea-selling monopoly; they threw all their cargo into the sea. In retaliation, London decided to close the Boston port, to forbid any trading, and to impose a heavy collective fine. United with their fellow Massachusetts citizens, the colonists responded by summoning a congress of twelve of the thirteen colonies which was held in Philadelphia in September 1774. They designated George Washington as general in chief of the Americans. The majority of the delegates did not intend to break with England. The men were content to solemnly recall the constitutional rights of all citizens and reinforce the boycott of British merchandise. True insurgency measures were

however put in place: correspondence and watch committees were formed, armed militia were organized. Thus, progressively, the colonists moved from constitutional demands to the first signs of a force of opposition and insurgency.

On April 18, 1775 at Lexington, the English command sought to seize a stock of arms and ammunition set up in Concord by the patriotic committees. The soldiers were welcomed with gunshots and were forced to withdraw to Boston. On June 17th a true pitched battle took place at the entrance of the city, the English soldiers once again suffered heavy losses. Lord North, the English prime minister, tried to negotiate with Franklin who had travelled all the way to London, but the “American Congress”, which met in December, rejected the proposals and decided to raise a continental army placed under the order of George Washington. At the end of 1775, the first constitutions of the Thirteen Colonies were written. They represented the ultimate emancipation act for the Thirteen Colonies, now the newly-established states; these texts are based on the principle of strict separation of legislative, executive, and judiciary powers. All of these texts were preceded by a Declaration of Rights that guaranteed individual rights and placed limits that society cannot break. These texts gave the new principles value and universal significance. On July 4, 1776, Congress declared the union of the Thirteen Colonies and adopted the Declaration of Independence proposed by Jefferson. From then on the “United Colonies” had “the full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do”.

The gap between the beginning of the military confrontations (April 19, 1775) and the proclamation of independence (July 4, 1776) can be explained by the American elite’s resolute wish to reach a compromise with Great Britain. The turning point occurred following the fundamental debate provoked by Thomas Paine’s pamphlet *Common Sense*. In this text, the radical Englishman explained to the colonists that their breaking with England could only be beneficial; he saw it as a vector of liberty and prosperity. This success of this text led to the writing of numerous petitions that expressed the North Americans’ defiance to the British king, people, and Parliament. The Declaration of Independence therefore received strong public support.

At that date, the forces that were present were very unequal: on the one hand General Howe commanded 35,000 English soldiers and had an impressive flotilla; on the other hand the Insurgents did not have a settled army, nor any arsenal, and they did not have any industrial capacity to produce arms and ammunition. It was essential, therefore, that they find external aid and for that they turned to France. At the end of 1776, Franklin, a representative of the American Congress, who had been the center of a secret correspondence committee since 1775, traveled to Paris to ask for aid; there he received an enthusiastic welcome. Voltaire welcomed him to the Academy of Sciences (Franklin was the inventor of the lightning rod), Louis XVI granted him an audience in Versailles and, following his arrival, young noblemen—La Fayette, Ségur, Lauzun—set off with him to fight alongside the Insurgents. However, Vergennes, the Minister of Foreign
Affairs, did not want France to intervene too early, so during that period France agreed to supply arms to its new allies, through the intermediary Beaumarchais under cover of the trading company Roderigue Hortalez and Company. This discreet aid lasted two years.

In October 1777, Washington’s troops won an important victory in Saratoga, forcing 6,000 English soldiers to surrender. This event contributed to making the conflict international. On December 17, 1777 Louis XVI officially recognized American independence and on February 6, 1778 he signed a goodwill and trade treaty between France and America as well as a treaty of alliance against England. For France, this war constituted revenge against England, victorious in 1763, as much as it expressed support of the American cause. In April 1779, with the Treaty of Aranjuez, Vergennes obtained Spain’s commitment against England by promising to recover Minorca, Gibraltar, and Florida. He then set to work building up the league of neutral countries: he grouped Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Portugal, Austria, and the Kingdom of Two Sicilies together in support of the demands for freedom of the seas. To combat contraband, English ships had a tendency to abuse rights of access on boats sailing on the Atlantic, the victims of this authoritative English attitude then came together to oppose what they considered to be an abuse of power.\(^7\)

On the American continent, the natives also participated in the War of Independence. The English, like the Americans, struggled to win their allegiance without renouncing the violent methods used to occupy their lands. The French intervention led to a spark of hope for the Outaouais, Shawnees, and Cherokees who saw the French as potential allies in their effort to obstruct Anglo-American expansion.\(^7\) However, this issue sparked strong disagreement between Indian nations. Some feared that independence would promote the pioneers’ expansion toward the West and a large number of them fought on Great Britain’s side and received abundant equipment from that nation.

The French military intervention supplemented the diplomatic measures that expanded the dimensions of the conflict. Initially the French military intervention was essentially a naval one. The fight at sea remained undecided for a long time, then it allowed French admirals to gain some indisputable successes. While Suffren came to the fore on the coasts of India, d’Estaing and Guichen confronted the English in the Caribbean Sea, de Grasse succeeded in taking possession of Tobago, occupying former French colonies once again. In 1780 Washington received an infantry corps sent from France and commanded by Rochambeau. This decision amplified the scope of the French intervention. The 6,000 soldiers stationed in Rhode Island were supposed to join Washington’s troops and descend into the Hudson Valley to attack New York, where the majority of the English forces were concentrated. Once they learned that


Admiral de Grasse’s fleet had succeeded in penetrating into the Chesapeake Bay, Washington and Rochambeau decided to use the back-up provided by these ships to attack Cornwallis’s men stationed at Yorktown along the Bay. They were able to carry out this 600-kilometer move south without the enemy noticing. Bringing together all their naval and land forces, they blocked Cornwallis and his men. The British general was forced to surrender on October 19, 1781 with 6,000 soldiers, 2,000 sailors, 160 canons, and 22 flags.

In England the situation became more and more difficult. The country had lost thirteen colonies and now only had New York, Savannah, Charlestown, and Halifax, as well as eastern Florida. While it had also lost Minorca and numerous islands in the Antilles, it was without a single ally and the war had already cost 100 million pounds sterling. In London on March 5, 1782, the House of Commons called for the beginning of negotiations with the rebellious colonies. Lord North had to resign and a new cabinet made up of Fox and Shelbourne set about negotiating. They managed to reach an agreement separately with the Insurgents who broke away from Spain’s demands. On November 30, 1782, during the preliminary peace agreements, England recognized the independence of the Thirteen Colonies and by setting the borders conceded all the territories located south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River. By making unexpected concessions, England succeeded in limiting the benefits it was supposed to grant to France and its allies. The natives found themselves on the losing end when the Treaty of Versailles was signed on September 3, 1783. Like the black slaves, they were part of “The American Revolution’s forgotten ones.” The treaty contained three other agreements: an Anglo-Dutch convention to settle the mutual return of conquests and captures, an Anglo-Spanish convention according to which Spain was to recover Minorca and the largest part of Florida, an Anglo-French convention that only brought France a few territorial restitutions: the return of its establishments in Senegal, Tobago and Saint Lucia in the Antilles, Saint Pierre and Miquelon and the right to fortify Dunkirk and the trading posts in India. The American War of Independence gave a new geographical dimension to European relations. From 1778 to 1783 disputes took place in North America and in the Antilles between England, France, and Spain. The Insurgents triumphed in this extra-European war. For the first time, a nation was born of the will of its citizens and inscribed the fundamental principles of all political democracy in a founding charter.

The American Revolution and the War of Independence are two events that are difficult to separate. It is both the moment of the nation’s independence and the moment a republic was established. Once this is put in place, it is important to remember that the choice of one

---

73 Caron (François), La guerre incomprise ou la victoire volée. Bataille de la Chesapeake - 1781, Paris, Service historique de la Marine, 1989.
75 The 1787 Constitution put forward the organization and the ideological foundations of the new federal State; which are in the first place liberty, the belief in God, and the right to happiness.
expression or the other is not without meaning. Historians have long used “American Independence” or “War of Independence” to evoke the events that occurred in America between 1770 and 1787, emphasizing the military events more than the political upheavals. On the other hand, American historians speak more in terms of an “American Revolution.” Let us not forget the importance of the case of John Richard Alden’s book entitled The American Revolution 1775-1783 and translated into French in 1965 as La guerre d’Indépendance (The War of Independence). These semantic differences touch on the meaning given to the word “revolution.” Marcel Dorigny provided an interesting and convincing interpretation on the topic in 2004:

“If by a Revolution we mean a sudden transformation, violent or not, in a given society’s system of government, then the birth of the American Republic was without a doubt a Revolution, the first in a cycle that in less than half a century transformed a large portion of the political regimes in the New World and in western Europe. In rejecting British colonial domination, the Insurgents not only established a sovereign State from territories hitherto possessions of the British crown; they created a new style of government and declared universal principles; all that even if their initial ambitions were more modest.”

Isabelle Laboulais

---

76 For a very illuminating historical record on the different ways in which this period was handled, see Portes (Jacques), et al, Europe/Amérique du Nord, Cinq siècles d’interactions, Paris, A. Colin, coll. U, 2008, p. 69-94.
79 Sometimes the word “revolt” is preferred over “revolution”. As such, André Kaspi identifies “the time of independence” which he subdivides into three periods: the colonies’ revolt (1763-1775), independence (1776-1789) and the first steps of the Republic (1789-1815); see Kaspi (André), Les Américains. 1. Naissance et essor des États-Unis (1607-1945), Paris, Seuil, coll. Points, 2002, p. 90-125.
80 Dorigny (Marcel), Révoltes et révolutions en Europe et aux Amériques (1773-1802), Paris, Belin Sup, 2004, p.110.
The Attack of Redoubt 9: Between Historical Account and Memory

The French and American forces attack on the English redoubts 9 and 10 represented the turning point of the Siege of Yorktown. With the capture of these defences the English were completely surrounded on their last line of defense. The second trench, formerly under the protection of the two redoubts, was thus secured. This event gave the artillery troops the chance to reach their targets inside the enemy entrenchments at will. The officers in charge of the French attack on redoubt 9—Baron Vioménil, Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, and Baron de Lestrade—displayed courage that was recognized by everyone. The operation was a undisputed success. Guillaume de Deux-Ponts gave a moving account of this attack: “With troops so good, so brave, and so disciplined as those that I have had the honor to lead against the enemy, one can undertake anything, and be sure of succeeding, if the impossibility of it has not been proved. I owe them the happiest day of my life, and certainly the recollection of it will never be effaced from my mind.” Flohr is the only one who paints a bleak picture of this attack, as he evokes a fratricidal combat between the different French units: “The soldiers were so unrelenting against one another that our own men killed one another. The French lashed out at all men wearing a blue uniform and ran them through with their bayonets. But the Deux-Ponts regiment was also wearing blue, this is why many of its soldiers were killed”. How could these troops, so exemplary according to Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, remain that way even under conditions of the attack?

Robert A. Selig, a historian with the National Park Service, published an article entitled “Storming the Redoubts” that reproduces Flohr’s account word for word, to the extent of questioning the other versions of this attack in the officers’ diaries. The arguments in this article were reused in a book by Jerome A. Greene called *The Guns of Independence, The Siege of Yorktown 1781*. It presents itself as the benchmark study on the Siege of Yorktown, which integrates the most recent discoveries, among them Flohr’s account. In the preface, Robert A. Selig is presented as “the researcher who found and first used Flohr’s recollections to advantage”. Jerome Greene takes into account the possibility of a fratricidal combat to explain the fact that the number of losses in the French ranks were larger than those among the American troops in charge of redoubt 10, as well as during the head-on attacks of the French forces during the Siege. Jerome Green also cites Selig who imagines that this episode was disregarded deliberately, because “if widely known, would have greatly damaged the image of the professional soldier that the French were anxious to maintain”. According to Selig, a true conspiracy of silence prevented the truth from breaking out. The French officers in charge of the

---

81 *My Campaigns in America, a journal kept by Count William of Deux-Ponts 1780-1781*, translated from the French Manuscript by Samuel Abbott Green
82 This federal organization in America maintains and promotes historical sites, such as the site of the Siege of Yorktown.
attack, as well as the grenadiers and the chasseurs who participated deliberately hid from their contemporaries, comrades, but also from the readers of their future memoirs or diaries, the fact that soldiers from the Gâtinais regiment killed some of their own in the Royal-Deux-Ponts as much by heedlessness as by fury or excitement to the point that “the redoubt was strewn with the dead and wounded, so much that we had to walk on them” (Flohr, diary page 80). In *Guns of Independence*, the author remains wary and recognizes that such a scenario could explain the largest number of dead and wounded of the entire siege.\(^{85}\)

Since the publication of Jerome Greene’s book in 2005, a webpage entitled “Flohr’s Invention: A revisionist Account of the French Assault on Redoubt 9, Yorktown, 14 October 1781”, which is accessible on the site xenophongroup.com, takes stock of the question in a very analytical and well-argued way. Its members hunt down the “bad historians” online.\(^{86}\) The following arguments have been put forth. First, the assertion that “the French lashed out at all men wearing a blue uniform” rests on an understanding of the attack that is not logical. The Gâtinais regiment actually preceded the Royal Deux-Ponts in the immediate man-to-man attack of the redoubt, which lasted about 10 minutes. In his account, Florh does not mention the regiments’ actions when faced with the enemies, the English and the German mercenaries from Hesse and Ansbach. So what reasons did the Gâtinais soldiers have for attacking those from the Royal Deux-Ponts with bayonets, who were behind them, whereas the enemies were in front? The second argument is one based on statistics. The Gâtinais regiment that entered the redoubt first suffered more losses than the Royal Deux-Ponts. Thirdly, the conditions described by Flohr at the start of this fratricidal combat must be taken into account: darkness, “the relentlessness toward one another”. Only the French from the Gâtinais regiment suffered from this visual handicap, and with tragic consequences. In the account, neither the Royal Deux-Ponts nor the English troops seemed affected by the darkness. Flohr does indicate thereafter that the English bombarded the redoubt that the French troops fought hard to take, but only after the fratricidal combat, and after the ground was covered with bodies. Flohr specifies that because of this bombardment “we had to endure great suffering” (page 80) without giving any more details. Was this bombardment so ineffective? Flohr seems more inclined to attribute the dead and wounded to the combat between the French and the Germans than to the English defense or the bombardment that followed the attack. The last of these arguments is certainly the most convincing. The author of the webpage quite rightly challenges the status of Flohr’s eye-witness account, and thus his personal participation in the attack of redoubt 9.

This account must be situated within the whole of the war diary produced by Flohr, something the author of this text was not able to do. But, as is indicated in the very title of his work, Flohr wrote the “Description of the Land and Sea Expedition in America of the Acclaimed

---

\(^{85}\) “Whether Flohr’s account of what happened inside the redoubt is accurate will never be known with certainty”, p. 253.

\(^{86}\) Nevertheless, these “historians” do not cite their sources.
Deux-Ponts Regiment”. In this respect, he almost consistently uses the first person plural in his account of events, contrary to other war memoirs, such as for example Joseph Plumb Martin’s, another participant of the Siege of Yorktown. We have highlighted the repeated undifferentiated use of the pronoun “we” in the manuscript, used as much to mention actions in which Flohr participated (for example: “On the 6th, we set off again for 14 miles to Wilmington”, page 51) as for episodes where he was not there. This is particularly obvious when Flohr describes how a Royal Deux-Ponts military group was captured at sea by an English ship, and then this group’s imprisonment on the island of Jamaica (page 206-213) using this omnipresent “we” even though he had been in Venezuela for several weeks and uses the first person singular to tell several anecdotes that happened to him personally (“There is also a species of tree here which makes one swell up as much as the skin will allow (...) which I myself saw and was affected by”, page 201).

The account of the capture of redoubt 9 is cast in the same mold, it is most likely an anecdote that Flohr integrated into his narration under the guise of completeness in documentation. If Flohr had really participated in this famous and glorious attack, why would he not have told of this crucial moment in his campaign in the first person as he does in other places?

A second element can confirm that Flohr was not an eye witness to the events on the night of October 14, 1781. As he himself puts it, the grenadiers and chasseurs of the Gâtinais and Royal Deux-Ponts regiments were chosen for the attack on the redoubt 9, yet on page 75 Flohr mentions: “That day, at noon, the order was given to the grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Royal Deux-Ponts and Gâtinais regiments that they were to assemble, in the evening, on the right wing near the entrance to the trenches on the American side. In the evening they did indeed assemble on the right wing as the order had been given”. “They did assemble” and not “we did assemble”. Then on the subject of the reward for the attack (page 80): “After our return to France, Count Christian de Deux-Ponts, Colonel of the regiment, asked the Court once more for the permission to have the regiment preceded, when it was marching, by this mortar that they had won during such a perilous assault, which was graciously granted.” The author does not clearly include himself in the group of attackers. Still more clues are scattered throughout the text, for example, earlier in the narration, on the September 7 Flohr notes on page 52 that “we set off again for 12 miles to Head-of-Elk, a small town on the banks of a beautiful river with intense traffic called Elk. There all the grenadiers and Chasseurs of the army boarded ship to go to Jamestown then to Williamsburg”, but he does not specify if he boards with them. It is the same thing further into the narration, on page 132: “Upon our arrival we were boarded on ships. The grenadiers, Chasseurs, as well as the largest company of riflemen were boarded on the war ship The Brave. The other companies, on a ship christened L’Isle de France”. Flohr did not board The Brave, but Ile de France. Flohr was a mere rifleman, and given his status, he could not have participated in the attack of redoubt 9. Thus it seems that the first readers of Flohr’s manuscript wrongly judged the “we”, this expression of a collective that fluctuates throughout the account, as being sufficient proof to give Flohr the status of eye-witness to an event that he did not experience but
that he reported. Reading Flohr’s text too quickly means perhaps missing one of the major characteristics of Flohr’s diary: its dimension of collective memory.  

If Flohr was not present at the event, but only heard mention of it, what he reports is not entirely incorrect. In his first published article devoted to Flohr, Robert A. Selig notes: “On April 22, 1780, he transferred to the elite company of chasseurs under Captain Christian Ludwig Phillip von Sundal.” The 1995 article by the same author uses this information again, which this time is much more useful as it gives proof of Flohr’s presence during the attack. Yet the regiment registers very clearly indicate that Flohr left the army in August 1784 as a rifleman. At that time he left the company called “de Sundahl”, from the name of its captain. It is the fourth company of the first battalion. Sundahl was head of this company on a list dated June 26, 1783. On the contrary, according to Tröss, Flohr was part of the Von Böse company when he entered the regiment. Yet Von Böse does not appear on the list from June 26, 1783. Thus, it is in all likelihood that Captain Sundhal replaced Von Böse as head of the 4th company between 1775 and 1780 and not that Flohr was transferred to a supposed elite company, the company of Chasseurs which is, for that matter, a distinct company. Considering these elements, what are the sources that allow Selig to give Flohr the status of Chasseur and thereby that of eye witness?

According to the Society of the Cincinnati of France webpage (the French branch of the former officers’ organization created by George Washington on September 3, 1783), the “1995 critic”—i.e. Selig, who is not named—is judged guilty of having gone so far as to invent the transfer to the Chasseurs, even giving the date”. The report of this controversy repeats certain arguments of the Xenophongroup web page. However, the goal of this page is different, and according to its author: “The capture of redoubt 9 has become the focus of a local community lobby committed to proving the decisive role of a few soldiers of German origin in the victory of Yorktown. It is about forging a more positive image, in the history of the struggle for independence in the United States, than the Hessian image of a nation-state that did not yet exist at that time”. As such, promoting Flohr’s account on the subject of the fratricidal combat is not limited to one academic publication, it is present at the very site of redoubt 9, on the historic site of the Battle of Yorktown. These few lines taken from Flohr’s diary even appear on an explanatory sign “offered to the National Park Service by a generous donor.” At the time this notice was put up, the site explains that a ceremony organized in honor of the “German regiment

---

87 On this subject, see Edern Hirstein, “Le Journal de Flohr, à la croisée des mondes et des pratiques d’écriture”, second year Master’s thesis directed by Mrs. Isabelle Laboulais, Professor of Modern History at the University of Strasbourg, 2013.
90 Tröss (Karl-Rudolf), Das Regiment Royal-Deux-Ponts, Gesammelte Beiträge zur Geschichte des Regiments, Stadtverwaltung Zweibrücken, Juli 1983.
91 The citations in the last paragraph are from the Society of the Cincinnati website, the address of which is: http://www.cincinnatidefrance.fr/histoire/171-yorktown-la-capture-des-redoutes.
of Zweybrücken” had taken place before the redoubt 9 since 2006, a ceremony in which the Mayor of the city of Zweybrücken has already participated and to which the French delegation was not invited. To this, the Society of the Cincinnati of France, associated with the Souvenir Français, an association that maintains the memory of fallen soldiers, responded by organizing a counter-celebration for the attack of redoubt 9. Moreover, the society asked the National Park Service to remove certain passages from the notice which, according to these organizations, “tend to give recognition to another country for an achievement that is entirely French”. This debate, which currently has had no further development due to a lack of serious research, nonetheless shows the issues raised by Flohr’s manuscript. This document, whose significance remains little known, cannot be considered on the sole basis of this short passage, nor reduced to this simple function. The readers of its transcription or its translation will be able to see for themselves.

Edern Hirstein
Account of the Land and Sea Expedition in America of the Acclaimed Deux-Ponts Regiment from 1780 to 1784

Written in Strasbourg on the 5th of June in the year 1787 by Georg Flohr.

Annotated edition based on Albert Schreiber’s French translation.
Introductory texts by Grégoire Binois, Daniel Fischer, Edern Hirstein, Thomas Tricot under the direction of Isabelle Laboulais.

July 2013
Foreword

concerning the present description of America as I have scrupulously noted day after day during the war opposing England and American colonies,\footnote{The Georg Flohr who resided in Sarnstall on May 12, 1843 is not the author of this manuscript. Just like the other members of the Flohr family mentioned in the register on the last page of the document, he is one of the owners of this work which was passed down from generation to generation up to this “latest” Georg Flohr in 1843. According to Robert Selig he is the great-grandson of Georg Daniel Flohr’s half-brother, so the author’s “half-great-grand-nephew”. He lived from 1800 to 1854. Selig (Robert), “A German Soldier in America, 1780-1783, The Journal of Georg Daniel Flohr”, \textit{William and Mary Quarterly}, volume 50, n°3, July 1993, p. 575-590.} that is to say the cities, boroughs, villages and properties of gentlemen as well as the untamed lands that I crossed at that time; as well as

\footnote{“the war opposing England and American colonies” is a unique name for the American War of Independence. This shows that Flohr did not know of the name that had been given to the new State—the United States of America—since the Declaration of Independence. This expression never appears in his manuscript.}
the traditions and customs of the inhabitants, in North America and in Western America. Likewise you will see great and beautiful rivers full of boats as well as fortified seaside ports of the Western Indies and North America. You will also find a few Antillean islands and West Indian islands illustrated in detail with their fortresses, etc., and the descriptions of all sorts of plants and animals I saw at the time on the seas or on land.

The explanation for this foreword is that in the account of the journey to America distances are given in English miles, and in general all the names are written down in English, sometimes transcribed phonetically; here they are specified in German: Town or Taun refers to the German Stadt (town); a Tawern or Taweren is a Wirts-Hauß (tavern, inn); a Schändelmän means an Herr (gentleman-farmer, important land owner, planter); a Plantasche is a Hofgut (plantation, agricultural area); a Bourg is a Flecken (village, small town); etc. These day-to-day notes were subsequently written in Strasbourg on the fifth of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven.

95 In geography dictionaries published in the 18th century, America, the West Indies, and the New World are three synonymous expressions. The latter two having been judged dated, the word “America” is used most frequently to refer to one of the four parts of the world. It is subdivided into Northern America and Southern America; the Gulf of Mexico is used to distinguish between both of them. Most likely, for Flohr, the Western Indies still refers to the part of the continent where Christopher Columbus landed; he makes the difference between these islands and North America.
96 Geographical knowledge in the 18th century is encyclopedic and descriptive. Writing the geography of a land meant making all aspects of it known. See Notice Savoirs géographiques et description au siècle des Lumières.
97 The English mile is slightly less than the mile used today in the United States. It is 1609 meters long. It most likely refers to the “Statute Mile” passed into law by the English legislature in 1593 under the reign of Elizabeth I. It has the peculiarity of being the equivalent of 1,852 nautical miles according to The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 4th edition, 2000. Considering Flohr only uses the term “English mile” in the narration when speaking of a sea voyage, he most likely wants to differentiate between the two units.
98 The notes Flohr took during the campaign have disappeared, but it seems difficult to call their existence into question because, in the account he composed in 1787, he indicates the precise number of kilometers he traveled each day.
99 Flohr was discharged in August 1784 and settled in Strasbourg the same year. According to Robert A. Selig, he wrote his war diary there between June 1787 and June 1788. It is possible that in Strasbourg he found himself in the service of Counts de Forbach/Viscounts of Deux-Ponts. The only work that contains a few pages dedicated to the lives of Counts de Forbach upon their return to America it that of Adalbert de Bavière, who was concerned with establishing the biography of the Duke de Deux-Ponts Christian IV and the children he had with his morganatic spouse, later given the title of Countess de Forbach: Christian and Guillaume. (See Bayern Adalbert (von), Der Herzog und die Tänzerin. Die merkwürdige Geschichte Christians IV. von Pfalz-Zweibrücken und seiner Familie, Neustadt, Pfälzische Verlagsanstalt, 1966). There we learn that Counts de Forbach split their time between Versailles, Paris, and Forbach (in Lorraine) in the years 1784-1789, but there presence in Strasbourg was not impossible, as this was where their cousin, the reigning Duke de Deux-Ponts, Maximilien-Joseph, resided for twelve years much to the pleasure of the people of Strasbourg, with whom he was very popular. At 13 Rue Brûlée he owned a sumptuous private mansion, the Deux-Ponts mansion, purchased in 1770 from the Gayot brothers. Maximilien de Deux-Ponts, the future King of Bavaria, split his life between Strasbourg and Ribeauvillé, where he also owned a luxurious chateau. A small court built up around him, which is proven by the presence of numerous German and French noblemen on the day of the baptism of his son in Ribeauvillé at the end of August 1786.
Georg Flohr

Every people in the North-America been the very fine leyd. What the clever town been, this been Philadelphia one very great clever town in the province Pennsylvania all german people, after this been Baltimore in the province Maryland have met dutch people, after this been every plantation and the taverns off the street where I have _______ and what I have looked in the times from three years one have met the frensh troupes all great and little town, after this been Boston one very great clever town in the New England every yankee people, after this been Newport and Providence in the RedIsland, and Hartfort in the Connecticut this been one very well bay from every contry me please so well after the so very fine girls enough in this bay me, he very mutch the revanchists and torys very _, after this been mutch the little town in the Pennsylvania met all dutchgerman persons, this been Albany by the ______ after this Lancaster and Gerningston the very clever little tawn, after this been Friedrigstown in the Maryland every german persons etc. Strasbourg this ______ 5th June 1788

Georg Flohr. S.K.
in possession of a vast fortress which is nearly impossible for an enemy to take.

Around noon, we had already gone beyond the so-called Black Rocks\textsuperscript{101} and, favored by good winds, we reached the high sea without incident.

Around 2 in the afternoon, we had already left the French coasts behind and land had been lost from view, such that we saw only sky and water, as well as the almighty power of God, to which we commended ourselves, as most of us had sworn that never in their lives would they lead a soldier’s life, and they damned the recruiter who had signed them up.\textsuperscript{102} But this was only the

\textsuperscript{100} The first pages of the account are missing. The text therefore begins on page 5, following the pagination of the author. Thus, between the page written in an approximated English and the beginning of this account, where the French troops were waiting for a departure aboard a transport ship that had been delayed several times, we are forced to imagine the account that Flohr gives of this nautical event, the first in a long series. In comparison we can cite the reference made by Viscount de Noailles on the event: “Ternay has the ships rigged to have them anchored in Berthaume. We are going to set sail, but the \textit{Comtesse de Noailles} clumsily approaches the \textit{Conquérant}, which breaks off her bowsprit and damages her such that we are forced to bring this ship back to port so that she may be repaired. The 250 men of the Royal Deux-Ponts that she was transporting are therefore going to stay”\textsuperscript{103}; Viscount de Noailles, \textit{Marins et soldats français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l’Indépendance des États-Unis (1778-1783)}, Paris, Librarie académique Perrin et cie, 1903, 2nd edition, p. 168-169.

\textsuperscript{101} The Black Rocks (\textit{Pierres Noires} in French) are not the cliffs, but the reefs located off the Breton coast, at the exit of the Port of Brest. They are particularly visible on the map “Brest et Environs” by Joachim Du Perron, dated Summer 1780, kept in the Princeton University Library and published in volume 2, p. 206 of \textit{The American Campaigns of Rochambeau’s Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783}, translated and edited by Howard Rice Jr. and Anne Brown, jointly published by Princeton University Press and Brown University Press, 1972.

\textsuperscript{102} Military recruitment was a recurring problem in the armies of the Ancien Régime. Most often carried out on a provincial basis, it was the recruiting sergeants who traveled through towns and villages searching for men to sign up. However, in spite of the promises of education, travel, and pay, the young men were not always susceptible to a military career. Most often the recruits were of lowly birth, making up an army of bandits and vagabonds, contested by the generals attempting to rule with an iron fist. Thus the recruiting sergeants tried as best they could to reach the middle class, into which Flohr was born. When the need for recruitment was more pressing, the recruiting practices became more insidious. To quote Maurice de Saxe in the article of his \textit{Rêveries} devoted to the raising of troops: “Troops are raised by engagement, with surrender, without surrender, sometimes by force, most often by trickery [...] money is put in a man’s pocket, he is told he is a soldier”. Drink and women were also often employed to obtain the consent of future recruits. Thus in town the “enclosure practice” was developed. Men were confined in the room of an inn until they signed their commitment papers. Though these practices were generally opposed by the authorities, they were common nonetheless in the second part of the 18th century. We do not know what recruiting methods were used on Flohr’s friends. However, the recruiting campaigns of the Royal Deux-Ponts occurred both in the duchy of the same name and in Palatinate and in Alsace (491 men from Alsace-Lorraine according to Waltraud Pallasch and Pierre Balliet, “Élsässerund Lothingerim Regiment Royal Deux-Ponts”, \textit{Bulletin du cercle généalogique d’Alsace}, 2007, n°157, 158, 159, and 160, pp. 5-7, 65-67, 125-127, 183-185). The soldiers were therefore mostly German-speaking. The bilingual posters put up in Strasbourg set the tone of this recruitment: “The superb youth who want to enter the aforesaid ROYAL DEUX-PONTs for 4 or 8 years may speak to Mr. de la Touche, Company Captain, who will give them a good appointment and an exact pay. In this way they will benefit from being educated for free, in learning to wield a weapon as well as in learning to dance and write. Young men who understand the French language and who know how to read and write will be promoted in little time if they have good behavior. Those who bring good men will be well rewarded”. Perhaps these promises of advancement were able to seduce the young Flohr and his Protestant friends who had already received a basic education.
beginning, as life was about to truly become harder with each passing day. What follows are the names of the war ships mentioned above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of the war ships</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
<th>Commander of the flotilla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Le Duc de Bourgogne</em></td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Le Neptune</em></td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Le Conquérant</em></td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>L’Ardant</em></td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Le Jasson</em></td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>L’Éveillier</em></td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Le Fandasque</em></td>
<td>22103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.

On the 4\textsuperscript{th}104, favorable winds from the north that were much appreciated by our sailors.

On the 5\textsuperscript{th}, good winds remain. On the 6\textsuperscript{th} we had a bit of fog in the morning until 10 or 11 o’clock.

On the 10\textsuperscript{th}, we crossed the latitude of Bordeaux, a city in France in the Gascogne province.\textsuperscript{105} On the 11\textsuperscript{th}, the horizon was very misty and the winds rather strong. Around noon we were surprised by a sudden storm, so much so that we hardly had time to bring the sails in; the storm developed more hour by hour and it was already shifting us toward the Spanish coasts! This storm was so strong that for those of us who had never been at sea, it was something dreadful. Because the sea was creating waves so high that one would believe they could cover the high Spanish cliffs! Each man kept in his corner, some here and some there, like frightened chickens. Some held onto barrels that were all over the ship, others onto crates, and others still onto all sorts of equipment found on the deck, just to remain upright, the ship was pitching so. Then a

\textsuperscript{103} The author did not copy names of ships, towns, or places, as well as proper nouns in a standard way throughout the text. Here the ship called *Le Fandasque* was christened *Le Fantasque*. It was a third ranking vessel with 64 cannons constructed in 1756. See Roche (Jean), *Dictionnaire de bâtiments de guerre de la flotte française de Colbert à nos jours*, volume 1, JMR, 2005.

\textsuperscript{104} The fourth of the month of May 1780.

\textsuperscript{105} This sort of comment makes one think of pieces of information that introduce the forewords in geographical dictionaries, where we find the area’s position and some indication of its identity, here the link between a city and its province. As it is the case at multiple times in Flohr’s voyage, we are under the impression that he is looking at a map and that he attaches himself to spatial landmarks to describe the maritime itinerary of his regiment.
new wave crashed down and knocked us down, such that during the storm we were, so to speak, dead for half the time.

And so the sailors set about consoling us and saying that we would have to endure this difficult life for 3 or 4 weeks, the length of the voyage.106

7.

Many of our ships have already lost their masts! Some of them signaled that they would not be able to follow the flotilla and they must head to the nearest port, something the commander of the flotilla refused, ordering that repairs should be made at high sea as soon as the storm had ended.107

On the 14th, we sailed off the coast of Cape Finisterre;108 we were still thinking that we would approach the 2 Spanish ports of Ferrol and Corunna in the province of Galicia in the Spanish Kingdom.109 We did not stop tacking along the coasts of Galicia. On the 19th we arrived at the latitude of Portugal and Cadiz.

On the 20th, we tacked up to the latitude of Lisbon.

On the 21st, we set course for America.

On the 22nd, we passed the Azores110 and came to the Atlantic Sea111 where we had better winds, post nubila phoebus,112 that remained nearly the whole month long.

---

106 Three to four weeks were actually necessary to reach the Caribbean West Indies via the southern route in the eighteenth century. The flotilla left on May 2, 1780 in Brest and arrived in Newport, Rhode Island on July 11th via the southern route that was “the longest, that of trade ships”. See Bourgerie, Lesouef, Yorktown 1781, La France offre l’indépendance à l’Amérique, Campagnes et Stratégies collection, Economica, Paris, 1992, p. 35. Admiral Ternay wanted to avoid English fleets. In his diary on page 20, Claude Blanchard notes: “it seemed that this route so far to the south had been indicated by the court in order to avoid the English”. The choice to take the longest but safest route as well as the destination being so far account for the fact that the crossing lasted 72 days.

107 Concerning this storm, in Mes Campagnes en Amérique (p. 4) Guillaume de Deux-Ponts does mention that several ships were damaged, among them La Provence, the frigate with 64 cannons, which was the victim of damage that was impossible to repair at sea.

108 This does not refer to the Breton cape, but rather Cap Fisterra in Galicia.

109 Galicia is one of the Spanish regions situated on the Atlantic seaboard on the northwest extremity of Spain, to the north of Portugal. The ports of Corunna and Ferrol, as well as Santiago de Compostela are located in Galicia.

110 Note the author’s lack of geographical precision: sailing south, on the 19th the ship is at the latitude of “Portugal and Cadiz” whereas the next day it tacks “up to the latitude of Lisbon”, which is much farther north. On the 22nd, Flohr mentions that they passed the Azores, whereas on June 9th he mentions having passed the Canary Islands. Even if the convoy followed the southern route in its Atlantic crossing, a stopover in the Azores, the Portuguese archipelago in the middle of the Atlantic, is highly unlikely. For that matter, if Flohr’s description of the Atlantic journey is compared to that given by Guillaume de Deux-Ponts (Mes Campagnes en Amérique, p. 5), it turns out that
The afternoon of the 23rd, we were able to see two enormous fish that astonished everyone; they were 38 to 40 feet long and their fins that emerged were the size of a man.

All the marine officers and sailors said straightaway that this certainly heralded a storm, which did not fail to appear after several days.

8.

On the 26th we had another wonderful sight: flying fish were whirling about our ship; these fish are eight to ten inches in length and possess two large fins; as long as they are wet, these fish can fly, but as soon as the fins are dry they fall back into the water!

on May 21 the flotilla sailed off the coast of Madera, and not past the Azores. In his campaign diary, Claude Blanchard confirms that flotilla was off the coast of the Isle of Madera on the 22: Blanchard (Claude), Guerre d'Amérique 1780-1783, Journal de Campagne, L. Baudoin and Co., Paris, 1881, p. 19.

111 At that period the term that was most used was the Atlantic Ocean, which is considered to start west of Africa and the Strait of Gibraltar.

112 “Post Nubila Phoebus” is a Latin saying that means: “After clouds, the sun”. Flohr uses this expression a second time during the account of the return journey, for May 19, 1783 and that day’s good wind, on page 231 of the manuscript.

113 Before the metric system was adopted, numerous units of measurement were borrowed from human morphology. In Germanic lands, the value of a foot varies from region to region. In the land of Deux-Ponts, the length of a foot is 0.289 meters. According to others, the “foot of the Rhine” equals between 11 inches, 5 lines, and 3 parts and 11 inches and 7 lines.

114 On reading this description, we can suppose it is a description of an orca, since Flohr reports a dorsal fin the size of a man. The orca is one of the rare cetaceans to have a dorsal fin of this size.

115 Seeing certain marine animals can actually be a bad omen. These recurrent omens are part of the imagination of sailors, they show the vulnerability of men at sea. Not being in control of their destiny, they look for meaning for things they cannot explain. Here, these fish mean that a storm is coming, but if we follow Tzvetan Todorov speaking about Christopher Columbus: “he knows in advance what he is going to find; the concrete experience is only there to illustrate a truth we already possess”, Todorov (Tzvetan), La conquête de l’Amérique, La question de l’autre, Paris, Seuil, 1982, p. 25. Returning to the sight of those fish after the fact, Flohr sees the herald of a storm, which does not fail to arrive.

116 The inch is among the old units of measurement based on the human body. Like the foot, its value varies from one region to another. Most often it is estimated to be 2.7 cm.

117 Image: Anonymous, Poissons volants des Antilles, engraving, v. 1658. Extract from Breton (Raymond) and Rochefort (Charles de), Histoire naturelle et morale des îles Antilles, enrichie de plusieurs belles figures de raretés les plus considérables qui y sont décrites, Rotterdam, A. Leers, 1658, p. 168. Gallica link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b23000062/f33.item.r=poisson%20volants.langFR

Work at the BNU: http://opac.bnu.fr/FullBB.csp?Profile=Default&OpacLanguage=fr&SearchMethod=Find_2&PageType=Start&PreviousList=Start&NumberToRetrieve=10&RecordNumber=&WebPageNr=1&StartValue=1&Database=1&Index1=1&UrlEncodedRequest=*A7*83*2CS*A6*B5*05h*12*11Q*A5*7B*15*FFg&WebAction=ShowFullBB&SearchT1=1.1901231&SearchTerm1=1.1901231&OutsideLink=Yes&ShowMenu=Yes

57
The reason for this is that another variety of fish, called the sea bream or the golden trout, which can reach four to five feet in length, and which are a beautiful sky blue, prey upon them. Because of those fish, the flying fish avoid being in the water in order to protect themselves from the sea breams.

On the 6th of June, we had the most powerful storm yet, and it was one misfortune after the next; were he in such peril, the most faithless of men would pray to God to save him. But as soon as the fair weather returned, we again heard cursing and swearing from all around. Someone looking for his clothing over here—which he had lost during the storm–some other looking over there.

On the 8th, we came upon other fish that were as big as monsters, called dolphins, halcyons and zonatorias, which greatly amused us all. The same day we also came upon a few grey


119 Faith at sea has been the subject of an abundance of literature. After Shakespeare, the English spoke of a “sea change” that touched each emigrant whose points of reference had changed. The crossing contributed to the creation of a new identity. A bit further on Flohr mentions an unusual lack of religious fervor during the crossing, all the while thanking God for having brought him to America safe and sound. Sailors, being far from life on land, turned to superstitions, looking out for omens that announced whether the crossing would go well or not.


121 Contrary to what Flohr has written, the halcyon cannot be considered as being one of the “fish that were as big as monsters”. Our traveler most likely made an error in transcribing the names of the animals. The name halcyon (“alsion” in the original German edition, and “alcyon” in the French translation) refers to a mythical bird in Antiquity. The legends surrounding the halcyon bird go all the way back to Antiquity; Plato, Aristotle, Ovid, and Julien de Samosate all mention the story of Alcyone, transformed into a bird and wandering the seas in search of her husband Ceyx who had died at sea. Jacques Christophe Valmont de Bomare, in his Dictionnaire raisonné universel d’histoire naturelle (1791), summarizes the different observations made on the halcyon of Antiquity: “they say that this bird has the color and form of a martin; it has webbed feet, like ducks: the extremity of its wings are of a sunny yellow. Halcyons hardly travel unless in groups, & usually only appear during storms: they follow ships, fly very fast one or two feet above the water, & crossing around one another; sometimes they graze the water, & live only at sea. For sure the Kingfishers, and especially the Sailors, respect the halcyons so much that they dare not kill one of them”. The halcyon is most often identified as a kingfisher, but Valmont de Bomare notes that he is also perceived as a tern or seaweed. Legends surrounding this bird were circulated by sailors: “Some sailors guarantee [...] that halcyons drag their nests all the way to the seashore, & that when an offshore wind comes, they lift their wing that serves them like a sail, the wind carries the little vessel offshore, & and they sail like this on their nests in the middle of the waters”. Crossing this bird at sea would be a sign of calm: the Dictionnaire de l’Académie française (1765) adds that “halcyon days” are the seven days that precede and follow the winter solstice during which, according to
kingfishers. On the 9th, we passed the Canary Islands; we saw many clusters of cuttlefish eggs in this region. That the seafaring people should lack in faith is nothing of a surprise, I was myself subject to a scarcity of religious fervor and to heartache during the voyage.

On the one hand it is not surprising; as there are moments when sorrow will not allow it. As for myself, many times did I thank God for having allowed me to return safe and sound, and actually this does indeed deserve gratitude, as each day we saw the sight of our companions thrown into the depths of the sea. This is not at all surprising, as all of our victuals were so little cooked and bad that they would make us sick. These victuals consisted each day of 36 half-ounces of biscuits, distributed in three rations: in the morning at 7 o’clock, at noon, and in the evening at 6 o’clock. As for meat, it was 16 half-ounces per day, either salted bacon or beef, it

9.

the legend, the halcyon builds its nest, the virtue of which being that the sea is rendered completely calm. In Honoré Lacombe de Prézel's *Dictionnaire iconologique* (1758) he specifies that the halcyon is a symbol of peace and tranquility. Valmont de Bomare notes that for numerous authors the bird’s nest, which is composed of bits of fish flesh or polyps, resembles the sea polyp called *alcyon*. Naturalists define this polyp in a vague way: “body or substance found in the seas”.

122 No fish or marine species has the name “zonatoria”. In his travel account, Flohr seems to report things he heard without actually having verified the exactitude of the information. The word “zonatoria” seems to be a combination of the Latin “zona” meaning “belt” and “toria”, which would be a transformation of the term “doria”. “Doria” does not exist in Latin. It is most likely a latinization of the French word “doré” (T.N.: golden), conferring a scientific aspect to the designation. There is no such fish named the “golden-belted fish”, but the “silver-belted fish” (T.N: in French “ceinture d’argent” or “ceinture argentée”) does exist. The silver-belted fish belongs to the trichiure genus and is also called *lepture*. Lacépède, in his *Histoire naturelle des poissons*, writes that: “their stretched and compressed bodies resemble the blade of a sword, or, if you will, a ribbon; and that is why the *lepture*, which adds to this physical structure the color and radiance of silver, was named the *silver-belted fish*” (Lacépède, *Histoire naturelle des poissons*, an VIII, p. 182). However, the *lepture trichiure* is a freshwater fish. A species of them exists that lives in the “seas of the India” (ibid., p. 190), and that is known for being able to generate electrical current to protect itself, but “instead of displaying gold and silver to decorate [the *lepture*], it has only dull colors; it is brown and spotted” (ibid., p. 190). To summarize, the fish that Flohr would have seen could be a visual equivalent of a *lepture trichiure* living in the maritime environment.

125 The Canary Islands make up the Atlantic archipelago situated 150 km off the coast of Africa, south of Morocco, and 1,000 km from the coast of Spain, under Spanish sovereignty since the 15th century. It is difficult to determine what Flohr meant when he notes they “passed the Canary Islands”, whatever the case, neither Guillaume de Deux-Ponts nor Claude Blanchard mentions the Canary Islands in their respective journals, if it is only to mention the “clusters of cuttlefish eggs” of which Flohr speaks that for Blanchard are (p. 21) “seaweed, kelp, grass that detaches itself from the undersea rocks or from the Canary Islands, it has small seeds in the shape of a cluster of grapes, the sea is covered with it”.

124 “it” = that one feels a profound religious fervor.

126 The ounce is a unit of mass, it equals about 30 grams (between 24 and 33 depending on the place).
was cooked to be served for the noon meal. But this meat was so salty that thirst was always greater than hunger. Whereas in the evening we had to make due with a nasty broad bean soup, or something like it, to which oil had been added. For someone who had never before seen the likes of it, all it took was one look at the cook, a truly filthy man, and his appetite would be gone; but when you have nothing else, when you cannot obtain other things, you end up thinking that it is good.

10.

Does not the saying go “hunger is a good cook”? That was why we had to consider ourselves satisfied with the food that was served to us and taste of it as if it were candy. When the cook prepares his soup, it is a surprising sight to see him put a large copper cooking pot on and off the stove in which he is to make the soup for 8, 9, 11, 12 hundred people and sometimes even more, as many as 14 hundred people.127 As for the drink, the wine and eau-de-vie are excellent and the daily ration is a quarter of good red wine also distributed three times. If it is eau-de-vie, it is distributed in rations of a half quarter of a glass. Regarding water, there is very little of it, and most often we are only given a quarter per day, so that thirst is always greater than hunger.

Sleeping is not very pleasant either, as it is done in hammocks of linen canvas suspended in all corners by ropes; these hammocks are assigned to two men each, but most of them must always sleep directly on the floor, isn’t it said around here that whoever wants to sleep well should stay at home?

On June 2\textsuperscript{nd}, the horizon appeared clear and cloudless with a rather strong wind from the southeast;

11.

around two in the afternoon there was a dead calm that lasted all night through to morning.

On the 3\textsuperscript{rd}, we had a bit of wind once again, still from the southeast.

127 Though the figures Flohr indicates to give an idea of the situation on board the other ships of the flotilla are perhaps slightly overestimated, one should note that they are probably not far from the reality. Actually, the vessel with 74 cannons could carry nearly 800 people in normal times. So, aboard a vessel with 80, which is additionally charged with transporting the troops, the total of a thousand men could be easily reached. Additionally, the flotilla outbound from Brest was not sufficient in number to carry all the troops that were initially expected. We can therefore think that the maximum carrying capacity of the ships was easily reached. Overpopulation was therefore a reality onboard.
On the 6th, we had very nice winds from the east that were so good that we whipped along toward America joyously. In the afternoon around 4 o’clock we encountered a Swedish trade ship heading toward the West Indies. On the 10th, the horizon again appeared a bit foggy and there was a strong wind.

On the 18th, again good east winds.

On the 19th, around 5 o’clock in the evening, a sailor cried out from atop the center mast that he spotted a ship on the south side that seemed to him to be a war ship: as soon as the commander had heard him he signaled to the frigate Carelle to launch a pursuit to see which navy it belonged to. The frigate returned and announced that it was an English war ship.

On the 20th, at sunrise, we saw 2 large ships off the same side of our ship; the frigate and the war ship L’Eveiller launched a pursuit straight away. Around 8 o’clock we saw 6 more ships. The commander immediately gave the sign to all the war ships and frigates to remain ready for battle, and to the transport ships to stay grouped in a triangle formation as well as they could.

The frigates and the privateers had to protect them as well as possible. Around 1 o’clock in the afternoon, our two ships returned and announced that it was an English flotilla.

12.

The term *Indes occidentales* (West Indies) is a denomination that fell into disuse in France in the 18th century. *West Indies* is, however, used more in the English language than in French where the designation “Antilles” allows one to refer in geographical terms to all the islands situated in the Caribbean.

War ships were the most imposing vessels in the eighteenth century flotillas. Very heavy, difficult to maneuver, they were called “floating fortresses”. These ships were classified according to the number of cannons they carried. In the eighteenth century ships with 74 cannons were preferred to ships with 64 in the seventeenth century, the former being mass-produced. The French navy also possessed ships with 80, like the *Duc de Bourgogne*. The largest of these ships could have more than one hundred cannons, but were generally too difficult to maneuver. Their maintenance being very costly, these ships only went out to sea during wars, and most often stayed in port during times of peace, the day-to-day missions being left to the frigates.

A frigate is a medium-sized war ship, smaller than the large war vessel, and larger than the corvette. Being both fast and well-armed, frigates are able to take part in combat as well as to be charged with reconnaissance missions. These ships generally displayed between 32 and 44 cannons, and could take between 250 to 450 men aboard.

A privateer is a ship armed by private ship owners who received official authorization from the State to make war against the enemy country’s trade ships.
Around 2 o’clock, the ships had come so close to one another than we could easily talk to them with the loud-hailer. Our commander called out to them, but he did not receive a response; they overtook us all down the line to reach some wind, but we immediately made a counter-maneuver. To this they hoisted their flags and fired in our direction, then both sides fired; some of their ships fell out of line and began to pursue our transport ships, upon which we also changed our alignment to get ahead of them.

This battle would last from 2:30 till nightfall, and was lost by both sides. 3 English vessels were so damaged that they had trouble moving forward. On our side, 4 ships were seriously damaged. On the 21st, while we were heading toward Charleston, South Carolina, we passed the Chesapeake Bay within close sight. On the 22nd, a privateer announced that Charleston had been taken. We set off straight away for North America as follows.

**Line of English vessels under the command of G[ener]al Kress**

133 Image: F. Jukes, *Vue du vaisseau Le Médiateur de 44 canons qui a attaqué et dispersé une escadre de cinq vaisseaux de guerre français et américains*, estampe, 1783. Gallica link: [http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8410371f.r=am%20%C3%A9ricains.langFR](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8410371f.r=am%20%C3%A9ricains.langFR)

134 The other accounts that are available also recount this battle of June 20, 1780 at the same latitude of the Bermuda islands (position of the 18th of June indicated by Blanchard in his diary on page 24) without actually giving it a precise name. Claude Blanchard gives an interesting account of it on pages 24 to 29 of his diary, especially concerning Admiral de Ternay’s conduct, he mentions the presence of General Cornwallis at the head of the English fleet, and gives an assessment of the combat.

135 South Carolina is one of the thirteen English colonies of North America, later one of the federal states of the United States of America. After unsuccessful colonization attempts by the French then the Spanish, King Charles I announced a charter in 1629 that founded the province of Carolina between the 36th and 31st parallels. This province split into two parts, North and South, in 1719. Each bestowed with royal charters, they were colonies of the crown (the governor of which was named by the sovereign). South Carolina was a prosperous colony throughout the 18th century, with a typical economy of the South of the United States, based on cotton, tobacco, and slavery. The main town and the port of this colony was Charles Towne (Charleston starting in 1783), the fourth most populous town of the Thirteen Colonies at the time of the Declaration of Independence. The town repelled an English attack in June 1776, but was taken by the English on May 12, 1780. Nearly 5,000 men under the orders of General Lincoln were taken prisoner on this occasion.

136 The Chesapeake Bay is a large estuary located on the east side of the North American continent, an alluvial basin fed by many rivers and estuaries such as the Susquehanna, the James River, the Potomac, and the Rappahannock. Around 300 km in length and from 6 to 50 km in width and with a surface area of 166,000 square km, the estuary stretches from Head-of-Elk in Maryland to Norfolk in Virginia. Flohr’s geographical approximation is considerable as the Chesapeake Bay is actually located north of South Carolina. It is therefore impossible to go past it while heading in the direction of South Carolina coming from the south, as was the case of the French flotilla.

137 After the year 1779 in which no warring party was able to gain the upper hand, the American Colonies’ War of Independence transformed into a war of attrition, psychologically speaking in particular. The English victory during the second Battle of Charleston in South Carolina (April 2 - May 12, 1780), that had been able to resist in 1776, was a hard blow for the Americans. General Clinton coordinated a naval attack and a land assault after a siege of several weeks; 5,000 prisoners were taken within the continental army and the insurgent militiamen. The Americans began having doubts about their forces when their French allies were slow to arrive, thus the English found themselves dreaming of reconquering the American colonies. Cottret (Bernard), *La Révolution américaine*, Paris, Perrin, 2003, p. 235-236.
On the 26th, the weather was good, the horizon a bit misty, the wind came from the south and kept up until around the 29th; on that day there was a violent storm that did not, however, hold us up much given that we were able to come close to the North American coast, without, however, being able to see land.

On July 2nd, the horizon appeared completely covered in mist and the winds were very weak.

On the 3rd, the horizon was so misty that we could not see from one boat to the other.

On the evening of the 3rd, we again had winds from the southeast, but there was still a bit of fog.

On the 4th, the horizon was once again quite covered in mist, and it remained until the 10th, when the fog was so thick that we could not see farther than 10-12 paces, so much so that all the ships were required to beat drums so that they could follow each other by sound; we also had a small artillery fired so that the ships would not lose one another whilst following the sound, etc. But despite all these arrangements 4 ships from our flotilla were lost. As for the thick fog, it was very useful for us because had there been none,

14.

---

138 The pace is a measure of distance which, under the Ancien Régime, was equivalent to about 62 cm. Engineers, like topographers, had a precise knowledge of the length of their pace that allowed them to obtain reliable results. As Valeria Pansini showed, when the body is used as instrument it must be adjusted like any other instrument. Pansini (Valeria), *L’oeil du topographe et la science de la guerre. Travail scientifique et perception militaire (1760-1820)*, EHESS dissertation, under the direction of Jaques Revel, Paris, 2002.
we would have been easily captured. On the 12th, we were so near land that the land sent back the echo of our cannon blasts; around noon the horizon was cloudless and clear and we could see land, which delighted us all, as one could easily imagine, as misfortune had just descended upon us, that is to say a sailor’s illness called scurvy had contaminated in all, aboard the majority of the ships, 2 to 3 hundred men, half of which could no longer walk. Those who were already affected with scurvy no longer felt their aches when they heard that land was in sight. The joy was generally so great for all the soldiers that we forgot to breakfast, reveling in the spectacle of green America and wishing to go there, as the country seemed strange to us due to its vegetation which was unknown to us etc.

Around noon, we entered the port and around 1:30 we had already passed one redoubt located at the entrance; as soon as we were in the port we dropped anchor and could now see the town of Newport embellished with a beautiful town hall and a beautiful bell tower etc.

We had hardly anchored before rowboats coming from the city reached our ships to sell their merchandise.

139 The fleet was constantly at the mercy of a bad encounter. The Royal Navy was informed of the arrival of the French convoy, and combined flotilla of Graves and d'Arbuthnot was off the coast of New York looking for it. De Ternay’s very cautious attitude was sharply criticized by the army officers who blamed him for not having pursued the English fleet they had met earlier, then for having taken advantage of the fog to dash off toward the northwest.

140 Scurvy in today’s German is der Skorbut. But according to the dictionary of the Grimm brothers, der Scharbock is the old term used for this traveler’s illness, derived from the Dutch scheuren meaning to travel.

141 Several centuries after its “discovery” by Christopher Columbus in 1492, America remained a major motif of dreams. By qualifying it as “green America”, Flohr reactives visions of a continent that remained in the state of a Garden of Eden where time stood still. The voyage to America, in the mind of our travelling soldier, corresponds to a meeting with an unknown land where everything remains to be discovered. The interest he shows for the flora is accompanied by his preoccupation with integrating descriptions, or at least the names, of the animals he encountered into the account, be they terrestrial or marine species. The motif of the rediscovered Eden has been represented by artists. In the foreground of this etching, an American Indian, nearly nude, dressed in a loin cloth with his hair done up with feathers, poses and displays his bow and arrows. A sun, placed on his torso, evokes the persistence of an archaic religion and symbolizes a place where time has stopped. At his feet, sacks filled with gold spill out of a chest. In the background, nature, calm and verdant, opens up. A stream snakes through this idyllic landscape. Some men fish at sea, while some nude women rest.


Malraux: ANC ANC 99082.

142 Newport is a port city in the colony of Rhode Island, situated on an island south of the territory and Providence, the current capital of the state. Founded in 1639 by political dissenters at a time when the colony was not recognized, the city prospered, welcoming the first Jewish community of North America in 1658, then a second wave of immigration in the eighteenth century. The port business at the time rivaled that of New York, thanks in particular to the slave trade. Newport being the center of that business in New England. At the beginning of the American War of Independence in 1776, the British decided to take hold of the city out of fear that it would serve as a naval base for a possible attack on New York, their base in North America. Shortly after the treaty of friendship and alliance between the rebelling colonies and France, Newport was the target of a failed siege by Franco-American forces. This failure weighed heavily on the image of French aid for the American cause. The British evacuated the island the following year. In July 1780, the French expeditionary forces placed under Rochambeau’s orders arrived.
15.

namely cherries, apples, pears, etc. Those men in the rowboats were all black, that is to say they were Moors.⁴¹³ But we could not speak to them, as their language was English, this is why they could not speak to us either.⁴¹⁴

On the 14th, around 9 o’clock in the morning, we began to disembark, something we had waited for impatiently, as we were very curious to see the inhabitants of this place; but upon arriving in the town we saw no one save a few Moors here and there, which made us think that the town was inhabited entirely by Moors! But it was not the case, as all the white people had gone into hiding, believing us to be enemy troops, but as soon as they learned that we were their friends and auxiliary troops who had come to help protect them, they came back to the town little by little.⁴¹⁵

As for us, we thought we would be lodged in the town, but the path they showed us crossed through the town and led us to a place nearby the village where they made us set up camp.⁴¹⁶ The next day we did all we could to transfer the sick ashore to hospitals, the inhabitants having accepted to lend the town hall and a church to serve as hospitals. A few days later we were reminded of the English flotilla, but it was too late. But as we thought they were going to attack,

16.

given that the flotilla was made up of 26 war vessels gathered before the port,⁴¹⁷ we set about building redoubts straightaway. Those who were still well and able had to work on the redoubts

---

¹⁴³ The word “Moor” was a term used in reference to black slaves. As the ships often were very significant sites of infection, it is not surprising that the slaves were the ones charged with making the first contact with the new arrivals. Moreover, one can imagine how much the sight of these people was striking for our young German.

¹⁴⁴ A striking encounter indeed, as Flohr is keen to point out that these “Moors” speak English, the language of the land.

¹⁴⁵ As the English combined blockades with naval and land attacks, the colonist fled the coastal towns when the enemy came near and took refuge on their plantations located more inland.

¹⁴⁶ The question of the accommodations for soldiers is important grounds for thought in the eighteenth century. The traditional system of housing them in residents’ homes did lead to a certain amount of trouble, soldiers sometimes taking advantage of their physical superiority to impose upon their landlords. Moreover, accommodations at the home of an inhabitant posed the problem of separation of civil and military realms, and was harmful for establishing discipline. So barracks were built little by little to house the troops in times of peace. However, in times of war, camping was the norm. If Flohr’s regiment was led out of the town to set up camp, it is without a doubt for public safety reasons, as the troops were always seen as troublemakers, and therefore kept apart. Moreover, as France was operating on allied terrain and not on enemy terrain, the practice and the requisitioning of housing was much more difficult to implement.

¹⁴⁷ The French troops were faced with the threat of the Royal Navy and a reaction by the British in New York. The fleet Flohr speaks of was launched in pursuit of the French convoy, led by Admiral Arbuthnot. Sir Henry Clinton, general in chief of the English forces, intended to attack Newport with a part of his garrison and with the help of a
day and night, while scurvy was developing from day to day! Consequently, in a company of 110 men there were not more than 18 to 20 able-bodied men, all the others had been struck with scurvy.

As all the inhabitants had at present come back to the town and everyday would see the misery of the very large number of sick men, who for the most part could no longer stand on their own legs and yet were forced to take their walk, they pitied them greatly and did as much good for them as they could. The worst misfortune was that no doctor had any other remedy or advice to give against scurvy that to force them to walk, which is what they did. As 200 to 300 individuals were dying each day, we hastened to discover the true remedy. Most of the time with this illness the heart is healthy, and in a half hour dead and alive etc.

At present, we were feeling very happy in our camp, as in our vicinity we had 2 beautiful neighbors who lived in a windmill, one was named Hanne and the 2nd, Malle; they knew a few snippets of German and soon they opened a bar where they offered eau-de-vie;

of which all the soldiers were in favor, not only because of the alcohol, but also because of the 2 beauties who provided all kinds of pass times for the soldiers.

As for our provisions, at present they were very good and each day consisted of a pound and a half of bread and 2 half-ounces of rice, as well as a pound of beef, this kind of food was sold at very high prices here: for a three-pound loaf of bread one had to pay 40 to 42 hold and even then one had to negotiate to have it.

Concerning the inhabitants’ money, it was made of paper, the size of a playing card; the stamp of the province was printed on it and was signed by the governor. On November 11th we entered

---

strong Royal Navy fleet, but he was prevented from doing so by the arrival of Washington and his troops near New York. Admiral Rodney’s arrival with his reinforcements worried the leadership of the allies, who expected an attack on Newport. It did not come since Rodney was very late. The French were also under the threat of a British attack up to the beginning of winter, which explains the hasty construction of defensive positions. The British generals’ inactivity was advantageous as it allowed the French corps to establish a solid base in Newport and to recuperate from the Atlantic crossing.

148 The “scurvy” in question here does not refer to the illness caused by a serious vitamin C deficiency, very common on ships until the middle of the eighteenth century, which was when doctors, notably the one on the Cook expedition, had large stocks of citrus loaded on board for the sailors. The proposed remedy: walking, suggests instead an allusion to the travelers’ illness (see note 51).

149 An allusion tinged with mystery that suggests, beyond any doubt, prostitution.

150 The pound used in the modern Germanic world equals 16 ounces, or 560.012 grams.
into town to take our winter quarters; houses had been constructed to house the land army, the naval troops, however, stayed on the ships. While we were in our winter quarters, our food consisted of 1 pound of bread and a half-pound of corn flour, and a bit of rice and a quarter pound of salt pork or beef. In this land, corn flour is eaten instead of wheat flour.

We got along quite well with the inhabitants, but we were only able to speak to them a little; each of our other soldiers set about courting the girls so as to learn a bit of English; furthermore American women fawned upon us, as we enjoyed great popularity with the girls because we were German and they had a high opinion of the

illustrations

20.

German nation. Concerning the religions, there is a majority of Calvinists; there are also Lutherans; Catholics are more rare. As for the sects, there is a large number of them in this land, namely Neo-Protestants, Neo-Lutherans, Quakers, Dunkers, Anabaptists, Baptists.

151 During the winter, the troops were traditionally housed either in inhabitants’ homes, or in barracks that most often resembled wooden barns. This is most likely the scenario here.
152 Nationalism strengthened in the nineteenth century, notably in German after Napoleon’s conquests, it has long been forgotten that the national spirit was born during the modern era and developed in the eighteenth century. In search of founding myths, the Humanists looked to Germany in Tacitus’s Germania in search of the origins of a people that was never unified. Arminius, by defeating Varus’s Roman armies in the year 9 AD became the mythic hero of the German nation. Justus Möst dedicated a book to him in 1749, a date that Sandrine Kott and Stéphane Michonneau remember as the starting point of the affirmation of German nationalist feelings and an attempt to define what German qualities are: courage, perseverance, integrity, frugality, resistance, and industrial spirit. These qualities began to give rise to clichés that circulated in the eighteenth century and explain the reputation that Germans could have had across the Atlantic. Michonneau (Stéphane) and Kott (Sandrine), “Origines et renaissance nationales”, Dictionnaire des nations et des nationalismes, Paris, Hatier, 2006, p. 279-290.
153 Contrary to the Lutherans who quickly find the support of German universities like Halle to train pastors who will hold services in the American colonies, the Calvinists, who periodically hold synod, are numerous but lack pastors (4 for 53 churches in Pennsylvania, for example). In 1776, two thirds of the 200 Lutheran and Protestant churches were in Pennsylvania. Van Ruymbekne (Bertrand), L’Amérique avant les États-Unis. Une histoire de l’Amérique angloise (1497-1776), Paris, Flammarion, 2013, p. 333. Starting in the middle of the 1670’s, the Huguenots fleeing France joined the Calvinist churches, but many of them entered more structured neighboring communities, and in the southern colonies they had to conform to Anglicanism.
154 Lutherans under the influence of Pietism. These groups of Neo-Calvinists of Neo-Lutherans transposed confessional fractures from the German world and the Netherlands to the New World, with branches formed from successive divisions due to differences of theological or cultural opinion, exacerbated in the period of the Great Awakening in the 1730’s and 1740’s.
155 At the end of the 1640’s in England, George Fox chose to become a travelling preacher in order to call the primitive believers of Christianity led astray as much by the Anglican Church as by the Puritans. He claimed to have a quasi-mystical and direct experience with God that intermediaries like the clergy or the sacraments did not allow one to obtain. Accused of blasphemy, he “trembled” before his judges, hence the name “Quakers”. The Quakers, numerous in England, were persecuted and were victims of discrimination, just like the colonies of New England.
Jews, Arians, Presbyterians, Moravians, Seventh Day Baptists, Tertzianer. Freemasons who organize their ceremonies in public and whom I have often seen going to funerals dressed in their white leather apron, their tools in hand.

The Calvinists have a beautiful church with a beautiful bell tower, as do the Lutherans; but the Catholics do not have one, it is true they do not live in the town. The sects each have their church, but without a bell tower, as they are forbidden from constructing one.

1682 William Penn founded Pennsylvania that would serve as a refuge for them, to the point of being nicknamed "the Quaker State".

Flohr’s text also mentions Tunker, that is translated by Dunkers, from the verb “to dunk”. They are thusly nicknamed because those who are to be baptized are baptized by immersion. Also nicknamed the Church of Brethren or New Baptists (NeueTäufer), this community is a branch of Anabaptism founded in 1708 in Germany, which arrived in Pennsylvania in the 1720’s. Twenty communities existed in America at the dawn of the Revolution in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland.

The Jews in the American colonies had a more enviable status than the Catholics: the law voted by the British Parliament in 1740 to facilitate the naturalization of foreigners settled in the colonies concerned them but excluded the Catholics. Few in number, they represented 1% of the population at the dawn of the War of Independence. These 2,000 Jews frequented five great synagogues in Philadelphia, New York, Newport, Charleston, and Savannah.

T.N.: There is no doubt about the German writing harianer.

In all likelihood this “harianer” refers to “Arians”, several Protestant sects that brought a debate that had actually been closed by the early Church on the human or divine nature of Jesus Christ back into fashion.

Attached to a pyramid-like organization of their advising Church on many levels, which distinguishes them from the Puritans’ Anglicism, Presbyterians were few in number and even shared their places of worship with other Protestant groups. Serious conflicts over doctrine and concerning the training of ministers tore apart the Presbyterians who split into two groups, the Orthodox in Philadelphia and the Pietists in New York. These two rival synods were finally reunited in 1758, though the Pietist version seemed to take over among the Presbyterians.

Here, “Moravian” must be read as “Herrnhutter” in German, from the name of the fiefdom of Count Zinzendorf, their leader. It is a community of Pietists who placed great importance on worship and chanting. Three Moravian communities existed in the Thirteen Colonies: Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pennsylvania, and Wachovia in North Carolina. According to Van Ruymbeke (Bertrand), L’Amérique avant les Etats-Unis. Une histoire de l’Amérique anglaise (1497-1776), Paris, Flammarion, 2013, p. 334. There are 3,000 of them in 1775. The memory of many Indians converted to Christianity by missionaries is guarded within the pages of American history. By contrast, their goal of reuniting all the Protestant sects was a failure.

The Seventh Day Baptists arrived in the American colonies in 1671, breaking with the Baptist churches of Rhode Island, they observe the Lord’s Day from Friday night to Saturday, like a Christian Sabbath, and had an important presence in Pennsylvania.

T.N.: The original German term has been kept, which in itself has caused confusion for historians such as Robert A. Selig: “It is unclear to which group ‘Tertzianer’ refers”. “A German soldier in America, 1780-1783, the journal of Georg Daniel Flohr”, The William and Mary Quarterly, vol. 50, n°3, July 1993, pages 575-590.

The Masonic Brotherhood was therefore not seen as a religious adversary, but apparently as complementary in this instance.

This passage is taken up again and developed on diary page 128. See note below.
Women enjoy much freedom in this land, as no man has the right to beat them under the threat of punishment. Young girls are also very free: when they are 16 years of age, neither the father nor the mother can prohibit them from doing something, they cannot order them to do anything in any domain, and if they have a suitor, he can see them when he wants without saying anything to anyone. Our naval general soon undertook an expedition and made a good capture: 4 ships loaded with Gabonese among them there were more women than men and they had been brought to Newport as prisoners etc.

As for the ships, the general had them sent back to Newport, all but one, which they burned, as they didn’t know what they could do with it, even though the other 3 were in good condition, in this way we claimed ownership of it. The people who were on the old ship preferred to die rather than being taken prisoner! Consequently, we brought them by force, except for a few Moors who unfortunately sank with their ship.

On August 20th, 20 chiefs of primitive tribes arrived from Albany, among them there was a king! These savages were sent from Albany by 4 of their tribes to make inquiries concerning our arrival so as to offer us their alliance. Our general had them come to him via the intermediary of a Canadian interpreter who spoke French and German well and who was originally from Palatinate, and these two interpreters knew the language of the savages as well as their mother

167 The relative freedom that young people enjoy, particularly young girls, is a subject that has drawn the attention of all of the authors of diaries focused on American values. Here, Flohr’s testimony matches numerous accounts left by officers of the Rochambeau corps (Alexandre Berthier, Séguir, Clermont de Crèvecoeur, and others) who had the chance to meet young American girls, most often in Virginia, and to maintain relations with the girls who were “in general much more free in their manners than are our French girls, without being less well-behaved” (Du Perron de Revel, in Journal particulier d’une campagne aux Indes Occidentales (1781-1782), in Bodinier Gilbert, Les officiers de l’armée royale, combattants de la guerre d’indépendance des États-Unis de Yorktown à l’An II, SHAT, Château de Vincennes, 1983, p. 204). They were completely free to see their suitors, however these relations generally remained platonic and were limited to the curious practice (for the French officers concerned) of bondelage which is “the permission given by the parents to be alone in a bedroom with the young girl, to give her tender caresses, but to preserve in her those that only marriage has the right to allow”, Clerment-Crèvecoeur, Journal des guerres faites en Amérique pendant les années 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, p. 69-70, in Bodinier, op. cit., p. 205.

168 Flohr is referring here to the population from the valley of Gabon. This waterway is presented in the geographical dictionaries of the time as having its source in Benin and emptying in the Gulf of Guinea.

169 Flohr is referring to a naval operation planned to intercept the English reinforcements intended to support Arnold. It happened in Virginia under the orders of Captain Le Gardeur de Tilly who was the head of the three ships (the ship of the line l’Éveillée, the frigate la Surveillante and La Gentille). This operation ended with the capture of The Romulus, a 44-cannon frigate and a dozen carrier ships. Viscount de Noailles, Marin et soldats français en Amérique pendant la guerre d’indépendance des États-Unis (1778-1783), 2nd edition, Libr. académique Perrin et cie, Paris 1903, p. 206 (listing 108-272 at the multimedia library).

170 3,000 people from Palatinate had arrived in New York in 1710 and were sent to settle in close contact to Indians. Leaving behind 400 women and children in New York, 2,000 colonists originally from Palatinate, led by Johann
tongue. They spoke the following words to our general Chief Lagagix that mean: Oh father of mine! What shall we do, we who are well intentioned toward you in this present war, we promise to help you in this land: it is with a jaundiced eye that we see that some of our tribes are on the side of the English, but it is true that the English have such good rum and such good ratafia, they also give us gun powder and lead so that we may hunt, and therefore if they do not feel as good in their homes for these reasons, they would come here. Our general answered that his king thanked them and that he did not want them to be lacking in rum etc. Immediately he gave them a few medallions displaying the king’s effigy and the French coat of arms: they lowered them and placed them around his neck; he also gave them a few sabers and beautiful white cloths, as well as red paint to paint one’s face and whole body etc.

They were also granted a house where they could stay.

Conrad Weiser, migrated toward Schoharie, where the Indians allowed them to settle on the lands. There they founded the town of Rhinebeck-on-the-Hudson and several villages along the Schoharie River. The son of Conrad Weiser lived amongst the Mohawks and learned their language, serving as a go-between for colonists and Indians. But the Palatines, after conflicts with the governor of New York and the owners of their lands, decided to migrate toward Pennsylvania by going down the Susquehanna River in 1728. These Palatines that Flohr speaks about are used to playing the role of mediator between the colonists and the Indians; they are probably the descendants of the migrants who left New York to found Tulethocken in Pennsylvania. It is estimated that 50,000 Palatines settled in this county of inland Pennsylvania in the middle of the eighteenth century. According to Huebener (Theodor), The Germans in America, Philadelphia & New York, Chilton Company, 1962, p. 25.

171 Rochambeau’s reception of this Indian delegation is an episode that is written about in the different journals left by the officers. It is a delegation sent by the Governor of the colony of New York, Schuyler, to Rochambeau. The American authorities charged them with strengthening the alliance between the tribes and the United States by proving to them the existence of an alliance with France, to which the Six-Nations Indians remained attached after the loss of Canada. The alliance of the Indian tribes along the border represented high stakes in every conflict in North America. The Six Nation Indian Confederation, traditionally allies of the English, was incidentally defeated by the American General Sullivan in 1779. According to Evelyn Acomb, the editor of Baron von Closen’s diary, there were 13 members of the Oneida tribe and 5 Caughnawagas, coming from the Sault-Saint-Louis region, who were allied with France before 1763. These 19 or 20 Indians were accompanied by two interpreters, one of them a German (Flohr apparently met him). It is most certainly Frey who Closen also describes, originally from Schwetzlingen in Palatinate, a “mason” having lived with the Indian since 1758, and who knew the Englishman (Closen, op. cit., p. 38-39).

172 The Chief “Lagagix” mentioned by Flohr as the intermediary between Rochambeau and the delegation is likely Colonel Louis, or Chief Louis, unfriendly toward the English, and having received this rank by a congressional decision. [Gallatin, “with Rochambeau at Newport”, Franco-American Review, 15, 1937, p. 333].

The dress of these savages was such that they were completely nude save for a tree bark loincloth that was wrapped around them and was coated in all sorts of colors, on their feet they had stag or roe deer skins instead of shoes.\textsuperscript{174} Their language: when they spoke to one another, it was as if geese were quacking to one another. Each soldier was able to see them in town and outside of the town, and each day at noon we brought them\textsuperscript{175} to the parade to see them march.\textsuperscript{176} We also provided them with all kinds of entertainment, notably music and theater, and it was surprising to behold their behavior; I myself was struck many times with surprise, particularly the first time that I saw their way of dancing and their primitive music in the theater built of boards!\textsuperscript{177}

23.

One of them had a very small and roughly made wooden drum, and was beating a strange rhythm with the help of a mallet, while the others were dancing in place in a surprising way, completely nude, save the animal skins they wore on their legs and that came up to the knee, above their knees the thighs were nude, just like their torsos, they had encircled the braided tree bark loincloths to hide their private parts: the whole of their bodies was painted with multiple colors, there hair was colored red and decorated with all kinds of feathers etc.\textsuperscript{178}

\textsuperscript{174} Image: Anonymous, \textit{Sauvages de l’Amérique}, engraving, 1\textsuperscript{st} half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. Link: http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde_fr?ACTION=RETRouver&FIELD_98=TOUT&VALUE98=indien&NUMBER=75&GRP=2&REQ=%28%28indien%29%20%3aTOUT%20%29&USRNAME=nobody&USRWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=5&SYN=1%&&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=100&DOM=All

\textsuperscript{175} T.N.: the wording in the German original is ambiguous; a possible variant is “so that they could see the parade/march”.

\textsuperscript{176} Entertainment in the army was most often made up of gambling, drinking, and girls (all three being banned by the superiors, but practiced in reality). Nevertheless, other forms of entertainment could be offered to soldiers, such as the theater, an important place for socializing. Here, the sight of Indians is another one of these moments of relaxation.

\textsuperscript{177} This refers to a country theater that can be taken apart. We suppose that it boils down to a raised stage. Image: Gabriel Jacques de Saint-Aubin, \textit{Danse d’Indiens}, drawing, eighteenth century. Link: http://www.photo.rmn.fr/cf/htm/CPicZ.aspx?E=2CNU0BBTYU2

\textsuperscript{178} Text taken from Volney (Constantin François), \textit{Tableau du climat et du sol des Etats-Unis d’Amérique, suivi d’éclaircissements sur la Floride, sur quelques colonies Canadiennes et sur les Sauvages, enrichi de quatre Planches gravées, dont deux Cartes Géographiques et une coupe figurée de la chute de Niagara}, t.2, Paris, Courcier and Dentu, year 8-1803. [MALRAUX: ANC 97351] p. 423-424: “Imagine the nearly nude bodies, tanned by the sun and open air, gleaming with grease and smoke; the head bare, thick black hair, smooth, straight and flat; the face marked with black, blue, and red, by round, square, and diamond-shaped sections; one nostril pierced so as to wear a large copper or silver ring; three-tiered pendants fell from the ears to the shoulders, from holes that a finger could fit through; a small square apron covering the pubis, another covering the coccyx, each attached by a belt of ribbon or rope; the thighs and legs were bare, soon embellished by a long cloth gaiter; a slipper of smoked hide on the feet; in some cases, a shirt with big short sleeves, multicolored or dyed blue and white floating on the thighs: above a wool covering or a bit of square twill thrown on one shoulder, and tied under the chin or under the other armpit: if the request is made for war or celebration finery, the hair is braided, and the braids ornamented with feathers, grasses, flowers, even small bones: around the upper arm the warriors wore large copper or silver bands that look like our dogs’ collars, and around their heads diadems formed from loops of
As soon as they had danced for about an hour, some of them painted themselves with other colors and put all sorts of rings in their noses and ears. On the end of their noses they had 2 or 3 holes in which to put rings, their ears were slashed in three parts, each of which held a ring.\textsuperscript{179}

They did not use chairs either but were sitting on the ground all the time. They also have surprising customs in their land! When they are old and can no longer hunt, their peers bury them alive, upright, and set fire to their head and the whole tribe dances around to the sounds of music produced from a small drum;

They did not use chairs either but were sitting on the ground all the time. They also have surprising customs in their land! When they are old and can no longer hunt, their peers bury them alive, upright, and set fire to their head and the whole tribe dances around to the sounds of music produced from a small drum;

24.

when they marry, the groom gives the bride the foot of a game animal, and the bride gives the groom a handful of wild plants instead of bread: this means that the groom is responsible for meat and the bride is responsible for bread.

On a few occasions I visited the German interpreter that I had met fortuitously at the cabaret, and who, hearing me speak German with my friends, became involved in our conversation and told us how he had arrived here, telling us that he was from Palatinate and that his father had emigrated to America and had brought him along as a small boy, and how he had died, thus he found himself amongst the Savages — and that now it had been 23 years that he had been living with them and he planned to stay.\textsuperscript{180}

Each Friday the Savages change location. They also perform their worship service and their sacrifices, and say that God is a benevolent man, but they must perform sacrifices to the devil so

\textsuperscript{179} Text taken from Long (John), \textit{Voyages chez différentes nations sauvages de l’Amérique septentrionale, renfermant des détails curieux sur les mœurs, usages, cérémonies religieuses, le système militaire, &c. des Cahnuages, des Indiens des Cinq & Six Nations, Mohawks, Connecedagas, Iroquois, &c. des Indiens Chippeways, & autres Sauvages de divers tribus, sur leurs langues, les pays qu’ils habitent, ainsi que sur le commerce des pelletteries & fourrures qui se fait chez ces peuples, avec un état exact des postes situés sur le Fleuve S. Laurent, le lac Ontario, &c. &c., par J. Long, trafiquant, & interprète de langues Indiennes, traduits de l’Anglois par J.B.L.J Billecocq, citoyen Français, Paris, chez Prault et Fuchs, an II. [Malraux: ANC 99061] P. 202-203: “The Indians pride themselves on having ears that are large and as wide as possible, which puts them at risk of having them torn off. It is very common to lose them in their orgies; but when they are only torn, they cut them very close with a knife, sew all the parts together with a needle and deer’s nerves, & after sweating profusely after having a bath, they go about their normal activities.

\textsuperscript{180} See previous note on the Palatines and their role as go-between.
that he remains in their favor. They have a sacrificial celebration once a year! They store wood away and gather together with their priest, light the fire and dance around letting out frightening cries! Then their priest smashes in one of their heads with a war hatchet. Seeing this, the others rush over and, together, throw him on the fire; that is their sacrifice etc.

When it was time to leave, they were accompanied to their lands by the Americans. The following spring they were with the English and brought such devastation that living near the frontier became impossible.

25.

Though they were forbidden from killing Frenchmen, they showed no forgiveness when they would capture one: because when they were killed they could not be identified as being French or American. More than one Frenchman and more than one German perished in these conditions at their hands.

When they were able to take an American officer prisoner, they would attach him to a tree, strip him of all of his clothing and stab his body with pointed stakes or with knives, and when they saw that he was going to breathe his last, they would reach for straw or all sorts of other things with which they covered him before setting the blaze and burning him while still alive.

On March 6th, we again provided a detachment unit to board ship because the admiral wanted to undertake an excursion to the Chesapeake Bay. The general of the English, Arnold, was indeed treating the inhabitants there in a very barbarous manner by hanging them alive.

The detachment unit was made up of 18 men of each of the regiments’ companies as well as the company of grenadiers from the Soissonois regiment. As well as

---

181 The admiral in question is no longer de Ternay, but Chevalier Destouches, temporarily commanding the Newport fleet. Destouches did want to organize an expedition (with the agreement of Washington and Rochambeau) to bring assistance to Lafayette who had been sent to Virginia by Washington in order to confront Benedict Arnold. About 1,600 French soldiers had to land in Virginia, having left from Newport, under the aegis of Destouches and the flotilla. The troops could not disembark due to the fortuitous meeting of French and English flotillas near Cape Henry and the battle that ensued (that Flohr talks about on the next page).

182 This “general of the English”, Benedict Arnold, had not had a title for a long time. See the later note dedicated to his biography.

183 The grenadiers’ companies are those of the front line. Armed with grenades, the role of these men was to create and exploit the gaps during the attacks of a siege. They therefore advanced ahead of the rest of the assailants. With the wars of the Revolution and those of the Empire, sieges became more rare and grenadiers became elite troops within the infantry.
the company of chasseurs from the Royal Deux-Ponts who boarded the war ship *La Provence*; the grenadiers boarded the war ship *The Conquérant*. This excursion cost the lives of many men. When our flotilla arrived near the Chesapeake Bay we had resolved to disembark and confront General Arnold. But as the English fleet was also sailing in these waters our plan could not be executed, as the English flotilla caught up with us, the one we met within a few days and had to fight against, which arrived around noon. It was lost for both sides, and no one knew what they were thinking anymore, because our ships and those of the English were so mixed up that no one was able to recognize the other and one could no longer make the difference between a friend or an enemy.\(^\text{184}\) During this battle the company of grenadiers from the Soissonnois regiment encountered the largest hardships, to the point that in 5-6 minutes it lost 52 men, without counting the previous losses. Which is not surprising, since the ships were so close together that small artillery shots

illustrations

\(26(\text{ter}).\)

were all that was necessary to reach the opponents’ ship.\(^\text{185}\) The French fleet was made up of 11 ships. The English one was made up of 13 ships. As soon as the battle came to an end\(^\text{186}\) each fleet, heavily damaged, went to its port.

With the arrival of spring also came that of General Washington of the American army, to whom many honors were given. He came to visit us for the first time. His uniform was composed of a

\(^\text{184}\) Naval battles traditionally take place in a line formation; the two sides line up their ships then fire their cannons together. This is what happened at Chesapeake Bay. The artillery shots emitted a very large amount of smoke; it is possible that Flohr had trouble distinguishing between the ships.

\(^\text{185}\) The ships of the line had artillery equipment of different calibers and of different ranges. As such, the closer the ships were to one another, the more the sizeable was the number of usable cannons.

\(^\text{186}\) This confrontation is named the Battle of Cape Henry or the First Battle of the Chesapeake (as it must be distinguishable from the Second Battle of the Chesapeake that occurred on September 5, 1781, a larger scale naval combat with a French victory of a much larger impact). The Battle of Cape Henry involved, according to Léonard Lapeyrouse de Bonfils, 8 ships of the line and 4 frigates, among them on the English side *The London*, armed with 90 cannons, against 7 ships of the line and 4 frigates on the French side. The combat ended without a real winner, even though the English flotilla left the sea to the enemy after a very well-directed combat on the part of Destouches. The final objective of the expedition was not, however, met, as the troops intending to disembark were forced to return to Newport with the flotilla without being able to assist Lafayette in his fight against Arnold (*Histoire de la marine française*, volume 3, Paris, Dentu, 1845).
dark blue frock coat with yellow leather epaulets and facing, and a very large hat. At the same time he also inspected the country’s militia regiments that were stationed on the island.

With the arrival of spring, we again provided a detachment unit for the flotilla, but one that did not go out to sea because the Admiral Mister Derner, who just before had been appointed on land, died and had been buried in the cemetery of the new Protestant church according to regulation and a royal ordinance.

Shortly after, we were told that General Arnold was barbarically punishing the province of Virginia, that he was sacrificing homes and farms before disappearing with the troop of scoundrels he had brought together and that had committed barbaric acts against the population, which we later saw with our own eyes. They nailed up women by their hands and feet, their arms spread and they had flayed the men alive. The order was given that we prepare to march in the direction of Virginia.

---

187 At the time, George Washington was General in Chief of the continental (or American) forces. Born on February 22, 1732 in the county of Westmoreland in Virginia to a family of plantation owners of average influence. George Washington was a skillful young man, physically imposing, who received a proper education. Thanks to family relations, he was named major in the Virginia Militia in February 1753; he was in charge of one of the four districts of the colony. He had direct implications in the start of the Seven Years’ War in America (The French and Indian War), in a controversial episode in which he was accused of killing a French officer during an ambush before war had been declared. In 1754 he was taken prisoner by the French during the capture of Fort Necessity. In 1755 he participated in the Braddock Campaign where he distinguished himself in particular by organizing the retreat of the British forces. In 1755 he was named colonel by the governor of the Royal Colony of Virginia, and commander of the Virginia Militia. He left his post in 1758 and returned to Mount Vernon, the family farm, married Martha Custis in 1759, and, thanks to this marriage, became one of the richest plantation owners in Virginia, he went on to lead a peaceful life as a high-ranking political and social figure. A widely known patriot, he was the only one with enough military experience and prestige to take charge of the American troops against the English. Though he endured serious setbacks when faced with the British troops (the Battle of Brooklyn, of Brandywine, of Germantown, etc.) he managed to save his army from destruction and breathe hope and determination into Congress and the troops (the Battle of Trenton, and of Princeton). As Flohr pointed out a few pages ago, Washington’s stature and leadership were well respected by his troops, but also by the English, just like by the French. In 1780, Washington camped in the area around New York that was firmly held by the British and waited impatiently for the French reinforcements to take on a new campaign. John R. Alden, *Washington, a biography*, Southern Biographies, LSU Press, 1996.


188 He is speaking of de Ternay and not “Derner”: Charles-Henri-Louis d’Arsac de Ternay, know as “Chevalier de Ternay” was born near London in 1723. A naval guard in 1738 and ship captain in 1761, he became fleet commander in 1771. He was in command of *The Saint-Esprit* in the d’Orvilliers fleet, *Le Duc de Bourgogne*, and the fleet transporting the Rochambeau’s expeditionary corps. “The French corps will do him the justice of saying that it was impossible to direct a convoy with more vigilance and skill than that with which he led his to Newport” (Rochambeau). Admiral de Ternay died on December 15, 1780, his remains were laid in a cemetery in the middle of the town of Newport. “A few years ago, Marquis de Noailles, French minister in the United States, had a commemorative marble plaque placed in the Church (Methodist, I believe) adjoining the cemetery”, notes Viscount de Noailles in *Marins et soldats français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l’indépendance des Etats-Unis (1778-1783)*, Libr. académique Perrin et cie, Paris 1903, 2nd edition, p. 109.

189 This “General Arnold” is Benedict Arnold. His biography is found in a later footnote.

Names of the French ships at the Battle of Chesapeake Bay, March 6, 1781

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of war ships</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duc de Bourgogne</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neptune</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conquerant</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leveillier</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Provence</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasson</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’Ardant</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasque</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romullus</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fregaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamazon</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sourveillant</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corssairs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Guepe</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Names of the English ships at the Battle of the Chesapeake Bay, March 6, 1781

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of the war ships</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Oak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prudant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adamant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fregaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This first battle of Chesapeake Bay (that must be distinguished from the second one on September 5, 1781 that put De Grasse against Graves) occurred on March 16th and not on the 6th. This must be a simple copying error as Flohr indicates that it was on the March 6th that “we again provided a detachment unit to board ship” (p. 25).
As for the white people’s food, it suited us well, but concerning the bread, it is not the best as it is made from corn, but it is prepared in such an original way that it is really pleasant to eat. Otherwise, coffee, tea, and chocolate reign, which are all widespread among the population.

Here as well, white men are not seen working, all their work is done by Moors. In the same way, you cannot notice differences between rich and poor: all the inhabitants are rich and well off, which often surprised me, not knowing where their riches were coming from given they were not working.

On the one hand it is not surprising, as the country is hardly inhabited and most lands do not have any owner. As soon as you leave a town or village, houses are nowhere to be seen, everything is covered by forest, and from time to time there is a dwelling, that is called “a plantation” in their language, and the people living there are called “gentlemen” which is the equivalent of *gentilshommes* in Europe. But with a more comfortable lifestyle. Any one of these gentlemen owns up to 30, 40, 50 Moors or more, up to 80, 90, 100, 200, and these Moors are bought and resold in the plantations like cattle, and moreover, a large business has been made of it throughout the country.

For the most part, these gentlemen do not have a property title for their possessions, as they only need say

Illustrations

191 A Mesoamerican cultigen with origins around Mexico, corn spread throughout North America following the Amerindian migration, so much so that during the Age of Discovery, corn was cultivated from the Andes to southern Canada. The first Anglo-Saxon colonists who settled on the Atlantic coast owed their survival to the corn that the Indians taught them to turn into bread, gruel, and fried cakes. It is possible to make bread from corn, which in the eyes of Europeans, notably the French, who swear only by grains or bread, made it acceptable.

it belongs to them, and it is theirs, as no one will object because it is owned by no one.  

No change in their way of dressing can be observed: on Sunday, as for the rest of the week, they are dressed like gentlemen, if they have a journey of only a half-hour to undertake they go on horseback or take a cabriolet, and women ride horseback just as easily as men. They also have the advantage of being the most beautiful of all, a mixture of all foreign nations. Moreover, they are not haughty, but talk to everyone, rich or poor. Before setting off we again witnessed an execution on the 8th of May: it was a non-commissioned artillery officer who had stabbed his captain because of a harlot! By order of the king, his hand was cut off and he was hanged etc.

On June 10, 1781 we left Newport and went aboard small crafts, and at 9 o’clock we left Newport in the direction of Providence, which is 30 English miles away from Newport.

The town of Providence is located along a river that sees a fair amount of ship traffic and that empties into the sea near Newport. On a hilltop above the city there is also a beautiful school. The town is also embellished with a beautiful new bell tower amongst other smaller ones etc.

---

193 Even though the purchase of property was a major cause for emigration to America and it was easier for lower classes to obtain a plot of land there than in Europe, Flohr’s assertion is a good example of the appeal of emigration, but also and especially of a persistent myth in the eyes of foreigners. The majority of land on the island of Newport would have been occupied thusly, perhaps without property titles. But the fact remained that property was a source of conflict. It was more or less distributed unequally depending on the colony. In the late eighteenth century, the pioneer frontier had been pushed far from the coasts—admittedly in a rather unequal way depending on the colony; but it still exerted a strong attraction on migrants and poor people, but also on rich land owners of the era. Access to land in the West was, however, subject to strong limitations, firstly legislative, access to these lots being under the jurisdiction of different colonies that held ownership, often hypothetical, on the land. After the war, a large number of veterans were, for example, offered lands in the West as a sort of repayment for their service (and the difficulty of honoring this commitment was proof of the difficulty of accessing land). The colonies, and later the States, also guaranteed many property titles to influential politicians (like Washington and West Virginia). Then the settlement of the West was very dangerous as it was carried out to the detriment of the Indian tribes that generally occupied those territories.


196 Once a soldier was sentenced to death by the military justice, he was usually hanged and not shot by a firing squad. Although the practice of mutilation was more rare, it nonetheless holds a symbolic signification because the principle is to cut off the deadly hand.
There, we disembarked and made our camp to the left of the town. We left a detachment group there along with the sick. Because a hospital had been set up in the school. The others turned around and headed back to Newport. This detachment group was under the orders of Major Deprez.

and stationed to the left of the river, near the town, where we stayed until June 19, then we set off again to reach, 15 miles later, the Wassermann House, a estate where we made our camp.

On the 20th, we set off again for a 15-mile journey to Plainfield, another beautiful estate situated in a beautiful region.

On the 21st, another 15 miles to the small town of Windham.

On the 22nd, 16 miles to Bolton, a small town near the mountain.

On the 23rd, 11 miles to Hartford, a rather large town along a river with intense ship traffic, which is why business here is very active. We rested there until the 27th.

On the 27th, we set off again to cover the 12 miles to Farmington, a small town near the mountain. As soon as camp was made and the Turkish march could be heard, the inhabitants came en masse and, surprised and astonished, we wondered where all these people had come from, given that during the day we had seen very few houses during the voyage. This flood of inhabitants was repeated each day and as soon as we arrived in another camp we were immediately surrounded by Americans.

34.

197 Military hospitals can be divided into two categories. On the one hand there were field hospitals, which administered the first treatment on the front line, on the other hand were hospitals behind the front lines, set up in actual buildings, and which were charged with serious interventions and recovery. Rochambeau’s expeditionary corps was, in this respect, the best treated of the Ancien Régime, as it had nearly 60 health officials for 6,000 men.

198 Major Deprez was an officer attached to the regiment’s headquarters. He was born in 1730 in Cranie. Tröss (Rudolf Karl), Das Regiment Royal-Deux-Ponts, Gesammelte Beiträge zur Geschichte des Regiments, Stadtverwaltung Zweibrücken im Juli 1983, p. 69.

199 The Turkish march is a style of military music inspired by the musicians of the Ottoman military band, the Janissaries.
Few men could be seen among them, but nearly only women: when a man was seen in the crowd, it was almost always an elderly man or an invalid, as all men between the ages of 14 and 60 had to leave for the war.

This is why men came to be strongly missed here, as they were nearly all killed, so to speak, the English having produced great devastation amongst them. But women were not lacking, and it is as such that they often came to our camp to deprave our soldiers, which was promptly forbidden to them, such that they had to return home disappointed.

On the 28th, we took down the camp once again for a 13-mile journey to Barronsthayern, an inn alongside the road. We made our camp right beside. Once again we received a visit from many young American women who were staying near the camp, on horseback, one could have believed them to be English ladies. That afternoon, our gentlemen generals ordered an open-air ball, in front of the camp, and invited the young American women; it lasted late into the night, and it was a joy to see them dancing and hopping as much with the soldiers as with the officers etc.

who were enjoying themselves with the young English ladies.

After that we went back to our tents to sleep, as for the young girls they went back home sad etc.

On the 29th, we set off again for a 13-mile journey to Breckneck, a small town near the mountain in a magnificent region, where the festivities were even grander, that is to say the dances and farandoles with the charming young American women who were from this place. All the festivities took place out in the open.

On the 30th, we set off again for a 13-mile journey to Newtown, a small town; on our way we passed through a nice borough named Gutbar that is 2 English miles in length. We made camp right near Newtown and rested there, which we very much enjoyed as we had time to amuse ourselves with the young women.

Note in passing that Flohr does not mention the border crossing between Rhode Island and Connecticut, here between Breckneck and Newtown; maybe he did not notice it as, further on in his tale, it is the kind of detail he points out.
On the 3rd, we continued on for a 16-mile journey to Ridgbury, on the way we passed by a borough named Danbury. We made our camp near Ridgbury, a large agricultural estate, where we received many visits.

On the 4th, 10 more miles to the estate of Bedford near the North River and New York.

On the 5th, we still had 7 miles to go before reaching North-Castle.

In North-Castle, a small town near the mountain, we had some rest. On the 9th, we continued on for 19 miles to Phillipsburg, where we had more rest. On the 12th, General Washington from the American army came for a military inspection. His uniform was dark blue with yellow leather flaps and facing, two golden metal epaulets with a raised design, and a very large hat etc.

We were at rest there until the evening of the 21st, when we provided a detachment unit of 2,500 men, Frenchmen and Americans, who marched on KönigsBritsch and Sandihock. As soon as we approached KönigsBritsch and Statten-Eyland, the English noticed that there were Frenchmen on their way; they came immediately to meet us and we underwent a rather violent attack near KönigsBrütsch and Statten-Eyland. The next day we returned to Phillipsburg.

---

201 The North River, or Nord Fluss, is used to refer to the river known today as the Hudson. Nord Fluss was the name given by the Dutchmen, the first inhabitants of its estuary. The North River is, however, a name that lasted until the late nineteenth century.


203 The “we” used here by Flohr includes the whole of the allied army, not only the Royal Deux-Ponts as one could think in the first place. One can wonder to which incident Flohr is referring. According to Stephen Bonsal, in When the French Were Here: A Narrative of the Sojourn of the French Forces in America and Their Contribution to the Yorktown Campaign, Drawn from Unpublished Reports and Letters of Participants in the National Archives of France and the MS Division of the Library of Congress, Doubleday-Doran, New York, 1945, p. 107: “this little encounter which was evidently not regarded as auspicious by the French, was the only clash that took place on the long march from the Hudson to the James”. It was an improvised attack by Washington near King’s Bridge, north of New York, which contradicts Flohr’s claims as he situates the attack near Staten Island in the South. Soules, in Histoire des troubles de l’Amérique anglaise, in the third volume, refers to an attack on Fort Washington in which the Légion de Lauzun participated, this group also fought in a battle against a group of American loyalist soldiers (the Delancey Dragoons), (see Soules p 376 and Closen p. 89) and Guillaume de Deux-Ponts also mentions the event that occurred on the July 5th. A second hypothesis is that it is a reference to a reconnaissance expedition led on the 21st, according to Closen, but which did not give rise to “violent” combat. One thing is sure, the Royal Deux-Ponts did not participate in either of these two expeditions.
Shortly thereafter we started the construction of barracks, because we were to stay there for a month.\textsuperscript{204} Not far from there, the American army had also set up camp, near West Point, one of the most powerful American\textsuperscript{205} fortresses, so powerful that it is almost impossible to take it. There, it happened that an English adjutant general by the name of N—\textsuperscript{206} disguised himself as a spy from New York wearing the uniform of an American colonel. When he arrived at the American camp, a soldier

Illustrations

37.

who was standing guard in front of the camp—and who knew him well, as he was already a soldier in his company whereas this one was still only a captain, and who had deserted at that moment—asked him where he wanted to go and what his business was here: the adjutant general asked if he recognized him, after all, he was the colonel of the Connecticut regiment, he should know the uniform well; the soldier said of course he knew the uniform and even better he who was wearing it, and immediately asked him if he had authorization to enter the camp, as it was forbidden for an English adjutant general to enter our camp. As soon as he had heard these words he asked the soldier from where he knew him, the soldier responded that he should instead ask himself how he hadordered 100 blows, \textit{Prügel} in German, for him, as he had faithfully served in his company for 5 years, namely the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Battalion of the Royal Guard.\textsuperscript{207}

Upon hearing this, from his bag he withdrew his purse and spread out 19 English gold coins before the soldier and said he should take them and let him be off. The soldier’s response was no,

\textsuperscript{204} The organization of an army camp depended essentially on the military context in which the campaign took place. If the army was on the move, then the camp was made up merely of tents. However, if the infantry were to settle in a region, then the troops could build themselves wooden barracks.

\textsuperscript{205} The fortress of West Point is one of the strategic positions occupied by the continental troops throughout the conflict. Located on the banks of the Hudson River, it controls the crossing of the river and its ship traffic. The Americans installed a chain on the river to prevent any attempt at crossing by any enemy boat. Maintaining this position was vital in preventing the English army from establishing lines of communication between New York and Quebec, but also in keeping control of King’s Ferry, a vital line of communication for the Americans between the northern and southern colonies. The betrayal of Benedict Arnold included in particular his handing over of this fortress to the English.

\textsuperscript{206} The individual in question is Major John André, a young British officer serving as an intermediary as a spy between General Clinton in New York and Benedict Arnold in West Point. He was the protagonist of the famous Arnold betrayal, the changing of sides of one of the best American generals. This scheme failed because of André’s capture by three American militiamen near Tarrytown, an episode that Flohr recounts more or less precisely over the next three pages. The young Major André was tried and then hanged for espionage. This young man was well-regarded in aristocratic circles, his death caused a great display of sadness in England.

\textsuperscript{207} Striking with rifle ramrods constituted a common method of punishment in European armies of the eighteenth century. During the same era, this was replaced by striking with the flat of a saber.
he did not want his money but he should arrest him, as he now was under his control, he could arrest him or grant him freedom. The adjutant responded that he just had to let him go,

38.

and he would give him 36 Louis d’or, that it would bring him nothing to arrest him, that he would be better off taking his money and granting him freedom. The soldier said no, that he could now savor his revenge and he would do it. But the other one was not at all delighted by this speech, gave him the whole of his purse and wanted to give him all the wealth he had on him, that is to say 56 Louis d’or; but the soldier did not want it, the adjutant responded that, all the same, he did not want to wash his hand in the other’s blood, and the soldier responded that the other had ordered him to be beaten and thrashed multiple times, and now it was his turn, that he didn’t dare move, or he would run his blade through his body, and if that were not enough, in his rifle there was a nice American bullet. He was very frightened by these words, he did not dare move and relinquished: the right words were no longer of use, he would be arrested.

The adjutant general had the impression that he was already hanging by his hair, because in his pockets all the papers concerning Arnold’s treason were found, papers that defined how and where the American army was to be betrayed and would then fall in an ambush, that Arnold wanted to hand it over the English etc. and that everything had already been prepared. As soon as Arnold learned the other was arrested, he had run away.

39.

and had rejoined the English army near New York. As for the adjutant general, he was taken prisoner, the soldier having called the guard and having asked that he be arrested, saying he was a spy and that he knew him, and in fewer than two hours he was hanged, something that would not have happened if papers dealing with the betrayal had not been found on his person. As soon as the English learned that he was to be hanged, they set about doing everything to liberate him whatever the cost because he was a member of the royal family of England. But nothing could be done, he had to be hanged.

Then they went to headquarters to arrest Arnold who had been the instigator of this betrayal.208

ThisArnold was an Englishman who, before living amongst the Americans, had served in the

208 Benedict Arnold was born January 14, 1741 in Norwich, Connecticut. When the conflict between the Colonies and the home country erupted, Arnold was a prosperous trader even though he was severely affected by the trade
English army and deserted, and who became a general for the Americans as he had a knack for the art of war.  

This Arnold regained credibility with the English thanks to his betrayal, which was nonetheless a failure, but he was reincorporated in the English army with the status he had before and was quickly given command of an unofficial paramilitary corps and immediately fought against the Americans.

and treated them so badly that it was awful, because anywhere he went he would burn, set fire, and pillage everything.

General Washington, who formerly served the English army, which he left with the rank of colonel, immediately gained the rank of generalissimo with the Americans, who followed him

restrictions imposed by Parliament. He was elected captain of the Connecticut Militia in March of 1775, he participated in the Siege of Boston, then volunteered to attack Fort Ticonderoga in northern New England. After being appointed colonel, he then distinguished himself during the Invasion of Quebec and during the siege of the city of Quebec. He fought valiantly during the American retreat south (the Battle of Valcour Island), then in the defense of Rhode Island (the Battle of Ridgefield). His role in the American victory of Saratoga is crucial even though he was severely wounded. Thus, Arnold was recognized for military feats. Popular within the troops, he had nonetheless built up a large number of political enemies. He was, for that matter, ruled out as a candidate for promotion several times in favor of other officers. He committed himself financially to the Tories, and married a young woman, Peggy Shippenn, who had relations with a certain Major John André, Chief of Intelligence Services to General Clinton. Discontented and pessimistic, unpopular with Congress, Arnold progressively entered into negotiations with Clinton with the goal of changing sides, to get the much sought-after post of brigadier general, with a large financial compensation. Major at the West Point fortress in August 1780, he suggested to Clinton that he hand this strategic point over the English forces. But the plot was discovered when the messenger, John André, was captured. Made aware of his capture very early, Arnold had time to run, just a few hours before an unexpected visit from Washington. News of the treason was an immense shock for the Americans, and for Washington who had trusted that officer and whom he had considered as his friend. Despite the plot’s failure, Clinton named Arnold brigadier general, then sent him to Virginia with 1,600 men. Arnold captured the city of Richmond and led a campaign of pillaging through Virginia. Although it is possible that the troops under Arnold’s orders committed abuse during a military campaign marked by pillaging, and the fight against the Virginia militia, nonetheless it seems that the misdeeds described by Flohr (see above) are exaggerated and attributable to this person due to his poor reputation. Arnold headed this English detachment unit until the arrival of Cornwallis in Virginia (August 20, 1781), he was then dismissed from any commandment function. Arnold died in London on June 14, 1801, alone and penniless.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the art of war was much more than mere savoir-faire. Even though the idea of considering war as an art is not new, this moment in history is the apex of the systematizing of military science. To the list of theorists like Vauban, the Marshall de Saxe or the Chevalier de Folard, names such as Guibert, Montalembert or even Ménilmontant can be added. Furthermore, this theorization illustrated in the Défense du système de guerre moderne by Guibert (1779), concerned the whole of Europe; the German, Bülow, wrote his Esprit du système de guerre moderne a few years later, pushing the application of mathematics to warfare to its height. Therefore, the art of war was a particularly popular notion during the American conflict, and constituted one of the great subjects of military reflection of the time.
whatever the circumstances, facing all dangers and glorifying him as if he were their god: Washington ordered that he be drawn and quartered as soon as he was captured again, something that would have been inflicted upon him had he been taken prisoner. Right away they had a portrait or wooden effigy made that 4 horses dragged through the streets of Philadelphia, before it was hanged and it was announced to the people that whoever turned in Arnold dead or alive would be well compensated, but Arnold was on his guard.

On the 19th of August we left Phillipsburg for a 19-mile journey to North Castel, a small town next to which we made camp, there we received many visits from inhabitants, among them were already Germans from time to time.

On the 20th we continued on for 18 miles

toward Bätgards Tawern, an inn located in a lovely region where we did not come across a single dwelling all day. As soon as we made camp we could see only the sky and the crowd, and one could wonder where all these people had come from; there the General ordered another ball. On the 21st, we continued on, 9 miles to Honds Tawern, an inn.

On the 22nd, we set off again for 12 miles to Werb Plain, a beautiful domain in a lovely and pleasant region; on the same day we went through Lïks Kïel, a small town; we had a day of rest in Werb Plain.

On the afternoon of the 24th we packed up camp and crossed the North River near Königs Fery near Fort Layayette. This river measures 2 English miles in breadth and can be traced all the way to Canada. We made camp on the other side of the river and carried all the equipment to the other side.

On the 25th we set off again for 18 miles to Saffrantz, a small town in a pleasant region where anyone would have liked to stay. It is true that in this region it is with little difficulty that you come across other men, as we had not met many before; upon entering a home, the first thing they asked of you was whether you wanted to stay in their home, they wanted to hide you until

\[210\] This fort was not called Fort Lafayette at the time, as is indicated by Closen in his diary, p. 105: “The crossing of the North River at King’s Ferry is protected by two forts, one of which, on the right bank, was named Stony Point, and the other, on the left bank, Verplank’s Point. The latter is notable for the peculiarity of the defenses that M. de Gouvion constructed there. (This fort has since been renamed Fort Lafayette. [author’s note: Closen wrote his diary in the 1820’s]).”

This fort was later renamed, probably right after the end of the conflict as a tribute to the young marquis. This proves the author consulted an up-to-date map after his time in America.
the departure of the French; besides, Hessian soldiers could already be found everywhere as well as many Hanoverians who had deserted the French army.\textsuperscript{211}

On the 26\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 14 miles to Bomton, an estate. This region is heavily populated by Dutchmen, but already we have come across Germans from time to time.\textsuperscript{212}

On the 27\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 15 miles to Whibany or Hanober, a small town near the mountains, in a beautiful region. There, we rested for a day; we also had quite a few visits from inhabitants.

On the 29\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 6 miles to Balions Thawern, an inn. The same day we passed through Morristown, called Moritz-Stadt in German, a lovely little town in a pleasant region where one may, from time to time, come across a German inhabitant.

On the 30\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 14 miles to Somerset, a small town on a plain surrounded by a large quantity of fruit trees.

On the 31\textsuperscript{st}, we set off again for 13 miles to Princeton, a pleasant little town on a plain, this town has a college: it is here that the King of England had founded a school in 1756,\textsuperscript{213} which he had

\textsuperscript{211} An error on the part of the author. The mercenaries from Hesse and Hanover were employed by the English army, and therefore they deserted the English, not the French.

\textsuperscript{212} The allied army was presently in New Jersey, something Flohr does not mention. Originally a Dutch colony, New Jersey had a more diversified population than the territories located farther north. Like its neighbor, Pennsylvania, since the mid-eighteenth century, it had welcomed numerous immigrants of German origin. In this sense, it is significant that Flohr makes his first reference to a population of German origin at this moment. In general, he paints a fairly representative picture of the German presence in North America, and does not overestimate the presence of his compatriots, which is very sporadic in that colony. In 1707 a few German Protestant families originally from Brunswick had boarded ship headed for New York, but after being thrown off course by unfavorable winds they landed in the Delaware Bay. Wanting to reach New York by land, they crossed through the Musconetcong Valley in New Jersey and decided to settle there. Germans settled mainly in four counties of New Jersey: Morris, Somerset, Bergen, and Essex Counties. New German-speaking colonists poured into the Swedish colonies from the south, as well as the Palatines coming from the north. They gave value to great agricultural estates, so much so that the region was baptized “German Valley”. The ancestor of the industrialist and financial dynasty of the Rockefeller family, Johann Peter Rockefeller, settled in New Jersey in 1733. In southern New Jersey German-speaking carpenters tied to the Moravian Brotherhood community could be found.

\textsuperscript{213} The College of New Jersey (the future University of Princeton) founded in 1746 by Presbyterian clerics and not directly by the king, has been located in Princeton since 1756. The oldest of its buildings, Nassau Hall was actually damaged during the Battle of Princeton. It is remarkable that Flohr reports the date it was founded. This chronological precision is quite unexpected, even more so when in the following line of his diary he mentions the Battle of Princeton (January 1777) without giving a precise date (“A few years ago in this location”). Unexpected, but perhaps not insignificant, as the founding date of the university is usually inscribed on its pediment.
constructed, but which was destroyed by the war. A few years ago in this location there was a battle between the Americans and the English which was so harsh that the circumstances of it were frightening. A Hessian colonel was also stabbed to death here etc. At that time, Princeton was still controlled by the English. This battle took place around Christmas,\textsuperscript{214} even though it was very cold and there was quite a bit of snow.\textsuperscript{215} The English had made their troops take up winter quarters in this small town many times and no one thought the English would attack in that season, but Christmas in Princeton was going to be bloody.

As it would happen, the English organized a ball every now and then over the course of that winter, to which the inhabitants of the neighboring areas were invited to have a good time with them, but the Americans had taken advantage of these circumstances to collect all sorts of information on the English. During the Christmas holidays they had held another ball, which many Americans attended, and notably many American officers had disguised themselves by dressing as women in order to attend,\textsuperscript{216} just like certain colonels disguised themselves in order to spy at ease; these Americans had a good time with the English gentlemen until around midnight, then, one after the other, they disappeared. The Americans had been preparing for several days and had sent for military equipment, such that everything was ready to attack them. Likewise, many Americans

\textsuperscript{214} The Battle of Princeton took place on January 3, 1777, on the other hand, the Battle of Trenton took place on December 26, 1776. Although the two are linked on a strategic level, it seems that Flohr has confused the two of them. Moreover, and without making a clear difference between the two battles in the text, he integrates this account into a digression called “of the Battle of Trenton and Princeton” in his table of contents at the end of the work.


\textsuperscript{216} The account of the Battle of Trenton, the American attack led by Washington on the English garrison of the small town composed of Hessian mercenaries, took place the day after “Christmas” 1776. It is a famous episode of the campaign of New Jersey. The Battle of New Jersey is thus an important element that contributed to the glory of General Washington. Aside from the fact that the two battles of Trenton and Princeton are mixed up (at least concerning the dates), the account of the battle itself is of unknown origin. The version recounted here by Flohr, with the “American officers […] dressed as women in order to attend” is first of all unprecedented, and especially very unlikely. Cross-dressing American officers, and the resulting gullibility of the English are some of the facts bordering on a humorist register, or almost mocking if their supposed origin is taken into account: rumor combined with Flohr’s direct integration of this “historical” digression into the text.
were in their winter quarters near Trenton or in the town itself, Trenton being 13 miles or 4 hours from there; that night they assembled their troops around midnight and set off marching on Princeton in the cold: there the population was quietly sleeping, while the leadership was enjoying themselves very much, which was about to come to an end. Around 12:30 the Americans arrived before Princeton, and as there are no fortifications surrounding the cities in this country, they were easy to penetrate, all the sentries having taken cover because of the cold and because they knew that with such weather they did not risk much; consequently they were comfortably set at their posts. After a few of the sentries were taken by surprise at the same time as the house where the ball was being held, the English officers were able to make their way through to join their troops, but it was already too late, as the soldiers had to take up their arms when they had on only their shirts, not having the time to dress, confronted with such a sudden attack. What followed was an awful slaughter during the course of which thousands of people perished that night.\textsuperscript{217} But the Americans left this fray victorious, and the English had to abandon it, leaving all their equipment as well as their artillery etc.

45.

After which the Americans conquered the place and took possession of it, and it is still in their possession today.\textsuperscript{218}

On the 1\textsuperscript{st} of September, we set off again for a 12-mile journey to Trenton, a nice borrow in a completely flat region and near a river with intense boat traffic whose name is the Delaware; we made camp by the river, not far from the city.

On the 2\textsuperscript{nd}, we set off again and crossed the Bristol Forest, then we got to Bristol, a very small town at the foot of the mountain; that same day we travelled 11 miles, and went from Bristol to the Red Lion, a lovely inn on the side of the road; we made camp right alongside.

This is where the province of Pennsylvania starts.\textsuperscript{219}

\textsuperscript{217} The number of dead is largely overestimated by Flohr. The cumulative losses of the Battle of Princeton were actually around one hundred. On the whole, during the eighteenth century, relatively few people died during battles, especially in the Americas, where there were few armies.

\textsuperscript{218} Note the ingenuouness on the author’s part concerning the concept of the campaign’s military strategy, or even that of the era. His point of view is misplaced, or anachronistic in the sense that whether or not a “place” is under one’s possession does not serve any serious goal as part of the war conducted by the Americans or the English. The town of Princeton in and of itself holds no strategic value, not because it is relatively small, but simply because the American War of Independence is not based on invasions, or on the possession of disputed territories (as is the case in the wars opposing two European powers). The aim of the two sides is rather to demoralize the enemy, to break its will to fight, for the Americans it is to have the British Parliament recognize the independence of the North American colonies, for the British it is to annihilate the rebel forces, by demonstrating the superiority of the British army, so that Congress would step down and to reintegrate the colonies into the British Empire.
On the 3rd, we set off again for 12 miles to Philadelphia, the capital of all of North America. The same day we passed through a lovely little town by the name of Frankford, in a pleasant region, not far from the Delaware River. There, to our surprise, we met some Germans, who, right in the middle of the city, welcomed us as compatriots.

46.

219 The colony, which would later become the state of Pennsylvania is located south of the colony of New York, west of New Jersey, north of Maryland and Virginia. The low valley of Delaware was the first region of the future colony of Pennsylvania to be occupied by the Europeans. The Dutch also set up trading posts as early as 1624. These trading posts saw a short period of Swedish colonization (1638-1655) before being forcefully integrated into the Dutch Empire. In 1664, England acquired the whole of the Dutch possessions in North America, thusly occupying the totality of the Atlantic coastline, from Boston to the Carolinas. On March 4, 1681, Charles II granted William Penn, a Quaker, this large territory to the west of New Jersey as a reimbursement of a debt established by the king toward William Penn’s father. The son himself established the political system of his colony, a representative system that guarantees religious tolerance. Throughout the eighteenth century, the colony attracted an ever-growing number of immigrants, most often Scottish, Irish, or German, who had left Europe both for economic and political reasons. The German presence in the south of Pennsylvania was clearly identifiable, just by examining the place names, with towns like Germantown and Frankfurt near Philadelphia. Pennsylvania had a central role, both geographically and politically, in the organization of the movement against the coercive legislation of the London Parliament. Philadelphia having become the seat of multiple “Continental Congresses”. The Battle of Brandywine and Germantown took place on his territory during the war.

220 Philadelphia was founded by William Penn in 1681. It became the capital of the colony of Pennsylvania. The name of the town means “City of brotherly love” in Greek. As the seat of the government and the principal port of the colony, the city of Pennsylvania experienced sustained growth making it the most populated North American city starting from the second half of the eighteenth century (45,000 inhabitants in 1780). The city was the meeting place of different congresses that had brought together the delegates of the Thirteen Colonies since 1774. It is in Philadelphia, on the 4th of July 1776, that the Declaration of Independence was signed. Philadelphia could have been considered “the capital of all of North America” for several reasons, economically, demographically, and above all politically and symbolically since the congress representing the Thirteen Colonies met in Philadelphia. The architecture of the city described by Flohr (diary page 126), and its size in the sketch (image 9), clearly illustrate what capital meant in the author’s eyes. However, Philadelphia could not have been nominally considered as the capital of “all of North America”, given that Canada remained loyal to the Crown, and most of the West and the South of the North American continent were under the Spanish Crown. Perhaps Flohr did not have access to this information and possibly considered, as one can sense in the erklärung, that the Royal Deux-Ponts is involved in a war between “England and America”. His relative ignorance can be attributed to the fact that he considers Philadelphia as the capital of all of North America, without seeing this designation from a political angle, which would mean considering that all of America is at war with England, and therefore Flohr adopts a unilateral vision, typical of Whig ideology.


221 The German term Landsleute, which today means “compatriots” appeared in Théophile Frédéric Ehrmann’s French-German dictionary, printed in Strasbourg in 1787, with the translation villageois, or “villager” (Op. cit., p.123). Yet Flohr certainly is referring to compatriots, highlighting once again the early development of a feeling of German nationalism that preceded the dictionary entries.
While we were approaching the city of Philadelphia, we met a crowd of German inhabitants of the town, compatriots, who wanted to see us, having heard that the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment was there. It is true that many compatriots were found in our ranks, and it can be said that a third of the regiment found a compatriot, among them many found a brother or sister who they had not seen for many years, having been separated during their youth, when one of them came to this new land here.

In the same way more than one soldier found his father etc. These fathers, who had abandoned their children in Europe many years ago, had taken refuge in this country because they were ruined.

---

222 William Penn, the founder of the colony, played a central part in the arrival of the Germans, as he created the transatlantic immigration conditions for Protestants. The first Germans who settled permanently were religious refugees from Palatinate who arrived in Germantown (a part of Philadelphia) in 1683. William Penn, the English missionary of the Quaker creed, had traveled around Germany in 1671 and 1677, notably in Rhineland, and had encouraged the Germans to immigrate to America. This call interested Quakers, Mennonites, Dunkers, and Pietists, groups which the government looked upon with disapproval, insofar as only Catholic, Lutheran, and Protestant churches were authorized. The British government, which owed William Penn’s father, Admiral Penn £16,000, freed itself of this debt by granting Penn the land of Pennsylvania. Penn published a brochure to attract immigrants, it was translated into German, and captured the attention of the Frankfurt Pietists. Assembled in a “Frankfurt Company”, they bought up thousands of acres of virgin terrain, but not one member of this company actually immigrated to America. Only their agent, Franz Daniel Pastorius, born near Würzburg in 1651, a legal expert who studied in Altdorf, Strasbourg, and Jena, a distinguished member of the Pietist circle in Frankfurt, emigrated. He arrived on August 20, 1683 in Pennsylvania. Pastorius then organized the arrival of 13 Quaker and Mennonite families originally from Krefeld and Kriegsheim (near Worms) 6 weeks later, on October 6, 1683. The arrival of these 33 people (a child died during the crossing that lasted 75 days, and another was born) on October 6, 1683, is the date selected as the beginning of the history of German emigration in America. The event is elevated to the level of founding myth for German-Americans who made it their equivalent of the Mayflower. These new arrivals founded a town 6 miles from Philadelphia that they name Deutschstadt, Germantown. In 1689, Germantown became a town in its own right, and Pastorius was its mayor. There, books and newspapers were printed in German: Germantown was the center of the social and cultural life for the Germans who passed through before settling in neighboring counties or colonies. Around 1710, Swiss Mennonites arrived there, followed by Dunkers around 1719-1720, the figurehead of them being Johann Christopher Sauer, the author of a very popular newspaper published in German, Der Hoch Deutsche Pennsylvanische Geschichtsschreiber, published beginning in 1739 and later called Germantau ner Zeitung. Sauer also published a German Bible, the first work published in a European language (around 1750, 200 different publications are in German). Even though religious divisions were multiplying, driving Conrad Beissel, one of the Dunkers, to lay the foundations of the Seventh Day Baptists’ society and found the Ephrata Cloister, the majority of the population remained Protestant or Lutheran. The head of the Lutherans was Heinrich Mühlenberg, who studied in Göttingen, and had the Church of Sion built, the largest church in Philadelphia, consecrated in 1769 and where George Washington’s funeral was held in 1799. In 1728, the New York Palatines migrated toward the Tulpehocken district and also settled in inland areas of Pennsylvania. There were more than 50,000 Germans in 1750, due to the large wave of German migration that reached Philadelphia between 1749 and 1754: 37,000 Germans arrived, on an average of 6,000 each autumn, in a city which, in 1756, was estimated to be home to 17,000 inhabitants. The German-speaking cultural life was in full swing in Philadelphia: 5 newspapers were successfully published in German before the Revolution, and Henry Miller, another printer, boasted of being the first to have printed the Declaration of Independence in German typography on July 5, 1776. All the Protestant tendencies led to schools being established, like the seminary in Bethlehem founded by the Moravians in 1749. The Academy of Germantown was founded in 1761 by Lutherans and Protestants. In 1790 it was estimated that a third of the population of Pennsylvania, or 141,000 individuals, was of German descent. Flohr’s remarks about the number of Germans and German-speakers he met in this colony are hardly surprising.
We made our camp less than 15 minutes from the town. In less than half an hour we saw such a crowd that it was as if a large annual fair were being held in front of the camp, and there was the same number of people inside the tents, one being with his brother, the other with his sister, the third with some friends.

The 4\textsuperscript{th} was a rest day. The crowds were even bigger

Illustrations

47.

than before, as the inhabitants of this land had traveled up to 10-12 hours to look for those they may know, which they found, incidentally, in great numbers.

It was a surprising thing to see those crowds and all those visitors: the people from around here had not seen their fellow countrymen for many years, as it is rare for troops to pass through here, therefore it was quite an event to see this and to be able to be involved in it.

In particular they asked how things were in their homeland and if their friends or relatives were still alive etc.

When a soldier would be walking in town or elsewhere, and he would come across a German, the latter would immediately bring him into an inn, pay for his drinks until he no longer thirsted, to be able to talk with him etc.

On the evening of the 4\textsuperscript{th} the order was given to march into the town the next day in the most exacting manner possible.\textsuperscript{223}

On the 5\textsuperscript{th} we left and traveled 15 miles to Chester. We formed sections or squads to go through the town. The artillery was grouped into brigades, the fuses lit.\textsuperscript{224}

\textsuperscript{223} The military march was one of the memorable facts in the life of a soldier. Whether it be during a march, training, or even during parades as is the case here, the idea is to show the army as being well-disciplined. Marching was done as drill training, but even more so for show. It was a show meant to display strength to the people, but equally to demonstrate the men’s good conduct. It should not be forgotten that the armies’ image was not good in the eighteenth century, and marauding was often present. Therefore the march had two functions: to impress and to reassure.

\textsuperscript{224} The artillery actually had an important ceremonial role. As such, in Europe, when a prince entered a town, cannons were fired in his honor. In ports, the departure and arrival of boats was regulated in the same way. It is therefore not surprising that special consideration is given to the artillery during military parades.
Mister Rochambeau was leading the first brigade, the Bourbonnois regiment and the Royal Deux-Ponts, as well as a Hussar company. The large artillery arrived first,

the constables had the fuses lit near the cannons, prepared and ready to fire. The regiment’s artillery in the middle, before the Royal Deux-Pont Regiment, which was led by Baron de Vioménil.

The Chevalier de Vioménil led the 2nd brigade, the Soissonnois and Saintonge regiment. The brigade’s artillery in front. The constables held the lit wicks. The regiment’s artillery in the middle, before the Saintonge regiment, led by the Chevalier de Chastellux.

---

225 Rochambeau (Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Count), son of Joseph Charles of the same name, was born in Vendome on July 1, 1725. He entered the army in May 1742 and was in succession: colonel in 1747 (Marche-Infanterie regiment), brigadier in 1756, colonel of the Royal-Auvergne regiment in 1759, maréchal de camp in February 1761 for his conduct in the Battle of Clotercamp. He was then made infantry inspector in 1761. Named lieutenant general on March 1, 1780, he was appointed head of the expeditionary corps sent to America. His role in the War of Independence was praised both by the Court of Versailles and by the American authorities, notably due to his subordination to General Washington, commander-in-chief of the allied forces, and the understanding between the two headquarters and Admiral De Grasse, who made the success at Yorktown possible. During the Revolution, Rochambeau was thought of as a liberal and was employed as major of Alsace on June 18, 1789 until September 4, 1790 when he took charge of the Northern Army. He was named Marshal of France on December 28, 1791 before being relatively disgraced. Having resigned in 1792, he was worried during the Reign of Terror, when he was arrested in 1791 and later freed in October. He died on May 12, 1807 in Rochambeau.

226 Antoine Charles Du Houx, Baron Vioménil, son of François Hyacinthe of the same name was born in the Château de Fauconcourt (in the Vosges department) on September 30, 1728. Lieutenant of the Limousin regiment on September 26, 1741, captain in 1747, colonel of the Dauphiné volunteers in 1759, brigadier in 1762, maréchal de camp in 1770. He was named executive officer of the expeditionary corps that was sent to America, major general of the first brigade, which included the Royal Deux-Ponts. Under this title he participated in the attack of redoubt 9 where the performance of Flohr’s regiment made it stand out. Having resigned general upon his return to France on June 13, 1783. Seriously wounded defending the Tuileries on August 10, 1792, he died on October 31 of the same year.

227 Joseph-Hyacinthe Du Houx, Count Vioménil, younger brother of Antoine-Charles, born in Ruppes (in the Vosges département) on August 22, 1734. Lieutenant of the Limousin regiment on June 5, 1759, colonel of the Dauphiné volunteers in 1761, of the Legion of Flanders in 1763, of the Legion of Lorraine in 1770, then brigadier, he became maître de camp of the 3rd Regiment of Chasseurs in January 1779. He gained the rank of maréchal de camp on March 1, 1780 before leaving for America with the French expeditionary corps. According to the order of battle for the Siege of Yorktown, he commanded the second brigade known as “Soissonois” with the rank of major general. Governor of Martinique in March 1789. He emigrated upon his return to France in 1790 and rejoined the Army of Condé. He served Russia and later Portugal between 1797 and 1802. During the restoration he was named Marshal of France in 1816, then Marquis Hereditary Peer in 1817. He died in Paris on March 6, 1827.

228 Four members of this family were part of the French expeditionary corps sent to America.
Then came the Lauzon volunteer militia led by the Duke de Lauzon, followed by a Hussar company to end the march.

The city of Philadelphia is situated on a beautiful plain. It measures 3 English miles in length and in breadth and possesses remarkable buildings, such as the city hall, the French ambassador’s mansion, the hospital etc. All of the streets are straight and very nice to behold. One third of the population is made up of Germans, but more English is spoken than German.

Moreover, this city possesses a lovely commercial port etc.

It is here that we learned where our march should take us, as up until that point we had not had precise orders.

From then on we went in the direction of Virginia.
where Cornwallis, the general of the English, had set up with 12,000 men and where terror reigned; he had entrenched himself so well in a small town called Klein-York that much was lost trying to drive him out, incidentally it was for this reason that we had to come to the aid of the Americans, whose army was impatiently waiting for us.

On the 5th, we marched in Philadelphia and beyond the city crossed the Schuylkill River, which has intense boat traffic and the most remarkable bridge of this region.

On the road we passed through a lovely little town on a beautiful plain; this town, called Darby, is only inhabited by Germans. But we drove on to Chester, another German town, on a plain, in a lovely region.

These 2 provinces, Pennsylvania and Maryland, still called Mary-Engelländ, are mostly populated by Germans, and as for the variety of grain and vegetable cultivation, everything is arranged like it is in Europe.

had flayed the men alive. The order was given that we prepare to march in the direction of Virginia.” But the decision to march toward Virginia to confront Cornwallis was made only on August 14 when Washington and Rochambeau received the confirmation that Admiral De Grasse was heading toward the Chesapeake Bay. Thus, neither the general staff nor the soldiers could have known that Virginia was their destination upon setting off from Newport. It is only once the army left the camp in Phillipsburg toward the South that certain officers suspected an operation against Cornwallis (Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Mes campagnes d’Amérique. p. 42: “it is here (in Morristown, on August 27) that I learned, under the strictest confidentiality, from a well-informed friend, that all the maneuvers by which we seem to have it out for New York are but a ruse, and that Lord Cornwallis is the real goal of our march”). Consequently, it seems likely that the Royal Deux-Ponts soldiers or all the soldiers of the army (the “we” written by Flohr) learned of the army’s destination in Philadelphia. Thus we can rightfully consider that when he mentions the army’s destination before now it is a way for the author to make the reader believe that the Royal Deux-Ponts is heading toward Virginia to save the civilians he cited previously concerning the ill treatment of the English army led by Arnold or Cornwallis.

Charles Cornwallis, the first marquis of Cornwallis, was born December 31, 1738. The son of an aristocratic family with a powerful network, Charles was brought up in Eton and Cambridge. He joined the army in 1757 as an ensign, participated in the Battle of Minden (where Lafayette’s father was killed). In 1761, he was named lieutenant colonel and had the chance to prove his worth on the battlefields of Germany during the Seven-Years’ War. He entered the House of Commons in 1762, then was promoted to colonel in 1766. At the beginning of the hostilities in North America, Cornwallis was named lieutenant general and participated in a large majority of terrestrial combats, he directed the British forces opposing Washington beginning with the Battle of Trenton, with alternating successes and setbacks. He was actually second in the English hierarchy in North America, behind Clinton. In war, Cornwallis was known for his tendency to be aggressive. Starting in 1779 he commanded the British troops in the southern colonies, took Charleston, but was nonetheless forced to retreat north, where his orders were to establish a base on the shores of the Chesapeake that could welcome a flotilla. Cornwallis chose the small town of Yorktown. [Guns of Independence, op. cit., p. 25]

Klein-York, Lettel-York, or York are three names Flohr used indistinctly to refer to the town of Yorktown.

The link between grains used to make bread (wheat, which appears on the next page of the journal) and a way of eating like in Europe appears several times in Flohr’s manuscript. This way of eating stands in contrast with the corn
Now we come to Philadelphia that can be seen on the following page,\textsuperscript{235} along with the naval port etc.

Illustrations

52.

After having passed through these 2 provinces, no more Germans are to be found, save a few households from time to time, likewise one no longer sees any kinds of grains other than corn and sometimes a bit of wheat etc.

On the 6\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 14 miles to Wilmington; the same day we passed through the lovely little town of Brandenwein,\textsuperscript{236} located along the Delaware River, in a pleasant region, near a flat mountain. But we continued on to Wilmington, a lovely little town embellished with very nice buildings. We made our camp right alongside the Delaware River.

On the 7\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 12 miles to Head-of-Elk, a small town on the banks of a beautiful river with intense traffic called Elk. There all the grenadiers and Chasseurs of the army boarded ship to go to Jamestown then to Williamsburg, a lovely little town.\textsuperscript{237} They were resting there until the army’s arrival.\textsuperscript{238} The English viceroy\textsuperscript{239} had his seat of power or his residence. Also

\textsuperscript{235} The illustrations closely follow the literary description of the places encountered in the account (for want of having all been by the author). They are not all, however, introduced in the text as is the case here. Flohr gives a representation of the places that is full of images, buildings that he describes without actually precisely referring to these same illustrated elements in the text. Consequently, the illustrations appear to complement the description, even though they can sometimes replace written explanations. In the manuscript, images compliment the text, all while providing another point of view that is not regulated by accuracy that characterizes Flohr’s initial inspiration.

\textsuperscript{236} Note the contrast here between the long digression introduced by the author on the subject of the Battle of Princeton, all while telling of the troops passing through this place, and the complete silence on the subject of another past battle, the Battle of Brandywine (September 11, 1777, Washington defeated by Howe) while Flohr mentions the army’s passing through “the lovely little town of Brandenwein”. Flohr must not have gone through the former battlefield that is not directly situated in the town’s surrounding areas, and therefore could not have seen the visible traces of these combats, like visible damage to the University of Princeton building (Closen, p. 124).

\textsuperscript{237} The small peninsula of Head-of-Elk is located at the northern extremity of the Chesapeake Bay. Only a small part of the allied army can be transported to the Williamsburg peninsula due to a critical lack of boats. Note that in the passage only the grenadiers and Chasseurs of the army, precious items for siege operations, are boarded and that Flohr is not, as he continues the route towards Yorktown on land, to ultimately board ship near Annapolis farther south.

\textsuperscript{238} Marching being very punishing for the troops, they are always punctuated with rest days, be it so that men or animals can rest.

\textsuperscript{239} Flohr’s contemporaries instead use the term “Governor”. He is appointed by the King of England during the colonial period but did not have the same power as, for example, a Spanish viceroy.
located there is a remarkable school. The King of England had had a school\textsuperscript{240} erected there in 1736, which was quite damaged by this war and which the French later transformed into a hospital.

On the 8\textsuperscript{th}, we had a day’s rest near Head-of-Elk.

53.

On the 9\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 15 miles to Harford or Neu-Hardford, a small town.

That same day we passed through a town

Bearing the name Neu-Carlstatt.

On the 10\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 12 miles to Baschthawern, an inn along the road. We made camp very nearby.

On the 11\textsuperscript{th}, another 15 miles to Cäap-Philipps, a beautiful region.

On the 12\textsuperscript{th}, we had 20 miles to go before reaching Baltimore, a rather large German city, a flourishing place of commerce due to good river traffic and a port located on a large river, which extends all the way to the outskirts of the city.\textsuperscript{241} We made the camp near the city on an open piece of land. The influx of natives there was also large, like in Philadelphia. We rested there until the 16\textsuperscript{th}, much to our delight.

On the 16\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 15 miles to Speyerthaun, a small town.

\textsuperscript{240} This “school” is the College of William and Mary, founded by order of King William III of England in 1693, and not in 1736. It is curious that Flohr mentions Williamsburg and its university before even telling of the army crossing through this town.

\textsuperscript{241} Baltimore, Maryland was founded in 1729 and named for Lord Baltimore, the first owner of the colony of Maryland, established by Charles II in 1632. It is the primary urban center of the colony. A relatively prosperous port throughout the eighteenth century, the city welcomed numerous immigrants, mainly Germans, coming either directly from Europe, or from neighboring Pennsylvania. In 1775, the city had around 6,000 inhabitants (German Immigration to Baltimore, Delaware Saengerbund and Library Association, 2012). The German presence in Baltimore must have been large because in 1755 the Zion Lutheran Church was created in order to meet the needs of the numerous Germans of Protestant faith. 

On the 17\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 18 miles to Readhous or Rhea dhouse, a lovely plain where we made camp.

On the 18\textsuperscript{th}, we had 7 miles to go to Annapolis, a beautiful city located along the same river as Baltimore,

and which also is a flourishing trade city due to its location along a beautiful river and port. We boarded ship in Annapolis to go to Virginia because the route is shorter by sea than bay land, and also because the situation in Klein-York was becoming very urgent and the Americans were impatiently awaiting us.

On the 19\textsuperscript{th}, we passed by Hampton a little town along the shore.

On the 22\textsuperscript{nd} we arrived in the province of Virginia, 40 miles from Annapolis. We immediately disembarked in Kolletz-Canting. We continued all the way to Williamsburg, 9 miles from Kolletz-Cantry.

Our grenadiers and Chasseurs were already in Williamsburg just like our detachment groups that we had left in Newport. There as well were General Comte de Grasse’s\textsuperscript{242} troops that had landed leaving the flotilla to carry out a siege; those troops were made up of the Gâtinois, Angenois, and

\textsuperscript{242} François Joseph Paul de Grasse du Bar, Marquis de Tilly, was born in 1722. In succession, he was a garde de la marine in 1734, captain in 1762, fleet commander in 1778, lieutenant general in 1781. He was generally referred to as Admiral de Grasse (and not as General count). He left Brest in March 1781 at the head of 26 war ships and headed for the Caribbean West Indies. Upon his arrival in St. Domingo he received the message from Washington and Rochambeau ordering him to go back toward the Chesapeake Bay to block Cornwallis by sea and confront possible British reinforcements. De Grasse accepted this unexpected plan, boarded 3,000 men who were placed under the orders of Marquis de Saint-Simon (three St. Domingo regiments) and sailed north. De Grasse arrived on August 30 in the bay and unloaded his troops. On the 5\textsuperscript{th}, the English flotilla commanded by Admiral Graves discovered the French flotilla in the bay. An uncertain combat followed that ended with the retreat of the English flotilla. The “Battle of the Capes” or the Battle of the Chesapeake Bay was a victory of great magnitude for the French Royal Navy as it sealed the fate of Cornwallis and his army, held captive in Yorktown. De Grasse was consequently acclaimed by the Americans and by Washington as one of the principle actors in the victory at Yorktown. Nevertheless, De Grasse was defeated the following year in the Battle of Dominica by Admiral Rodney on April 12, 1782 where he was taken prisoner. Disgraced after this harsh defeat, Count de Grasse Tilly died on January 11, 1788. [Christian de la Jonquière, Les marins français sous Louis XVI, Guerre d’Indépendance Américaine, Muller editions, 1996, p. 125]

Touraine regiments. They were camping above the city and we were already on that side. Those three regiments were under the command of Monsieur La Fayette etc.

On the 25th, we set off again from Williamsburg for 18 miles to Little-York where the English army was established.

We arrived near York around 1 o’clock in the afternoon,

Illustrations

55.

and immediately we recognized some English outposts who withdrew upon our arrival, abandoning their posts. We moved forward to within a half hour of the city.

243 Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert Du Motier, Marquis de La Fayette. Son of Michel Louis Christophe Roch Gilbert, Colonel killed in the Battle of Minden in 1759. Lafayette was born in the Château de Chavaignac on September 6, 1757. He had a short military career (musketeer in 1771, sub lieutenant in the Noailles regiment in 1773, captain in 1774) before leaving in 1777 to serve in the American army, in which he enlisted to serve with the rank of major general. A member of General Washington’s general staff, his leg was wounded during the Battle of Brandywine. Lafayette became a close friend of General Washington and earned the respect of Congress. From then on, troops were entrusted to him with which he held up well when faced with the British army (Barren Hill, Monmouth Courthouse). Once the French alliance was obtained, he returned to France in 1779 to appeal for reinforcements to be sent to America. In 1780 he again crossed the Atlantic, where Washington entrusted him with the defense of Virginia faced with Arnold and later Cornwallis. Commanding fewer than one thousand men, he managed to stand up to Cornwallis’s corps, which retreated toward the Chesapeake Bay exhausted. By holding back Cornwallis at the Jamestown peninsula (the Battle of Green Springs) he enabled the English army to be encircled by land and sea. During the Siege of Yorktown, he led the Americans’ attack on redoubt n°10. He returned to Paris a hero at the beginning of 1782, he was promoted to maréchal de camp. A representative of the aristocracy at Estates-General of 1789, he was named major of the National Guard on July 15, 1789, then lieutenant general in 1791. His popularity fell drastically after the escape and arrest of the King in Varennes and the Champs de Mars Massacre. As a “moderate”, his position became more and more difficult, especially as he defended, along with Rochambeau, stopping the offensive against the Austrians. Definitively discredited, he emigrated in August 1792, he was arrested by the Austrians and held until 1797. He ceased to play any public roles before becoming a liberal deputy in 1818. He made a triumphant return to the United States in 1824. His political influence was strong after the fall of Charles X and the ascension of Louis-Philippe whom he supported. He was named major of the National Guard on July 29, 1830. Deputy in 1831. He died in Paris on May 20, 1834. [Gilbert Bodinier, Dictionnaire des officiers de l’armée royale, SHAT, editions Mémoires et documents, 2005, p. 167; Philippe Olivier, Bibliographie des travaux relatifs à Gilbert du Motier, marquis de La Fayette (1757-1834), Institut d’études du Massif-central, Clermont-Ferrand, 1979; Lyod Kramer, La Fayette in two worlds: public cultures and personal identities in an age of Revolution, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1996].

Image: Jean Baptiste Le Paon, Le Marquis de La Fayette, etching, late eighteenth century.


244 The British troops evacuated their line of exterior defense, which is incomplete when the allied forces arrived. It was made up of two redoubts called Pigeon’s Quarter or Pigeon Hill. These two redoubts were actually too far away from the second line of defense to be effectively defended. Cornwallis was later reproached for this move to withdraw.
The next day, we moved our camp to the other side of a small forest and we stayed there, in the same place, during the whole siege.\textsuperscript{245}

Shortly afterward the whole army was ordered to fashion fascines and gabions: the regiment immediately received the order that each soldier was to fashion 24 fascines and 3 gabions per day, which was to be done on an empty stomach. Because bread and other foodstuffs could not be transported, the English having barricaded the route.\textsuperscript{246} But during this task, the soldiers were always in good humor. The satisfaction of the troops was, for that matter, a subject of surprise for the general staff, as in the past, near the Nord-Flüß\textsuperscript{247} there had already been a lack of bread and other foodstuffs, and yet there was no lack of contentment and good humor in the troop, even though during that time there were only 5 ounces or 10 half-ounces of bread per man per day, given that the English had taken it several times, and what’s more they had barricaded the route.\textsuperscript{248}

Incidentally, the Count de Rochambeau broke the news to His Majesty

of his surprise concerning the soldiers’ satisfaction as well as the good humor and loyalty of his troops stationed in America etc. whereat we pursued our task and each of us fashioned the expected fascines\textsuperscript{249} and gabions\textsuperscript{250} with patience, until the day when we once again had the food supplies that were owed to us; one day, while going to work, we encountered a few bread carts, which were attacked as soon as we had seen them, and almost entirely pillaged, which almost

\textsuperscript{245} Military camps are rarely set up too close to forests. Troops were indeed always better off stationing in open terrain, so as to be able to see the enemy coming from far away. Moreover, the presence of the woods encourages desertion. Nevertheless, during a siege, a forest allows the camp to be hidden and protected from shooting.
\textsuperscript{246} Clermont de Crèvecœur, Artillery Lieutenant, refers to this incident in his diary on September 27: "We learned that the English had captured from us several small vessels loaded with flour that were carrying about 2,500 rations for the Army." \textit{The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, volume I}, translated and edited by Howard C. Rice and Anne S. K. Brown, jointly published by Princeton University Press and Brown University Press, Princeton, Providence, 1972, p. 56.
\textsuperscript{247} The Hudson River.
\textsuperscript{248} Army food supplies took on an excessively strong strategic importance. Indeed, the logistics development was such that it was always difficult to feed an army in the field, the examples of troops that had to withdraw for lack of food are numerous. The art of the campaign was therefore in large the art of resource management. In this context, the food supply convoys represented favored targets, both because their capture weakened the enemy and because it reinforced one’s own troops. This war of harassment, which was led for a long time, was formulated in the second half of the eighteenth century under the name “little war”.
\textsuperscript{249} A fascine is a bundle of branches. They are used to fill in the ditches and protect the trenches from enemy fire during an attack. See Vauban for the illustration.
\textsuperscript{250} A gabion is a sort of basket with no bottom that is filled with earth in order to protect the troops during a siege. Idem for the illustration.
caused a great commotion; if the satisfaction we had given in the past had not been taken into account, some would have paid for it with their lives etc.\textsuperscript{251} We continued for a few more days fashioning fascines until we thought there were enough, after which we had to carry them all to the camp.

As all the war preparations were completed at present, on September 3\textsuperscript{rd} the order was given that in each company of all regiments, 36 men remain ready to go to the front lines, a half hour before nightfall, these sappers\textsuperscript{252} or men of the troop each had to have their tools and rifles, and in addition carry a fascine or a gabion. The sappers were commanded by the General Chastellux. These sappers were also accompanied by a picket as well as by grenadiers and Chasseurs.

\textsuperscript{57.}

These grenadiers, Chasseurs, and the sentry had to surround the sappers from the front and on the sides. The sappers were lead just in front of the English redoubts, where one could not work during the day; that night around 9 o’clock we began our entrenchment work; as soon as we had begun to dig, the English realized that someone was working in front of their redoubts. They had no doubts that it was the French, though they could see nothing as it was too dark, and we were forbidden, by punishment of a severe sanction, from talking with one another aloud or even from making the smallest noise etc.

We had hardly worked for 15 minutes before they detected us and pinpointed our location so well that cannon balls were raining down on us, and we and did not know where we should hide.

The best thing to do at present was to sink down into the earth, such that the saying was proved to be true, namely that the French were cottontail rabbits, but our fate was less enviable than that of cottontail rabbits, and our officers had no need to direct us, as each soldier sought to bury himself as quickly as possible to be sheltered from the hail of bullets; there were many of them

\textsuperscript{58.}

\textsuperscript{251} Criminal behavior amongst the troops was severely punished at that time.
\textsuperscript{252} These sappers (from the French \textit{ouvriers-mineurs}), also called pioneers, are the soldiers appointed with the tasks of digging and building fortifications. Here the sappers play a fundamental role in the siege as they dig the trenches. As Flohr suggests, being a sapper is particularly demanding (“hands covered with blisters”, 58) and dangerous (“each soldier sought to bury himself as quickly as possible to be sheltered from the hail of bullets”, 57) because until October 8\textsuperscript{th} the besieging forces could not retaliate to the English bombardments due to a lack of adequate artillery.
who had never used their tools to work, but whoever saw them do it would have believed they
had done that their whole life long. The next day our hands were covered with blisters, to the
extent that we were unable to present arms.

That night, more than one individual left to do his work, but did not come back, he had to leave
his life behind in the trenches. That night we had 3 killed and 8 wounded. It was October 1, 1781.

At daybreak, all the sappers were called; as soon as the daylight shone fully, the English saw that
all of the terrain in front of them was dispersed with entrenchments! The English General
Cornwallis was told of this, that that night all the devils of hell must have helped the French dig;
it could not be explained otherwise.

Sappers for the 2\textsuperscript{nd} night: 800 men under Monsieur St. Simon’s command.\textsuperscript{253} That night we had 1
dead and 5 wounded. Now that a few tunnels and redoubts had been completed, the sappers were
positioned there day and night to work. During the construction, the thunder and lightning of
cannons could be detected without end, and all night long there was not half of a quarter hour of
silence.

59.

Soon the hail of bullets and cannon balls struck here, soon there, it was a bleak sight.

On October 2\textsuperscript{nd}, we supplied 700 sappers and that day we had 1 dead and 6 wounded. As soon as
some redoubts and tunnels were finished, 2 regiments always had to keep watch, which lasted 24
hours; the sappers were accompanied day and night by a rather large picket that kept by their
sides in order to evacuate the dead and wounded.

The sappers as well as the detachment groups who were supposed to evacuate the wounded were
well paid and received 30 S. for the night or the day.

\textsuperscript{253} Major General Claude-Anne de Rouvroy, Marquis de Saint-Simon-Montbleru led the three regiments from St.
Domingo on board the fleet commanded by Count de Grasse. Born in 1740 in La Faye near Ruffec in Charente,
Saint-Simon was educated at the Military Academy of Strasbourg, then assigned to the Royal-Auvergne regiment.
He became colonel of the Poitou regiment in 1771, then of Touraine. He followed this regiment to St. Domingo in
1779. On September 2\textsuperscript{nd} he disembarked at the head of the three Touraine, Agenais, and Gâtinais regiments where
he helped Lafayette and Anthony Wayne until the arrival of Rochambeau and Washington on September 14\textsuperscript{th}.
During the Siege of Yorktown he commanded the left wing of the French army. Saint-Simon was wounded during
the siege, and earned the respect of his peers by staying at his post all day in spite of his wound. During the
Revolution, Saint-Simon defended the privileges of the aristocracy, immigrated to Spain in 1790 where he held
several high-ranking positions. He thus defended Madrid against the French armies in 1808. He died in Madrid in
1819.
A soldier paying his way out of taking his turn or exchanging it was not tolerated, everyone had to go and take his turn himself.\textsuperscript{254}

On October 2\textsuperscript{nd}\textsuperscript{255} we supplied 800 sappers and that day we had 2 dead and 4 wounded. Even though we had completed a large number of redoubts and we had drawn closer to the town, we had no artillery to equip these redoubts other than the regiment’s small artillery.

That is why we gave no sign until our artillery, which had arrived by sea, was brought to us. It was precisely that which angered us the most during our entrenchment work, namely that the English were standing on their redoubts, and no one threatened them with a cannon blast, while we, with our heads barely coming above the redoubts, were the target of one of their cannons.\textsuperscript{256}

The English General Cornwallis took advantage of this in order to boost the moral of his soldiers, saying that it would be easy to keep their positions, as the French had no artillery, and since they had been there not one cannon shot had been heard from them.

On October 3\textsuperscript{rd}, we made 300 sappers available. During the day we had 5 dead and 9 wounded. As for the Americans, they had already positioned cannons in one redoubt or the other, but as for us, we did not yet have one cannon in our redoubts, and had still worked all day so that all was prepared and ready and so that we only had to put in the cannons and open fire, as much with howitzers as with cannons etc.

\textsuperscript{254} In order to distribute the exposure to gunfire between the different companies they took turns in the trenches. Additionally, mixed contingents were formed, with each company sending a few men. Flohr mentions the practice of exemption, combated by the military authorities. Work in the trenches being particularly dangerous, and the soldiers not wanting to be too exposed could indeed be tempted to pay their way out of taking their turn by paying a comrade to take it. These practices, however, as they put a hierarchy in place that was parallel to the military hierarchy, and as they were founded upon cowardice, were rather poorly tolerated by officers.

\textsuperscript{255} A curious error on the part of the author can be revealed here: he twice inserts October 2 in his diary of the Siege of Yorktown. The recap chart of the dead and wounded each day copied on page 93 show the figures of the “second” October 2, that is to say 2 dead and 4 wounded. The account of this first October 2 contains no special event that could allow it to be identified as a real date.

\textsuperscript{256} The artillery played a particularly important role during sieges. For the besieged, artillery did indeed allow one side to disrupt the progression of the trench. Those attempting the siege advanced in a zigzag in order to avoid shots in succession. As for the artillery, its function was to incapacitate the artillery of the enemy and to demolish their defensive structures.
We were, at present, also ready to receive our heavy artillery.

On October 4th, we made 800 sappers available. Over the course of the day we had 1 dead and 5 wounded. During the day and night, we had gained a nice advantage, as we had again dug new tunnels and we had again gained ground.

During the whole day the Americans had fired abundant shots on the right wing. That same day, the English general sent an insulting message from the town to their camp, the contents of which are as follows:

Even if it began to rain Americans for a period 2 times 24 hours, they would not be worried, they would only fear that one of them may fall on their heads from time to time, and no Englishman would let himself be intimidated by 24 Americans, that was the message he sent, to which he added that neither did they fear a few Frenchmen, that he was willing to send them a few wooden cannons, as he pitied them, given that they were regular troops all the same. The French responded that they had their thanks relayed to him, they tried to find some cannons elsewhere, and the English would perhaps still need theirs.

62.

If however they did not find any by the next day, the general responded, he would request that he be lent their excess artillery.

On October 5th, we made 600 sappers available. During that day we had 1 dead and 1 wounded.257 In the afternoon our cannons arrived by sea, and numerous men lent a strong hand to transport them. All the artillery horses were already prepared to bring them into the redoubts, without the English noticing anything.258

On October 6th, we made 1,000 sappers available. During the day we had 5 dead and 10 wounded. That day all of our artillery was transported into the redoubts that had just been constructed. Nearing the evening, all the cannons and howitzers were mounted on their carriages, ready to be fired.

257 Flohr evidently wrote his text using blanks and periods to signal parts with numbers that were to be completed with the help of a statistical document that reported all of the wounded and dead of the Siege of Yorktown.

258 On average, between six and eight horses were needed to transport a field cannon.
Around 6 o’clock in the evening, our general had a message sent to the English General Cornwallis by an aide-de-camp who had hung a white flag from his sword that he was waving, thus signaling that he was sent by his general. As soon as he was noticed on the English side, all became calm and the shooting stopped, both on the English side and on the American side.

Illustrations

63.

This interruption lasted about one hour from the moment the aide-de-camp gave the letter to the English general, which read:

Generals Rochambeau and Washington say and make it know that they thank him once again for his generosity and for his offer to send them some wooden cannons, but as the danger up until that moment had not been very great, they had not needed them. Besides, His Majesty the King of France also had the weakness of sending them cannons.

Yet they made it known to him that from 8 o’clock in the evening, their light artillery was ready to fire on the city, that is why, according to the conventional rules, they asked him to put women and children in a safe place out of the city, because there would be no mercy until he surrendered.

As soon as he heard that, the English general said that it was fine by him, he sends his regards to the general that had sent him, and to let him know that this time he hardly feared him, as it was not the first time that he had to deal with these French Messieurs.\(^{259}\)

64.

He knew them well. The aide-de-camp came back, his white flag in his hand. He had hardly reached the redoubt before the English cannons fired again incessantly. As soon as our general heard the message, he ordered the artillery to be readied for the evening, the cannons loaded, the fuses lit. Evening had not yet fallen, and already all the redoubts were crowded with sappers, some to handle the cannon balls and bring the shells, others to clear the crenels, which were all ready, but on the enemy’s side were hidden by a 2 to 3 foot-thick layer of earth! They had not yet

\(^{259}\) General Cornwallis fought against the French army during the Seven-Years’ War (1756-1763) in Germany, notably in the Battle of Minden.
been cleared, so that the English could not see whether the redoubts were equipped with light or heavy artillery, and so that they would keep thinking that the redoubts should only receive light artillery and that we had no cannons.

As soon as it became a bit dark, we put up 16 24- and 18-pounder howitzers the Fort Royal, in another redoubt, 12 16- and 14-pounder howitzers. These two redoubts faced one another and were parallel to the large English redoubt. Still another was equipped with 4 24-, 4-, 16-, and 6-pounder howitzers.\footnote{A 24-pounder fires 24-pound cannon balls, a 16-pounder fires 16-pound cannon balls. The heavier the cannon ball is, the more impressive the cannon is and the larger its range is. For example, the 24-pounder measures about 2.7 meters and weights 2.5 tons.}

There were also a few large redoubts on the left wing, very well served by the 3 Agenois, Gâtinois, and Touraine regiments. The Americans were on the right wing.

The general then ordered the colonel commanding the artillery to wish the English goodnight at dusk, which he did with pleasure. By way of a welcome, to begin we send 18 shells in rapid succession. All fell precisely in their large redoubt, such that the occupants no longer knew where to flee. Shortly thereafter, we sent 16 twenty-four-pounders all at once, into the same redoubt. As for the other redoubts, they received the same treatment, in such a way that the English no longer knew how to save their lives. This lasted all night, without a break, to the point that the ground was trembling like during an earthquake.

The enemy fire was also very heavy. But they could not hold a candle to the French. Our constables directed the shots with such precision that they hit the cannon wheels in the English redoubts, such that many of their carriages or cannon carts were rendered useless.

That night the trenches were guarded by the Royal Deux-Ponts and Soissonnois regiments,

\footnote{A 24-pounder fires 24-pound cannon balls, a 16-pounder fires 16-pound cannon balls. The heavier the cannon ball is, the more impressive the cannon is and the larger its range is. For example, the 24-pounder measures about 2.7 meters and weights 2.5 tons.}
On October 7th, we made 900 sappers available. During the day we had 1 dead and 6 wounded. Now we had gained a few advantages, we had moved so close that while we were doing our fortification work they could hit us with mortar from their redoubts, indeed they had no shells, as their large cannon balls weighed 50 pounds.

That same day, the guard of the trenches was assigned to the Bourbonnois and Saintonge regiments including their grenadiers and Chasseurs, who were on duty in the place assigned to them; on the left wing there were the Gâtinois and Touraine regiments that suffered greatly there.

On October 8th, we made 800 sappers available. That day we had 1 dead and 1 wounded. That day the Royal Deux-Ponts and Soissonnois regiments were on guard duty. Agenois was on the left wing etc. That same day 2 deserters from the English side arrived, whom General Washington questioned on many points and particularly on the location of their powder storage rooms.

As they confessed the secret, we did our best to set fire to their powder storage rooms with the help of fire shots and bombs etc., which was already done that very evening. That same night, around 11 o’clock, fire shots also burnt a war ship that was in the port, and which had caused great damage on land, on our left wing. During the day, that ship was always sheltered behind a mountain, near the town, which extends half way above, half way below, near the coastline bordering a major inlet.

As soon as night fell, she left her shelter behind the mountain, believing that we could cause no damage to her, as it was dark and nothing could be seen. But the American riflemen had understood this maneuver well, so well that, that night, the French were able to reduce her to ashes along with everything on board.

On the other side of the inlet, near Gloucester, was the Lauzon volunteer militia as well as several thousand Americans, to prevent the English from taking flight, such that they were completely encircled. On the waters, it was General Grasse who surrounded them, preventing anyone from coming to their aid or resupplying them with ammunition.

---

261 Fire shots are more commonly known as red-hot shot. By firing shots that had been heated, the artillerymen could set their target on fire.

262 According to numerous sources (newspaper, memoires, letters) the frigate Charon was set ablaze by a bombardment of French artillery on October 10th, and not on the 8th [Guns of Independence, p. 210].
That night the English attempted a raid that was very quickly countered.

On October 9th, we made 700 sappers available.

During the day we had . dead and 8 wounded. That day the Bourbonnois and Saintonge regiments were on guard duty. The Gâtinois and Touraine were on the left wing. That night General Washington and Baron de Vioménil came and promised a large tip for the gunners and bombardiers who succeeded in setting the English powder storage rooms on fire. One of the bombardiers immediately came forward and said he wanted to try, if it was possible, and that he had that very day questioned the deserters who had come on that subject.

Amongst the bombardiers, 2 men were particularly talented, one of them was a Strasbourg native and had the rank of sergeant, while the other was from Landau. These two men undertook the operation at night fall and succeeded in blowing up one of the powder storage rooms as well as all of the large redoubt around 10 o'clock etc.

What a nightmarish sight that redoubt was, which was occupied by 900 men! In that storage room there were about 23 powder kegs, one can easily imagine the explosion that was caused. From our redoubts we could see men thrown through the air from the force of the explosion, their arms spread wide. Everywhere there were cries of distress and pain, it was horrifying. It was just the contrary within our army, because we showed our delight in various ways when

263 The French artillerymen’s skill is praised by their American counterparts. Artillery is one of the main assets of the Louis XVI’s army, thanks to major technological advances (see the works of Grivebaux), also thanks to a high-quality military education. Flohr mentions two Alsatian artillerymen, from Strasbourg and Landau, who were probably trained at the Artillery Academy of Strasbourg. This is one of the first schools of its kind founded under the reign of Louis XIV, and the choice of Strasbourg is explained by the existence of a long tradition of artillery foundry in this city. The André Malraux multimedia library in Strasbourg includes, for that matter, the former school’s former library.

In a register kept in the Zweibrücken archives, the names of Strasbourg natives or those of neighboring villages who served the Royal Deux-Ponts can be found. They could be: Braun Michael, Bruck Johann David, Doock Daniel, Geith Andreas, Jinrich Kaspar, Jülich Friedrich, Jung Christian, Jung Heinrich, Leonhard Andreas, Muller Christoph, Neff Friedrich, Pfister Daniel, Schirro Michael, Schotter Friedrich, Schubard Franz, Stöhr Friedrich or Werner Daniel. Nevertheless, none of these Strasbourg natives seem to have reached the rank of sergeant. On the other hand, another Alsatian could match the figure mentioned by Flohr: Christian Burr, born in Wintersbourg in 1750, enrolled in the regiment in 1768, present at Yorktown in 1781 and promoted to sergeant on May 1, 1784, before marrying his village pastor’s daughter (in Alsace Bossue). His career within the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment continued after the American War of Independence: stationed in Metz, Belfort, then Huningue in 1788, he was promoted to sergeant major in 1789, and second lieutenant in 1791. He withdrew to La Petite-Pierre after the revolutionary wars and died there in 1810. According to Waltraud Pallasch and Pierre Balliet, “Elsässe und Lothringerim Regiment Royal Deux-Ponts”, Bulletin du cercle généalogique d’Alsace, 2007, n° 157, p 5-7.
faced with this tragedy, some were applauding, others were shouting “Vive le Roy”, others making

different sounds, the Americans shouting “Hurray King George”, in short, there was such a racket up and down our line that you could no longer distinguish your own words.

But the English took it very badly and immediately attempted a raid, which almost was a success and which brought them to within thirty paces of our redoubts. But when they saw that the number of soldiers was still too great, they turned around, which in all our ranks produced an even louder roar.

On October 10\textsuperscript{th}, we made 300 sappers available. During the day we had 1 dead and 3 wounded. The Royal Deux-Ponts and Soissonnois regiments were on guard duty, including the grenadiers and Chasseurs. The Agenois regiment was on the left wing etc. That day we were again gaining a nice advantage, as we were gaining territory by occupying the redoubts that were newly built and equipped with artillery. Only now, and thanks to these new redoubts, could our shots reach the city and their redoubts. We fired on the city accordingly and bombarded it so much that no man could stay or live there: all the houses were gutted by cannon balls, burnt like torches, the earth was beaten by the shells that had dug one funnel-shaped hole next another. In the port, many ships were

also hit and consequently sunk. All the inhabitants of the village were evacuated and taken to the other bank of the inlet, where part of the city was still sheltered from the shots. They had to stay there and could not go beyond, due to the Lauzon volunteer militia, as well as a few American regiments, which had been kept in Gloucester.

On October 11\textsuperscript{th}, we made 150 sappers available. That day we had 1 dead and 7 wounded. The Bourbonnois and Saintonge regiment were on guard duty, including the grenadiers and the Chasseurs. The Gâtinois and Touraine regiments were on the left wing.

\footnote{This “Hurray King George”, must be ironic, as the Americans obviously no longer recognize King George II of England as their king. Nevertheless, it is curious that a so-called spontaneous cry of celebration, what’s more a collective one, can have such a strong dose of mockery.}

108
Some deserters arrived in the morning, who were questioned on the exact location of the general headquarters; they told us everything, precisely describing the house occupied by the general staff, after which it was quickly decided to make it the target of our fire and bombardments.

Yet in that location was a house as grand and beautiful as the most beautiful of all the châteaux. It belonged to a local figure who was an upstanding Englishman. His son, however, was an upstanding American and who truly held the rank of colonel in a militia regiment, which did participate in the Siege,

and because of this colonel, the house had been spared for a long time. As this building was located at a distance of about 300 paces, just in front of the houses of the city, it formed an obstacle, such that we could not shoot at the general headquarters.

Around noon, General Washington sent for this colonel and told him that he intended to set fire to the general headquarters with fire shots, and if his house, or that of his father, came to be destroyed by the fire, he would replace it up to the total cost of damages. But the colonel responded that we blow it up, to the great displeasure of his father.265

Around 11:30, it was already burning like a torch, it is true that some 20 bombs had already fallen there.

Around 1 o’clock, while the staff was eating, we sent 24 bombs on that house, one after the other. Some of them fell in front of the house, some inside, which ruined General Cornwallis’s appetite and that of his staff. Two of them were killed and several severely wounded, the others ran away. But as the bombs were falling in abundance, they no longer knew where to retreat. Where ever they went,

265 The colonel that Flohr mentions is Thomas Nelson Junior, Brigadier general, commander of the Virginia militia. The man named as his father is actually his uncle and is not an “upstanding Englishman”, that is to say, a Loyalist. Thomas Nelson a former public figure of the colony, was in Yorktown during the Siege of the city, he switched to the allies’ side on October 10th with the permission of Cornwallis. Cornwallis’s general staff directly occupied Thomas Nelson Senior’s house, which was immediately chosen as a target by the artillerymen. Brigadier general Thomas Nelson Junior intervenes at another moment of the Siege, on the 9th or the 11th of October (Emory G. Evans, Thomas Nelson of Yorktown: Revolutionary Virginian, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, 1975) when he signaled to Lafayette to direct the artillery shots in the direction of this great brick house where the enemy general staff was located. He also specified to a surprised Lafayette that it is his own house. [Guns of Independence, p. 214].
they were followed by cannon balls. General Cornwallis had to take shelter under a vault that had been arranged as a mining tunnel, where he safely stayed thereafter. The rest of the troop had to camp outside of the city and were condemned to suffer greatly.

On October 12th, we gave 600 sappers. During the day we had 7 dead and 11 wounded. The Soissonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts regiments were on guard duty, as well as the grenadiers and Chasseurs on the side. The Agenois regiment was on the left wing. During the day, the shooting was sustained and uninterrupted, like never before. Each man thought the Last Judgment had come. When you were safe in the camp or elsewhere, it was a great pleasure to see and hear this spectacle, because the ground was trembling all the time, and from the camp’s lookout posts, from far away you could count the firebombs all the time. But as soon as the time came to go to the heart of the battle, the pleasure was not as great.

On October 13th, we gave 600 sappers. During the day we had 1 dead and 28 wounded. The Bourbonnois and Saintonge regiments, including the grenadiers and Chasseurs were on guard duty. That night they made a raid when it was nearly morning and surprised the sappers,

which was due to inattention on the part of our picket and the sentinels. They took one of our redoubts, armed with twelve 16-pounder cannons, they put nails in all of them so that they could not be used. But they were unable to progress beyond that redoubt. The sappers who were there ran away because they had no arms other than their tools, with which they could not defend themselves. As soon as the cannons were nailed, they returned.

On the one hand, there was no reason to be surprised at the heedlessness as much on the part of the sappers as the picket, because all were tired and very sleepy. During this siege a soldier only went back to the tent to sleep every 6th or 7th night. Here he is today on guard duty, the next day in the picket, from the picket he goes to work building reinforcements, from there he picks up his position on guard duty again the following day. Such that he could only sleep in a tent every 6th or 7th night. In the morning on that day, the English General sent an aide-de-camp, a square of

---

266 The nailing of cannons was a sabotage operation that consisted of forcing a nail into the priming hole of the cannons (the hole where the fire is lit). A nailed cannon could no longer be used.

267 It goes without saying that soldiers slept more than once a week. However it is probable that the rest day was only once a week.
fabric hung from his sword. As soon as he was spotted, the shooting ceased. He was carrying a letter that read thusly:

74.

Should we be willing to grant him what follows: that he be allowed to leave with his army and his ships, he would give up the city.

Our general sent back this aide-de-camp with this response: only that he say to his general that this could not be granted to him, that he had to defend himself as well as he could, according to the rules of warfare. Either he would lose, or he would win, his losses were, all the same, not yet so great, he was still very much able to defend himself.

As soon as the latter had disappeared behind the enemy redoubts, the shooting recommenced, stronger and more intense than ever. The message, in these terms, hardly pleased the English General, who had to resume combat.

On October 14th we gave 800 sappers. During the day we had 5 dead and 29 wounded. The Royal Deux-Ponts and Soissonnois regiments, including the grenadiers and the Chasseurs were on guard duty. The Gâtinois and Touraine regiments were on the left wing. As for the Hessians and the soldiers from Anspach etc., they did not want to move on to the attack, as they saw that their regiments were decimated, such that it was impossible to organize the defense.

75.

That day, at noon, the order was given to the grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Royal Deux-Ponts and Gâtinois regiments that they were to assemble, in the evening, on the right wing, near the entrance to the trenches on the American side.

German-speaking soldiers fought on both sides during the American War of Independence. The English had 20,000 Hessian soldiers and 10,000 other soldiers under their orders. The British Crown paid for the services of the continental armies, by means of subsidies that were sometimes large (estimated at a total of 7 million pounds for all the German mercenaries): 21 million thaler was paid to Landgrave Frederic II of Hesse-Cassel for sending 4 grenadier battalions, 15 infantry battalions, 2 companies of Chasseurs, and a general staff. Other mercenary troops came from Brunswick, Ansbach-Bayreuth, Anhalt-Zerbst, but all the non-British troops fighting for the Crown were commonly called “Hessian”. The Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst who sent 1,160 mercenaries to America, the most modest German share, received 110,000 pounds in exchange. Therefore it is not surprising to read farther down in Flohr’s account that the soldiers from the Deux-Ponts regiment were called out to in German from atop the redoubts defended by the aforesaid Hessians enrolled on the British side.
In the evening, they did indeed assemble on the right wing as the order had been given. But no one knew what this meant. We stayed there until around 11 o’clock at night. Those 4 companies of grenadiers and Chasseurs etc. were commanded by Baron de Vioménil and Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Second Colonel of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment. No one knew yet when we would be able to leave, but soon we were to find out.

The English had a redoubt that was the most advanced of them all. They brought about a lot of damage each day for us thank to it. This redoubt included a solid, advanced post of 400 men, who were always up at night because one had to cross 600 toises of exposed terrain to reach it. If they were coming and going during the day, they could be shot down like sparrows before they could take refuge inside. To take this redoubt and chase out the enemy,

an assault needed to be organized, which needed to take place with precision that night with the 4 companies etc.

Around midnight, it was ordered that, while we were advancing, no soldier, nor any noncommissioned officer or officer dared to speak, to make the smallest noise, under penalty of a severe punishment and, for the soldiers, under penalty of death. If it happened that the soldier beside or in front of us was wounded or fell to the ground and called to his comrade or asked him to help and to stop, or took his hand to stop him, the nearest officer or the noncommissioned officer had to kill him with his sword, such was the order given by the general.

After which we left and moved forward in squads, in complete silence. It should be mentioned that it was very dark that night, and here and there one of us would fall, as the path was very poor and each soldier was loaded with 60 cartridges.

We advanced another 100 toises, all was very silent. Then it was time for the carpenters

---

269 He is speaking of Guillaume de Deux-Ponts. See biographical note.
270 This “we” is misleading, as it refers to those attacking the redoubt (the grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Royal Deux-Ponts and Gâtinais), companies to which Flohr does not belong. A few lines before (diary page 75), he writes: “That day, at noon, the order was given to the grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Royal Deux-Ponts and Gâtinois regiments that they were to assemble, in the evening, on the right wing, near the entrance to the trenches on the American side. In the evening, they did indeed assemble on the right wing as the order had been given.” This is not the only passage of the text itself that proves Flohr is not a grenadier or Chasseur. The fact that he then switches to the first person plural artificially includes him in the account of this attack. This is not the only place where the author proceeds in this way.
271 The cartridges, containing a bullet and powder, were made of paper at the time (a layer of paraffin could make them waterproof). Before reloading his weapon, the soldier had to tear them open to free the contents.
who accompanied us to dismantle the chevaux-de-frise,\footnote{Chevaux-de-frise are defensive measures consisting of a frame covered with projecting wooden spears.} as they\footnote{T.N. they = the English redoubts} were surrounded by chevaux-de-frise or fences and a large ditch. Barely had we taken a few more steps before a sentinel called out on our left. He cried out in our direction “Whoisthere?” in English. But we did not respond. Nevertheless, this sentinel did not open fire on us. He thought it was the English on patrol. We made our way forward a bit more, and we were already before the enemy outposts. Shortly after, a sentinel called out on our right. It was one of the sentinels from Hannover who cried “Wer da?”\footnote{T.N. “Who goes there?”} As soon as he had called out three times, barely had he spoken the last word before he opened fire on us. The shot had hardly been fired before a shootout was set off all around us, so brilliant that it was as bright as daylight. But this did not trouble us at all and we continued to make our way forward.

As soon as we had come near the redoubt, enough so that now they could reach us with their rifles, they fired upon us with such intensity that we were falling like snowflakes. Everyone thought it was raining bullets, as we were encircled by the enemy and were nearly annihilated. Someone was crying out here, another over there, that someone came to his aid. But it was impossible as, caught in the assault, we had to run in order to finally reach the redoubt and jump in the ditch. We were then sheltered from the shots coming from the redoubt.

The carpenters demolished the fences in all haste. As soon as there was a small breech, we had to immediately mount an assault on the redoubt, even though more than one of us would have rather had a bit of rest.

As soon as a few succeeded by chance in climbing up, the English fled. When we noticed it, we stood in their way to impede their flight. The enemy troops were at the top of the redoubt and were pointing their bayonets toward those who were trying to climb up. Many had axes in order
to defend themselves, with which they were splitting open the skulls of a great number of ours who were climbing up.

Baron de Vioménil was also solidly armed in these circumstances: on his uniform he had encircled a leather belt, holding two pistols on either side and he had a sword in hand.

78a.

After the Siege of York, how this city was taken by the French, and how the redoubts are placed around the city etc.275

Illustrations

79.

He proclaimed that he would be able to remember whomever, soldier or noncommissioned officer, would be in front of him on the redoubt and he would hold his hand out to him, and that man would receive a good tip from him.

Count Guillaume276 promised the same thing. This promise worked, and we took the redoubt by assault. Count Guillaume was wounded during the operation, but his wound was not very serious. Everyone can imagine at present what was happening inside the redoubt, now that we were there. At that time, in that place there were men of 4 nations: French, English, Scots, and Germans etc. As soon as the Hessians and the Hanoverians saw that it was lost, they became prisoners, but as the racket was too great, it was not possible for our general to master the situation. The soldiers were so unrelenting against one another, that our own men killed one another. The French lashed out at all men who were wearing a blue uniform and ran them through with their bayonets. But the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment was also wearing blue, this is why many of its soldiers were killed. And as the Hessian and Anspach troops had nearly the same uniforms, and the English were in red, which in the dark of night seemed to be blue, there was no mercy that night.

276 See biographical note of Guillaume de Deux-Ponts.
On our side, each soldier was prepared to plunder, and many did fill up sacks for themselves.  

80.

But some of them, who would willingly have gone without looting, as long as they could have stayed at home, expressed regret for having done it.

Finally we found a way to come together, and our General gave us the following orders:

The first soldier who dared hurt one of the prisoners would be condemned to death. After which calm returned. But complaints and groans could be heard everywhere. Someone called out here, another there, begging to be killed for the love of God, as the redoubt was strewn with the dead and wounded, so much so that we had to walk on them. As soon as the enemy knew that there were Frenchmen in the redoubt, it was set ablaze for the whole night, and we had to endure great suffering.

There were no other cannons in this redoubt other than 2 nice mortars that shot 50-pound cannon balls. The general immediately offered them as gifts to the two regiments, so that they could make them their emblem, and they can still be seen today. They were immediately transported to the camp where they remained under guard.

After our return to France, Count Christian de Deux-Ponts, colonel of the regiment, asked the Court once more for permission to have the regiment preceded, when it was marching, by this mortar that they had won during such a perilous assault, which was graciously granted,

81.

and now the mortar has indeed been placed on a brand new carriage. When the regiment marches, it is the emblem that precedes it, when the regiment is garrisoned, it is placed in the

---

277 Pillaging was widespread in the armies, be it in conquered towns, in the lands they passed through, or, like here, on cadavers. Though the staff and discipline fought against these abuses, pillaging remained one of the strong temptations of a soldier in the eighteenth century.

278 One of these cannons is kept at the Museum of Les Invalides.

279 See biographical note on Christian de Deux-Ponts.
entrance of the quarters, flanked by a sentinel. The Royal Regiment of Auvergne has the same emblem.\textsuperscript{280}

Now then, there was a great racket on the French and American side, due to cries of joy and “Vive le Roi” that followed the capture of the redoubt, which angered the English very much, and they were ordered to immediately attempt a raid, as they thought that we had reduced the number of troops in our trenches and redoubts in order to occupy the newly conquered redoubt, but they were mistaken, so much that their raid was once again countered. But, as it happens, we had a rather hard time pushing them back, as they had come within 20 steps of our trenches and redoubts, and had given such intense fire that it was as bright as day, and one could believe that bullets were raining from the sky. But as soon as they noticed that there were still soldiers everywhere, they turned around and returned to their fortified structures.

At daybreak we began evacuating the dead and wounded, from both camps in the same way, from the conquered redoubt. The next day it was razed,

so that the enemy could no longer use it. As for the carpenters, they were rewarded with a nice tip: each one received 5 Louis d’or for not having withdrawn when faced with the enemy and for having executed his work so energetically.

On October 15\textsuperscript{th}, we made 500 sappers available. During the day we had 1 dead and 43 wounded. The Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts regiments were on guard duty. The Agenois, including the grenadiers and Chasseurs were on the left wing etc. For a few days now we had taken the lead and had moved right up to their redoubts, such that we could reach all the places we wanted with our artillery. Now the shooting picked up again with renewed vigor, so much so that they no longer knew where to take refuge.

On October 16\textsuperscript{th}, we made 800 sappers available. That day we had 2 dead and 12 wounded. The Soissonnois and Saintonge regiments, including their grenadiers and Chasseurs were on guard duty. The Gâtinois and Touraine regiments were on the left wing. That afternoon, sent by the English general, came an aide-de-camp, who had a small flag hung from his sword that he was

\textsuperscript{280} The Gâtinais regiment was rewarded for its valor during the assault led by Rochambeau. He spoke to the King in favor of returning to the former name of Royal Auvergne that remained attached to the victories of this regiment, one of the oldest in the kingdom. Created in 1597, it only took the name Royal Auvergne in 1635. The Gâtinais regiment was formed in 1776 from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} battalions of the former Royal Auvergne. It only officially got back its name on July 11, 1782 under the king’s ruling. Just like the Royal Deux-Ponts, the Royal Auvergne used mortars captured during the assault of redoubt 9 as an emblem.
waving. As soon as he was spotted, everything went calm and the shooting ceased, upon which all the soldiers, from both camps, pulled themselves atop the redoubts and the parapets to see him.

83.

On the English side, the Hessian soldiers and those from Anspach called to us in a friendly way from their redoubts, and considered us compatriots.

Upon his arrival, this aide-de-camp was brought to General Washington etc. No sooner had he delivered his letter than we wanted to send him back. But he said he was sent by General Cornwallis with that letter, which mentioned that Cornwallis was ready to surrender, but according to the conditions stipulated in the letter, namely: If we allowed him to let 8 or 10 covered coaches leave freely, he would be ready to surrender. General Washington did not want to accept this article and said that, on the contrary, he would not grant the smallest thing and he would have to surrender, no matter what he did, and that it would not last as long as it had already lasted. As soon as the aide-de-camp heard that message, he returned to his camp and delivered the order to his general.

As soon as he reached the English redoubts, all the cannons in our camp began firing again, so much so that rumbling and thundering could be heard, which made the earth tremble.

On October 17th, we made 500 sappers available. During the day we had 3 dead and 5 wounded. The Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts, including their grenadiers and Chasseurs were on guard duty. The Agenois regiment was on the left wing etc.

84.

That day, in the evening, the regiments on our left wing endured great suffering, just like the grenadiers, the Chasseurs, and the picket that were stationed on our left in the valley. Around midnight, the English attempted a raid on the left wing, near the river, but they could not do much and had to retreat empty-handed. They tried again in every way possible, but nothing came of it, the group was nearly lost. As for the German troops, namely the Hessians and those from Anspach, they did not want to go on the offensive, as they saw that all was futile. They stated their arguments to General Cornwallis, who, after some reflection, yielded to the evidence that there was no choice but to surrender.
That very afternoon an English aide-de-camp came once again with a letter. As soon as he was seen, a white flag hanging from his sword, we ceased fire for about an hour and a half. No sooner had he arrived than he was taken to General Vioménil, then to Washington, to whom he delivered the letter which read:

General Cornwallis would accept to surrender to the French and not to the Americans, so that it could not be said that the Americans had taken him,

as the latter did not constitute regular troops, but under the condition that the following articles be accepted:

Text of the articles of surrender between General Washington, the Count de Rochambeau, and the Count de Grasse on one side, and Lord Cornwallis, General in Chief in York and Gloucester, Thomas Symonds Cuier, Commander of the flotilla on the York River

1st article

The Army of York and Gloucester, including the officers, soldiers and sailors, the ships of His Majesty of Great Britain as well as the others who are part of the navy, surrender to the two powers, America and France. The infantry troops surrender to the United States, the naval force surrenders to His Majesty of France, according to the 1st article.

Agreed.

2nd article

The artillery, arms, equipment, the war budget, as well as all the supply ships, whatever they be, will be relinquished to the intended departments.

281 This remark of Flohr's shows the way the armies considered themselves. While the Americans were seen as insurgents by the English who refused to grant them any military legitimacy, the French troops were, for their part, recognized as a being a regular army. It was therefore less of a dishonor for the English army to surrender to the French that to the insurgents. Besides, surrendering to the Americans came down to identifying them straightaway as legitimate adversaries. This issue of the representation and the qualification of the enemy come up in all conflicts.

282 Captain Thomas Symonds is the officer who commands the English flotilla on the York River. He has two ships at his disposal, the frigate Charon and The Guadaloupe. The “Cuier” at the end of his name means, without a doubt, “Esquire”, which is a distortion of the word squire. It is a title of courtesy for any officer when he has no other title, or also a title reserved for all eldest sons of Knights.
3rd article

At noon today, the 2 redoubts to the left of York will be evacuated and liberated, the Army of York and Gloucester will abandon its post and march, so as to hand over their weapons. This march will be done with flags waving in the wind, and drums beating an English or German march.

85bis.

Once they have handed over their weapons, they will return to their redoubts, where they will stay until they are authorized to leave to go to the places intended to hold them prisoner.

Agreed

4th article

The Gloucester military fortifications will be evacuated by 1 o’clock in the afternoon. The garrison will also leave the area marching at 3 o’clock: the knight’s swords drawn and trumpets sounding, the infantry will retrace its steps, like the whole troop, sailors and soldiers will keep their baggage.

Agreed

5th article

The generals, officers, and civil employees etc. will be able, on the condition that they give their word, to ask permission to return to England or New York according to their choice. Count de Grasse will give them ships to transfer them to New York within 10 days including today as negotiators. This article will apply to officers of the civil department of the army and navy. Those who cannot be given a ship will have passports allocated to them to travel by land.

6th article
The soldiers will be stationed in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and will remain grouped together according to their regiments as much as possible. They will receive the same pay as that attributed to the soldiers serving America. One superior officer of each nation as well as 4 officers of each regiment will permanently reside near their regiments to visit them frequently and to be accountable for their conduct etc.

7th article

On the condition that they give their word, the officers will be free to go to England or New York or to some other place; that in addition to the freedom to bring, each one, a soldier or some other servant.

8th article

The sloop La Bonnetta as well as the crew will be armed and placed under the command of its captain and will ultimately be made available to Lord Cornwallis as soon as the surrender is signed. On board there will also be an aide-de-camp to bring the news to the Chevalier Henry Clinton in New York. The ship, this time under the command of Mister Grasse, will be returned. Agreed.

9th article

Merchants will take possession of their merchandise and goods, and will have their merchandise at their disposal for a period of 3 months, during which time they will not be considered prisoners of war.

10th article

The inhabitants of the different provinces of this country, who currently themselves find in York and Gloucester, will not be punished for having followed the English army.
11th article

The sick and wounded will be cared for

86.

and hospitals will be built for them. They will be cared for by their own surgeons and doctors, under their word, and provisions and medicines taken from American hospitals will be provided: the hospital storehouses in York and Gloucester will be emptied and used for the sick and wounded of the English army in York. Passports will also be created to allow for the delivery of provisions from York etc.

12th article

Carts and carriages will be provided to evacuate the baggage of the officers and surgeons staying with the soldiers; the sick and wounded will be cared for during their march. These expenses will be covered by public funds. Carts and carriages will be procured insofar as possible.

13th article

The ships in the 2 ports with all their weaponry and cannons must be handed over, in their current state, to a naval officer designated for this. Prior to this, they will be emptied of individuals’ personal effects that, for reasons of security, had been placed there during the Siege.

14th article

None of the articles of this surrender may be violated under pretext of retaliation. If there should be found herein ambiguous wording, it shall be interpreted according to what common sense dictates and understands. Written in York, Virginia on October 19, 1781.

Signed
During the night of the 18th, fires were lit in the redoubts and trenches of the two camps, because already the nights were a bit cool. But we remained on permanent alert with our rifles. The constables also remained ready, cannons loaded and wicks lit, waiting for either the surrender to be signed, or the order to resume the offensive. At any moment negotiators were going from one camp to another until, finally around 9 o’clock, the surrender was signed.

In both camps the cannons were immediately turned around. The allies and the enemies climbed without hesitation atop the parapets and, from all the redoubts, called out and wished one another peace. Around 1 o’clock in the afternoon, the grenadiers from the Bourbonnois regiment penetrated the enemy redoubts and took possession of them. At the same time the two armies lined up in battle formation on both sides of the main road that leads to Hampton, and which the captive army took to leave York.

The French troops were on the right when they were leaving the city, the American troops on the left of the road. Our generals, on horseback, remained on our left wing, just like General Count de Barras, representing the navy.

Then came the artillery. General Washington and his generals were also there, on horseback. The American army was commanded by the Marquis de Lafayette. The English army left its

---

283 The articles of surrender presented by Flohr roughly correspond to the official act. Available after the conflict in several gazettes and journals in Europe, Flohr must have copied them.

284 In the eighteenth century, national hostilities were not as entrenched as they would be thereafter. Scenes of friendly association were therefore possible. Certain deserters went from one army to the other, as for the Germans, note that they were enlisted as much in the English army as in the French army. Nonetheless, the episode is probably embellished by Flohr.

285 Jacques Melchior Count de Barras de Saint-Laurent, born in Arles in 1719. He was, in succession, guard of the Navy in 1734, captain in 1762, fleet commander in 1778. Lieutenant general in 1782, he refused the rank of vice admiral in 1792. He died shortly thereafter. He commanded the Zélée and the Tonnant in the Estaing fleet, then the Le Duc de Bourgogne. He commanded the Newport fleet shortly after de Ternay’s death, delivered Rochambeau’s artillery, and participated in the attack on Gloucester. He then participated in the Battle of Saint Kitts, and the islands of Nièvre and Montserrat. He was named chevalier of the Order of Saint Louis in 1756 then commander in 1781 and finally recipient of the Légion d’honneur Grand Croix in 1784. [Christian de la Jonquière, Les marins français sous Louis XVI, Guerre d’Indépendance Américaine, Muller editions, 1996, p. 17.]
fortifications around 2 o’clock, to fanfare and unfurled flags. The drums were beating a marching rhythm, rifles in hand. Then we had the honor of seeing man after man, as they had to march, in a very orderly fashion, between the Americans and us, grouped in sections, the officers’ swords drawn.

The troops marched in front of General Cornwallis and General O’Hara. There uniforms were red and blue. They now moved closer to our left wing, each regiment according to its rank, divided in brigades. Amongst them there were: two regiments of Hessians, 1 regiment from Anspach, 1 regiment from Bayreuth etc. For the English: the 3rd battalion of the Royal Guard, on foot, the 25th, 17th, 33rd, 43rd, 71st, 76th, and 80th regiments. As the English regiments bear no name other than their number, which they have on their buttons, they will not be otherwise specified here, other than by their number. The Gloucester garrison was composed as follows: the Queen’s Rangers or Regiment of the Queen.

The means by which Flohr had access to this type of information rests unanswered for the time being. All the same, the presence of such precise information suggests that the author had connections with people likely to provide him with official documents, for example officers in charge of logistics, engineering officers, etc. This kind of element also attests to the “genre” Flohr relates to when he was writing his account.

---

286 General Cornwallis was not present during the surrender ceremony, he feigned illness and sent his second-in-command, Charles O’Hara. He was born in 1740, he entered the army very early, he was a lieutenant when the Seven Years’ War broke out. He served in Germany and Portugal. In 1766, he was head of the English troops in Senegal, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He arrived in 1778 on the North American theater of operations, he was promoted to brigadier in October 1780. He was Cornwallis’s lieutenant during the Siege of Yorktown, he had the difficult task of representing General Cornwallis during the surrender ceremony.


287 The means by which Flohr had access to this type of information rests unanswered for the time being. All the same, the presence of such precise information suggests that the author had connections with people likely to provide him with official documents, for example officers in charge of logistics, engineering officers, etc. This kind of element also attests to the “genre” Flohr relates to when he was writing his account.

87ter.

Summary of the prisoners taken at York and Gloucester in Virginia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generals</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Surgeons</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>War material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number ill in York</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number ill in Gloucester</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailors</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonels</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rifles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

286 General Cornwallis was not present during the surrender ceremony, he feigned illness and sent his second-in-command, Charles O’Hara. He was born in 1740, he entered the army very early, he was a lieutenant when the Seven Years’ War broke out. He served in Germany and Portugal. In 1766, he was head of the English troops in Senegal, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He arrived in 1778 on the North American theater of operations, he was promoted to brigadier in October 1780. He was Cornwallis’s lieutenant during the Siege of Yorktown, he had the difficult task of representing General Cornwallis during the surrender ceremony.


287 The means by which Flohr had access to this type of information rests unanswered for the time being. All the same, the presence of such precise information suggests that the author had connections with people likely to provide him with official documents, for example officers in charge of logistics, engineering officers, etc. This kind of element also attests to the “genre” Flohr relates to when he was writing his account.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Majors</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>Metal Cannons</th>
<th>24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Captains</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Iron Cannons</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenants</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Flags and standards</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard-bearers</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aides-de-camp</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Howitzers and mortars</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-commissioned officers</td>
<td>295</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>Powder kegs</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers</td>
<td>3943</td>
<td>Small vessels</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplains</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>War ships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgeons</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Frigates</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

English regiments taken prisoner at York

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regiment</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25th Regiment</td>
<td>and the Guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th Regiment</td>
<td>the Queen’s Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33rd Regiment</td>
<td>Light Infantry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43rd Regiment</td>
<td>Tarleton etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71st Regiment</td>
<td>The Anspach Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76th Regiment</td>
<td>The Seybold Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80th Regiment</td>
<td>The Crown Prince’s Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Bossen Regiment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88.

light infantry named Tarleton etc. The frigate La Guadeloupe was sunk with its 32 cannons, the war vessel Le Charron was burned during the Siege.

288 This is the British Legion, directed by Banastre Tarleton. He was born August 21, 1754 in Liverpool. Originating from the middle class, he remained a Law student until the day the inheritance left by his father was squandered, he bought a commission of Cavalry officers in 1775 for the King’s Dragoon Guards, the regiment of the Green Dragoons. He voluntarily boarded a ship bound for America with Lord Cornwallis, then over the course of the summer of 1778, obtained the command of the British Legion, a mixed unit of infantry and cavalry composed
How the English left the city of York.

The 3rd battalion of the Guard was marching in front, in red uniforms, with blue epaulets, and lapels, and white braids. General O’Hara preceded them on horseback. Then came the Cornwallis regiment, or the 25th regiment, in red uniforms, with red epaulets etc. Then came the 17th regiment, in red and blue.

The Regiments from Anspach.

Then came the Regiment from Anspach, in dark blue uniforms with red epaulets etc. Then came the Bayreuth Regiment, in dark blue uniforms, with black epaulets and lapels.

The Hessian Regiments.

Then came the Crown Prince’s Regiment, in dark blue uniforms, with yellow leather epaulets etc. Then came the Bossen regiment, blue with white epaulets and lapels. Then again came English regiments, the 33rd, in red and blue uniforms, with white braids, almost like those of the Guard.

88bis.

General register of American troops
at the Siege of York and Gloucester en Virginia

exclusively of Loyalists. In 1780 he was sent to the head of the cavalry by Henry Clinton in the operations in the southern colonies and contributed to the capture of Charleston. Nevertheless, Tarleton was renowned for other reasons: considered by the English as being a talented cavalry colonel, he gained a dreadful reputation with the Americans who nickname him “Bloody Tarleton” for supposedly (the incident is a subject of debate) having executed Virginia militiamen who had raised a white flag after the Battle of Waxhaws (May 29, 1780). After this incident, Tarleton was known for his cruelty and lack of respect for the rules of “civilized” war to the point of becoming a rallying subject for the Americans, to attest to British tyranny. Tarleton’s acts in 1780 and 1781 were one of the reasons why the Americans were consequently very resistant to treating the English prisoners according to the rules of warfare, and very dubious when French and English officers would fraternize, notably during the surrender at Yorktown. Banastre Tarleton was taken prisoner at the end of that siege, he returned to England where he entered a career in politics. In this way, he became a Representative in the House of Commons until 1812 when he was well-known for his opposition to the abolition of slavery. He died on January 15, 1833.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generals</th>
<th>Regiments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Light Infantry, or Voluntary Militia SchimatesKorh Riflemen’s Corps Dragoons’ Corps</td>
<td>Militia Regiments Regt. of Virginia Regt. of Maryland Regt. of Jersey Regt. of Carolina Regt. of Blauenbergen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Register of the French Flotilla under the command of General de Grasse in America, during the naval battle with English General Rothany from the 9th to the 12th of April 1782

289 “Baron von Stabens G.” is major general Frédéric-Guillaume-Auguste-Henry, Baron Steuben. Originally from Prussia, a veteran of the wars led by Frédéric the Great, he was generally considered as La Fayette’s “mentor”. He played an important role in the training of the American troops.

290 The “Brigadier Meeden” is difficult to identify. It could refer to the Brigadier general of the Virginia Militia, George Weedon, placed under the orders of Thomas Nelson Jr (cited above).

291 The “SchimatesKorps”, known as “Light infantry or voluntary militia” must refer to the Light Infantry Corps placed under the orders of Lieutenant colonel Jean-Joseph Soubader de Gîmat.

292 Georges Brydges Rodney, 1st Baron Rodney was born in 1718 in Walton-on-the-Tamise, Rodney was a major figure of the eighteenth century Royal Navy. He joined in 1732, obtained the rank of lieutenant in 1739. His first recognized feat in battle was his participation in the English victory off of Cape Finisterre in 1747. During the Seven Years’ War, Rodney took part in the expedition against Rochefort in 1757, then in the Siege of Louisburg. Due to his actions in La Havre then in the Caribbean West Indies, he was made vice admiral at the end of the war in 1763. In debt, Rodney was forced to take up residence in Paris. He was notably in connection with Marshal de Biron who paid off his debts and allowed him to return to England. At the onset of the hostilities against France in 1778, Rodney was sent to the Caribbean West Indies at the head of a fleet. He led several undecided combats against Count de Guichen, then took the Isle of Sint Eustatius from Holland without declaration of war, he presided over the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of the war ships</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
<th>Names of the war ships</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
<th>Names of the war ships</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le Plouton</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>L’Hector</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>L’aimable</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marsallois</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Le Jason</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>L’engagant</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Duc de Bourgonge</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Le Citoyen</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>L’Amazon</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Caton</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Le Brave</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Conquerant</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Le Scipion</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Privateers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’Alson</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Lardant</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le ClaireVoyant 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Bougonge</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Le Zellée</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Resolution 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Triomphant</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>L’August</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Cornwallis 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Magnifique</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Nord Comberland</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflecxy</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Le Palmier</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>47 sails in all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maganime</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Le Souverain</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Destin</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Le Neptune</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pillaging of that island. After a temporary visit to England, he returned to his post in January 1782. He met the powerful flotilla of Admiral De Grasse near the Les Saintes islands on April 12, 1782. The confrontation was a disaster for the French flotilla, which was supposed to be the spearhead of an attack against Jamaica. Rodney took De Grasse prisoner and won his greatest victory. Incidentally, he deployed a new tactic there, later used by Admiral Nelson in Trafalgar, which consisted of breaking the adversary’s line. Honored by the Parliament of London upon his return in June 1782 with a second title of Baron, afterwards he did not play any major roles. Rodney died on May 24, 1792.

This refers to the Battle of the Saintes. Inserting this table here is not very logical, as that battle took place 6 months after the surrender at Yorktown that Flohr is describing at this place in his diary. The most plausible hypothesis is that he confused the Battle of Chesapeake Bay of September 5, 1781 and the Battle of the Saintes, which is nevertheless dated correctly in the presentation of this table as April 9-12, 1782. As he does not provide documentation for the first battle, Flohr perhaps fills this “gap” using this table of a battle that he does not even talk about.
During this battle were lost: the Admiral de Grasse and taken prisoner were 5 war ships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the war ships</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
<th>Name of the war ships</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
<th>Name of the frigates and privateer cannons</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le Diademe</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>L’Hercule</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Glorieux</td>
<td>74</td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Scepter</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’Eveiller</td>
<td>64</td>
<td><strong>Frigates</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>La Ville de Paris</strong></td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Le Glorieux</strong></td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Couronne</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Le Richmond</td>
<td>32</td>
<td><strong>L’Hector</strong></td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>L’ardant</strong></td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Le Cezarverbrand</strong></td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Ville de Paris</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Le Cerass</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langedoc</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Le Fripon</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dofin Royal</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>La Gallathé</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Cezar</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Lastres</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le St. Esprit</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Loris</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88quar.

English flotilla under the orders of General Rothnay during the naval battle against General Count de Grasse, from the 9th to the 12th of April 1782
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>紧凑量</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>紧凑量</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le Prince</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Le Weillant</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>La Weillant</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Weillant</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>L’ Amazon</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Dux</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Le Rouboust</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Rouboust</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Cezar</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Conqueras</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Le Barwick</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Barwick</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Begas</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Faune</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>La Manigfique</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Manigfique</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Sibille</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’arregant</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>La Dertitutte</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’arregant</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le St Eustache</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’hercul</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>L’indrepite</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlbourg</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Summa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlbourg</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Corvets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warior</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Le St Alban</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Prinssesa</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Proserbin</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La PrincWiliam</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Champion</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Bedfort</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Ceinridin</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Prudant</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Champhridrit</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Centure</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>La Jass</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’Amerique</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Gaminier</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Jass</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>La Lucadianta</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’invisible</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>La Prinssesa</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L’hermit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serlfé</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Le Rennot</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Tourby</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>L’expirement</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Corsairs</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Ressolution</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>La Sinpris</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Wallisbwry</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>La Sinpris</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frigates</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Le Guerins</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Canada</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Le Freols</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Canada</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>Le Freols</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Manarque</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Summa</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Jamer</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>66 ships total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’amerique</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>66 ships total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

129
General register of the French troops during the Siege of York and Gloucester in Virginia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generals</th>
<th>2\textsuperscript{nd} Brigade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Count de Rochambeau</td>
<td>Commanded by Mr. Gustim B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant General and Chef.</td>
<td>Soissonnois Regt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Baron de Vioménil G.</td>
<td>Saintonge Regt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Vicomte de Vioménil G.</td>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} Brigade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Chastelux Major General</td>
<td>Commanded by Mr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Marquis de St. Simon G.</td>
<td>Gâtinois Regt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Béville Brigadier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sergeant Chief</th>
<th>Dagenois Regt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Chossy\textsuperscript{294} Brigadier et Commander in Gloucester.</td>
<td>Touraine Regt. 1\textsuperscript{st} Battalion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Marquis de Laval B.</td>
<td>Lauzon Volunteer Corps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Gustim\textsuperscript{295} Brigadier.</td>
<td>Half on horseback, half on foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Vauban Colonel Aide-de-Camp</td>
<td>Commanded by the Duke de Lauzon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Fersen Colonel Aide-de-Camp</td>
<td>Volunteers of St. Simon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Brigade</th>
<th>Naval General</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commanded by Mr. Laval Brigadier</td>
<td>Mr. Count de Grasse Commander of the strong flotilla of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourbonnois Regt. Royal Deux-Ponts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{294} “Mr. Chossy” refers to the Duke de Choisy, Claude-Gabriel de Choisy, Brigadier general in charge of the allied detachment group facing Gloucester.

\textsuperscript{295} “Mr. Gustim” refers to Adam-Philippe, Count de Custine. He was the colonel of the Saintonge regiment (General during the Revolution).
Regt.  
Auxon Artillery Regt 1st battalion  
Metz Regt 2 Comp. mine workers  

| 36 war ships, 8 Frigates, 6 Sloops-of-War or Privateers, 20 Transport ships |
| Mr. Count de Baras G. Mr. de Bougainville G. |
| Mr. de Vautreille G. |

89.

Then came the 43rd Regiment, with black epaulets and lapels.

The Scottish regiments.

It was the 71st Regiment, in red and blue. Followed by the 76th Regiment of Scottish Highlanders, in red and blue. Then came the 80th Regiment, in red and blue. Followed by the Artillery Corps, in blue uniforms, with red epaulets and lapels, as well as golden aiguillettes on their hats etc. Then came the Volunteer Corps called Tarleton, with their ladies, who had, however, stayed in Gloucester.

Finally came the Chasseurs, still called elite marksmen, from Hesse and Anspach, in green uniforms, with red lapels etc. As soon as they handed over their rifles and their arms, they returned to the city empty-handed; they were held prisoner there by the French and American troops.

As for the corps of officers, they could, on the honor of their word, go where they wanted. The captured army only stayed a few days in York, and was then transferred to the provinces of Maryland or Pennsylvania, in the region of Friedrichsberg and Friedrichsberg itself. But each regiment had to send two officers into captivity, the others went to New York and England, or to other areas of America that were still under English control.

90.

296 T.N.: Unclear wording in the original German text, where the term Leith-has is found with a footnote proposing “ladies” as an explanation.

297 At the end of October 1781, the English army was still occupying the city of New York, Savannah in Georgia, and Charleston in South Carolina, as well as Canada. Cornwallis’s surrender at Yorktown resulted in the end of the military operations in the territory of the former English colonies of North America.
General Cornwallis, accompanied by his officers, came back to our camp several times, where he had lunch, along with General O’Hara etc., several times, and the Count de Forbach.\footnote{Count Forbach refers to Christian de Deux-Ponts. Letters mentioned by Adalbert de Bavière in his work devoted to them in 1966 mentions Christian’s participation in the meeting with George Washington at Westpoint, meetings in which Guillaume de Deux-Ponts and Closen did not take part. It was a relatively common occurrence in military socializing to “fraternize” among officers after a battle. That said, the Americans were, to say the least, surprised by this aristocratic courtesy.}

As soon as the captured army left the city of York, all of our soldiers were able to enter to see how much the houses were destroyed, which was a astonishing spectacle. The houses were all like lanterns burst open by the hail of bullets. The ground was completely covered by holes made by shells and other cannonballs, and was so beaten that it was nearly impossible to walk. Wherever one looked, there was a number of cadavers that had not been buried, the majority of them were Moors, which nearly caused an epidemic, if we had not remedied the situation. The army’s encampment was completely destroyed, within the city as well as on the edges of the city.

Shortly thereafter, all the redoubts and trenches that had been constructed outside the city were razed, after which we left to take our winter quarters in Williamsburg. The first and 2nd brigades stayed in York and Gloucester. The other regiments of the ship garrison were immediately boarded again onto Count de Grasse’s fleet.

On November 16\textsuperscript{th}, we left York to go to Williamsburg.

Illustrations

92.

The Soissonnois and Saintonge regiment as well as the Lauzon Volunteer Corps stayed in York and Gloucester. The Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts Regiments had there winter quarters in Williamsburg and Jamestown, 12 miles from York. Some of the gunners stayed in Williamsburg, the rest went to Westpoint, a few miles from Williamsburg. Concerning Jamestown, it is a small burg, one of the oldest burgs in America;\footnote{Jamestown is not only one of the oldest “burgs” in America, but in particular the first one successfully established by England (the previous attempts, notably in 1585, having failed). Founded on May 14, 1607, “James Fort” is thusly named in honor of the King of England James I. The colony of Jamestown had a difficult beginning due to logistic difficulties and relations with the Powhatan Indians, which became worse and worse. But the colony survived, supported by relatively regular convoys from England. It was the capital of the colony of Virginia until 1699, when it was moved farther inland (about 20 km) to Williamsburg. The town deteriorated after this event.} before it was a beautiful trading town, now it is in
complete ruin, but in the drawing one can see that it was formerly a major city;\textsuperscript{300} it is located 6 miles from Williamsburg.

This town of Williamsburg is located on a plain, in a beautiful region, and it is rather large. It is also embellished with a few beautiful edifices, namely: the college with 2 beautiful annexes, as well as the Capitol, parallel to the college, on the other side of the town. Moreover, there is the residence of the viceroy who resided here at the time when the town was English, as well as the mental asylum,\textsuperscript{301} a great edifice, and a beautiful bell tower etc.

Another curiosity can be found at the Capitol; it is the life-size statue, in marble white as snow, of the former viceroy. At the base of the statue is written, in gold letters on black marble, a name in English and Latin. It is also there, in that building, that he is buried. All these buildings can be seen on the same page, just like the region around Jamestown.

93.

Register of the dead and wounded during the Siege of the city of York in Virginia.\textsuperscript{302}

\textsuperscript{300} The drawing in question represents a small village of about a ten dwellings, surrounded by waterways, a more scattered dwellings take up the rest of the drawing, decorated with trees and small warthogs moving about. What are the elements indicating the past of the “beautiful trading city”? The sparse housing perhaps depicts the remains of a great town that was abandoned. As for the presence of wild animals, it indicates the renewed hold of wildlife on this abandoned site. This drawing is, on the other hand, very uncluttered when compared with the others done by Flohr to accompany his text.

\textsuperscript{301} Doll-Haus in the original German text. Toll means crazy in German. Unless it is an error in the transcription and it should be Zoll-Haus: customs, Doll could also be from English. Could it be a doll factory? In the text it is clearly the word Doll.

\textsuperscript{302} These figures can be compared to the statistics of European wars, so as to have a better grasp of the specificity of the American conflict. Thus, during the Siege of Philippsburg in 1734, the French count 1,059 soldiers and 36 officers killed, “without counting the wounded or those who died of their wounds” (SHD, A1 2723, introduction). We are faced with two different levels of war. The American conflict, like all of the overseas operations, is conducted with weaker troops. However, beyond this statement, it is interesting to question Flohr’s account of the war. Indeed, he is but a young soldier. Therefore he did not directly experience the battles of the Seven Years’ War. However, the nature of European conflicts could not have been unheard of for him. Why does he not mention this difference? Is it because he does not notice it? Most likely the answer can be found in the fact that he incorporates his manuscript into a more or less standardized genre. Indeed, the account he gives of the Yorktown episode matches the narrative canons of the unfolding of a siege, listing day after day the events and troop losses. It is not a comparison between this combat and what he knows of European wars, but a description of “his” siege. Thus, the originality of this passage is not so much found in the form of the account—very consistent with the rules of the genre that he is dealing with—but in the references describing the daily life of soldiers, as well as the hiatus that exists between the leadership sphere and the sphere of action. Flohr shows that the reality of combat is very different than what was reported in the chronicles, which through accounts, sought to give meaning to the chaos of individual actions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Names of the American Generals</th>
<th>Names of the American regiments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 7br</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Lincoln Gal Linievon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 8br</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Phinselphania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 8br</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>La Fayett G. RegtCongreß</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 8br</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Stubens G. Regt. Rothysland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 8br</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Nelson G. Regt. La Fayett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 8br</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Cawernervon Regt. Hamilton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 8br</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Der Militz RegtConnecticat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 8br</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Wäden Regt. Linckoln</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 8br</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Brigadier Regt. Stubens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 8br</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Regt Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 8br</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Regimeter Regt. Stuard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 8br</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Ober Frey Corps RegtMassaschas=</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 8br</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Gimates tes Pay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 8br</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reiffelmänn MilitzenRegter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 8br</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Corps de Dragon Regt Virginia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 8br</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Artillerie etc. Regt Mary Land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 8br</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>RegtJersay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 8br</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>oderJassay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 8br</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Regt Carolina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All winter long we stayed in this region, where we were at ease. The companies that were in Jamestown also felt quite well there because it is a very pleasant region that has great and beautiful rivers, where all sorts of strange animals can be seen, as much in the rivers as on solid ground.

Likewise, we found all sorts of unknown fruits and marvelous varieties of trees in the forests etc. Likewise, at any moment here black men, or Moors, can be seen walking around nude, just as God created them. Moreover, the richest plantation owners in this country are found in Virginia, these planters have as many as 150 slaves and even more, namely Moors. The white servants give orders to these Moors so that they work for their master, and they can also be seen working, men and women alike. They are young and old and without clothes, in such a way that people who have never seen it are surprised by it, but here it is a common thing. I was surprised as well the first time I saw it, often I was ashamed for them, because I saw that other Whites were surrounding them, women as well as men; but as they found it natural etc. the white women felt no shame faced with the nudity of the Moors.

I often asked why clothes were not provided for those Moors, saying that it was shameful to let them go around completely nude. Their response to me was that it would cost too much to clothe all the Blacks, and as the clothes would not be good quality, they would be torn in 3-4 weeks.

304 Note the use of the first person singular here.
Likewise, it surprised me very much when we saw that these Blacks were treated like animals, that they procreated as naturally as it happens in a herd, and the more little ones they had, the more the masters who owned them were pleased; they are treated in such a way as to remain natural, there are various methods for doing this, which I would not like to explain here, as it is completely contrary to human nature.

Virginia is one of the largest of the 13 Colonies of North America, and it is still sparsely populated. Germans are welcome there. The English language is the most spoken language in North America, but in the German provinces German and English are spoken equally; grievances must by made in English as the delegates at the Virginia Convention are Englishmen.

In this region there are also many wild animals, each one more strange than the last; as for bears, here there are many of them, but they do not harm people.

---

305 Virginia was the most populated region among the Thirteen Colonies. In 1780 there were around 540,000 inhabitants, ahead of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and North Carolina (the whole population of the colonies totaled 2,800,000 inhabitants). Nevertheless, Flohr is right when he notes that Virginia is one of the largest of the colonies, as during the colonial era it stretched far to the west and northwest. Its theoretical surface area was therefore huge: before 1784 it included the future states of West Virginia, western Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, and northwest Illinois. Image: Jacques Nicolas Bellin, Carte de la Virginie Mari-Land &a, tirée des meilleures cartes angloises, map, 1764, Gallica link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b67002462.r=virginie.langFR

306 Even though, starting in 1562, Alsatians and Hessians were able to settle in Port Royal in South Carolina in the wake of the French Huguenots who founded that colony, it was destroyed by the Spanish four years later, it is estimated that the first Germans to settle for the long-term on the American territory were the “Dutchmen” of Jamestown, Virginia, starting in 1607; the English confused them with the Dutch because they called themselves “Deutsch”. The Lutheran theologian Johannes Fleischer, originally from Breslau, appeared in Jamestown starting in 1607, just like two Hessians who were masters in glass art or even 4 millers originally from Hamburg starting in 1608. Other Germans set up the first tobacco plantation there in Cavalier County, and in 1653, winegrowers originally from Heidelberg introduced vineyards. In the Virginia valley, Scots and Germans were as numerous as the English. Many Germans from Pennsylvania settled in the Shenandoah Valley. The governor of the province, Spotswood, whose wife was a German from Hanover, encouraged the arrival of Germans: 12 German families settled in Virginia in 1714 thanks to the actions of Swiss Baron Christoph von Graffenried’s practicing of a veritable propaganda campaign in Europe to encourage transatlantic migration. Originally from Westphalia, these Germans had to work as blacksmiths. The town of Germanna was founded for them. 20 additional families in 1717 then 40 others arrived in Virginia between 1717 and 1720. Several towns were founded for the Germans: New Mecklenburg in 1726, Staufferstadt (later called Strasbourg) by Jacob Stauffer in 1728, Harpers Ferry at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers by Robert Harper in 1734. Once those valleys were shown to be fertile, numerous Germans from Pennsylvania also migrated there. (Huebener, Theodore, The Germans in America, Philadelphia & New York, Chilton Company, 1962.)

307 The language question is often raised to evaluate the German populations’ degree of integration in the American colonies. In families German was spoken as well as English, the similarities between these two Germanic languages allowing people to be easily understood. People noticed that in the middle of the century Lutheran and Protestant pastors were preaching more and more in English. Even so, German identity did not weaken: English speakers increased in number in the late eighteenth century, but artisanal objects, writing in Deutsche Schrift in newspapers and books, decorative elements or architecture that connect the family to its German origins were preserved.

308 Landes Räthe here refers to the delegates of the Virginia Convention that began meeting starting in 1774 after the government broke up the House of Burgesses.
because they find enough to eat in the wild. The inhabitants often go bear hunting, and sell the meat, which they consider to be a delicacy, to their fellow countrymen.\footnote{Image: Carle Van Loo, \textit{La Chasse à l’ours}, oil on canvas, 1736, Amiens, Museum of Picardie. Link: http://www.photo.rmn.fr/cf/htm/CSearchZ.aspx?o=&Total=40&FP=491674&E=2K1KTSJNNKREL&SID=2K1KTSJNNKREL&New=T&Pic=11&SubE=2C6NU0HI56CP} If you travel in this region you can catch a glimpse of this kind of animals, as many white bears as black ones in numbers, etc.\footnote{Image: Jean Charles Baquoy and Jacques De Sève, \textit{Ours blanc terrestre}, engraving, 1760. Taken from Buffon, \textit{Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière…}, t. 8, pl. 32, p. 280. Link: http://www.photo.rmn.fr/cf/htm/CSearchZ.aspx?o=&Total=37&FP=492309&E=2K1KTSJNNKEOS&SID=2K1KTSJNNKEOS&New=T&Pic=5&SubE=2CLC2S3WVIE Work found at Malraux: ANC 31335(8).}

Likewise there is a certain kind of animal called the beaver, that is very strange to observe, that feeds in a unique manner and that continually stays in the water: they are the size of a large dog.\footnote{Image: Jacques De Sève, \textit{Le Castor}, engraving, 1782. Taken from Buchoz, Pierre Joseph, \textit{Histoire générale des animaux, des végétaux et des minéraux}, 1st part, pl. 31, p. 185. Link: http://www.photo.rmn.fr/cf/htm/CSearchZ.aspx?o=&Total=27&FP=493746&E=2K1KTSJNNQQAA&SID=2K1KTSJNNQQAA&New=T&Pic=10&SubE=2CLC2S0CJLF} These beavers also have curious lodges, which they build themselves: they have dens of 2-3 stories in the ground, and whoever observes them would believe they were built by the hand of man. These beavers permanently live in pairs, one of them is always out front on guard duty: the one that is guarding always stays on the lower story of the lodge, the 2\textsuperscript{nd} story is reserved for food and they sleep on the 3\textsuperscript{rd} story. They would take turns at precise times in a methodically way, they work continually on their lodge that they build inside, as if it were made by man’s hand. These beavers also have a strange sort of tail, 1 and a half, even 2 feet long and 10 inches, even 1 foot wide; yet this tail is hairless.

They are dark grey in color and have long hair, their heads are a bit more narrow and pointed than that of a dog, they have pointed noses and whiskers around their mouth like a cat, and their ears are pointed. What they bring to their lodges they carry on their tails, like for example earth and mortar they need for construction. They also have teeth so sharp that they can cut down trees as large as sacks, which they use for construction, and they build using their front paws. But these animals are very difficult to trap, because they stand guard, and as soon as the one who is on guard duty spots the smallest thing, he makes such an uproar that they all leave the dens, jump
into the water and swim under the water, in such a way that they can no longer be seen. Their food consists mainly of fish etc. People trap these beavers especially at night in the following way: if possible, their dens are flooded; when the level of water has lowered, they leave their lodges, and at that moment they are shot; but there are other ways to trap them; afterward they are sold at high prices.

100.

In this region, the province of Virginia, all sorts of plants that are found in Europe can grow: apples, cherries, pears, peaches, etc. but there are no quetsches. As for grains, there is wheat and other grains of this sort, but not much because the English think nothing of it. As for corn, there is an overabundance of it, and for that matter, it is the most common plant in America, which is shown by the plantations that have up to 12-15 acres of corn for a single tenant. What’s more, a lot of cotton is grown here, and this cotton grows in two different ways. One kind is cultivated in the plantations like beans, the true shrubs start out as small buds, but when they are mature they are the size of a hen’s egg and then burst out like the husks of chestnuts, freeing the white cotton, which is harvested by the Moors just like the grains. The other kind grows on trees in the same way, but it is held as being the best. In these cotton fields one can see 100 Moors and even more who do the harvesting for their master. There is yet another kind of plant, which grows in the same way as beans, which is comprised of stems and leaves and that runs like periwinkle and in their language is called Batäters and in German is called Grundbieren.

---

312 The colony of Virginia was the first English colony set up in North America, it owes its name to Queen Elizabeth, Virginia being a reference to her nickname “the Virgin Queen”. The charter was granted in 1606 by Jacques I to the Company of Virginia, a company charged with developing the English colonies in the New World. The existence of the colony was made official after the foundation of Jamestown in 1607. The House of Burgessesses, assembled in 1619, is the first representative system in America. Multiple conflicts with the Indian tribes followed that did not prevent the territory’s constant growth. In 1624 Virginia saw its charter revoked and became a colony of the Crown. Around the end of the eighteenth century, large numbers of plantation owners began growing tobacco as a primary profession. The exportation of tobacco guaranteed the colony’s wealth. Slavery developed simultaneously, as the vast plantations needed a large workforce and the old system of indentured servants (new immigrants signed a long contract that gave their services to the employer, this status, close to that of slavery, was the fate of large numbers of poor migrants) did not provide enough. The eighteenth century society of Virginia was dominated by a small number of plantation families, owners of large numbers of slaves, which formed a sort of local aristocracy.

313 A variety of plums called “quetsches” in Alsatian, common in Luxembourg and Austria. Flohr could have found this fruit he is familiar with in Canada where it appears under the name “blue plum”. It is common to see travelers search for familiar elements in the landscape and diet, even associate new varieties discovered elsewhere to something already known to them, by simply adding an adjective to specify a particular shape or color of a food that is already consumed. Marc de Ferrière le Vayer, Jean-Pierre Williot (dir.), La Pomme de terre de la Renaissance au XXI siècle, Rennes et Tours University Press, Rennes et Tours, 2011, p. 120.

314 Presented by Filippo Baldini in 1787 as “One of the richest gifts that America has ever given to Europe” (De’ Pomi di terra, Naples, s.e., 1787, p.23), the potato is a tuber that has been cultivated on the high Andean plateaus for 2,000 years, but it had already been consumed in the south of Chili 13,000 years ago. There are several hundred varieties, most of which are unknown outside of the Andes; grown and harvested by Andean women, Europeans confused the tuber for a long time after the Great Discoveries with the sweet potato and the Jerusalem artichoke. It
101.

These Batäters have roots as thick as an arm, and they have a nice natural taste, but it is not comparable to the natural taste of the Grundbieren! When these Batäters grow in a piece of land or a field, they reproduce by themselves. One can find many other varieties of plants in this province.

Our stay in Williamsburg during this winter went very well; we had many kinds of entertainment, even just watching how the Moors live their lives.

That winter we had 2 large fires, the first of which was in a very beautiful building next to the college; the building burned to the ground, the fire having been caused by the French who, for that matter, had to pay for it. The 2nd was the building where the viceroy of England resided at the time when it was still English: the building burned to the ground, the fire having been caused

was rightly classified in the edible Solanaceae family starting in 1598 but the Bauhin brothers who described it and sketched it in various publications in the seventeenth century. Its presence was recorded in Italy, in the region of Basel, in Montbéliard in Franche-Comté starting in the late sixteenth century, but it only had a name in regional languages, there was no official name. Grown underground, its small size and wrinkled look lead people to incorporate it with the truffle, and it is named truffole, trifole, treuffe, or cartoufle (which led to “Kartoffle” in German). The Spanish and English soldiers, assimilating it with sweet potatoes, (papas), called it patata in Spanish or potatoe in English, a name that Flohr uses in his account. (Marc de Ferrière le Vayer & Jean-Pierre Williot (dir.) La Pomme de terre de la Renaissance au XXIe siècle, Rennes and François-Rabelais-Tours University Press, Rennes et Tours, 2011, p. 233). A second-choice food because it is a tuber and not a grain, people were advised to make them into bread in France, where people swore only by bread, whereas in Germany, in Switzerland, and in Alsace, they were cooked in water or under coals and consumed lightly crushed and mixed with milk. A poor man’s food, the potato suffered prejudices until the 1780’s, but was widely circulated and eaten in large numbers starting in the 1740’s. In 1765, in the encyclopedia article it was presented as barely edible but important for the strength of peasants (it was thought of as an aphrodisiac, and as provoking flatulence, proving the organs’ resistance to it). Agronomists praised the virtues of the potato even more intensely in the second half of the eighteenth century (it is nourishing, and possible a healthful and customary food), but it was only thanks to its ultimate promotion by Parmentier in France that it went from subsistence of the destitute to the status of food worthy of being eaten by all, all while making its appearance in recipes and home economics texts in the 1790’s.

In the Germanophone Rhineland milieu, Flohr should be accustomed to making the distinction between Erdäpfel, cultivated in gardens for the cattle, with tall stems, lovely yellow flowers, and a slightly sweet taste, and Grundbieren, which is smaller in size and more numerous, buried in the ground, with white and red flowers, and reserved for human consumption. Even if the two terms end up becoming synonyms, the different taste of these ones compared to the potato, as recorded by Flohr, can be explained by the end of the distinction between those reserved for animals and those consumed by humans as well as by the appearance of new varieties. Indeed, between 1785 and 1789, upon his return to America, Flohr must have been witness to a degeneration of the potato varieties that had been cultivated since the sixteenth century in the Rhineland milieu: Agronomists advise replacing the plants every two years, allowing new varieties to appear (Boehler, Jean-Michel, Une société rurale en milieu rhénan: la paysannerie de la plaine d’Alsace (1648-1789), Strasbourg, PUS, 1995, t.3, p.767).

As the war was taking place on allied territory, the French army was required to pay the reparations when it damaged equipment. It was the same thing for provisions that France had to buy, being unable to ask the country to contribute. These elements explain in part the particularly high cost of the war.
by the Americans who had set up a hospital there; a few of the sick burned to death there, because the fire surprised them and there was not enough time to evacuate them.

Concerning this region’s climate, it is very pleasant because it is not at all too cold, the coldest weather is comparable to what we have on Saint Martin’s day in Europe, when it threatens to snow, but it melts in the air before falling to the ground.

But in summer it is so hot that the earth cracks and the little streams are completely dried up.

This province of Virginia is also for the most part a flat land, with very lovely forests; to the west it shares a border with North Carolina, to the north with Maryland and Pennsylvania. The province is still sparsely populated; on the side where the Shenandoah and Potomac are located, it is populated with savages. This province is also known for its tobacco, which grows very well and is planted en masse here etc. Concerning slavery, it is not as good as in New England and those regions; as for pigs, sheep and other animals, there are many of them, they live in the forests like wild animals. Land owners who live there do not know how many head of cattle they have, because the animals never see the inside of a barn. Travelling the roads of this country, sometimes it happens that you walk 6-7 hours or more without coming across a house, while the forests are crawling with pigs and sheep, etc.

317 The author’s notions of geography are indistinct. Virginia simply had no western border (up to the Mississippi River), on the contrary, the border with North Carolina was located to the south. To the north, Virginia joined Pennsylvania and Maryland.

318 The Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers are situated in northwest Virginia.

319 Tobacco, an Amazonian plant that was first deemed harmful in England, was finally authorized for its fiscal potential. Tobacco from the Caribbean West Indies having suffered a price increase, English smokers turned to Virginian tobacco, which was of lower quality but cheaper. The Jamestown colonists decided to pay back their debts to England by sending them small satchels filled with tobacco. Tobacco production saw a swift increase: starting in 1620, 50,000 pounds of tobacco were exported annually. In 1650, the Chesapeake Bay was nicknamed “Tobacco Coast”, the farming of this plant representing a revenue of 25 million pounds. Tobacco planters drew large profits from it, one thousand times greater that the capital and the tools they rallied up in the beginning. The banks of the James and York rivers were covered with English farms that hired a large workforce (and that employed, starting in 1619, twenty Africans, the first slaves sold by pirates), paid 1 or 2 pounds per year while their work in the field brought in between 100 and 200 pounds annually. Tobacco was also at the origin of Virginia’s political culture: starting in 1619, a counsel of elected representatives met to settle disputes. It was the first representative system in North America. Mann, Charles, 1493: Comment la découverte de l’Amérique a transformé le monde, Paris, Albin Michel, 2013, p.91-90.


320 Wild animals that Flohr represents in his drawing of the city of Jamestown. At first, the farm animals brought over by the English had trouble adjusting, partially because they ended up being eaten by the colonists who had no
Around spring, we received news from the Court of France. As Mister Rochambeau, our general, proved himself to be so valiant with the army that was entrusted to him, it was decided at the Court to write and send a letter of recognition that later had to be read under the order of His Majesty before all the regiments of the army! It was translated into German especially for the Deux-Ponts regiment, for whom it was translated in these terms:

Monsieur the Count de Rochambeau

This letter also contained an invitation to Mr. de Rochambeau to go to the Court as soon as he executed this order and organized the festivities, which His Majesty decided would take place throughout the whole kingdom as well as with all the troops outside of the country, wherever they may be.

It was decided by His Majesty that the aforesaid festivities should take place on the same day in all the provinces and everywhere His Majesty held authority, and it was ordered that the “Te Deum laudamus” be sung in all the dioceses followed by all the ceremonies. After which our other choice when they had to cope with bad harvests. But, after the peace treaty between the Indians and the first colonists, the security of the food supply lead to the proliferation of pigs, goats, cattle, sheep, and horses. Cows and horses moved around freely in the Indian territories, destroying their crops, but the colonists demanded compensation if they happened to kill them. For several decades, these species reproduced with no control, so much so that in 1619 colonists noticed large numbers of pigs disappearing into the woods, feeding on achenes, fruits, and corn and unearthing a tuber from the Virginia soil that served as food for Indians in case of bad harvests: the truffle. The Swedish botanist Peter Kalm noticed it again in the eighteenth century: the Virginian truffle was torn from the soil by hoards of pigs that fattened up on these treasures and reproduced with no bounds. According to Mann (Charles), 1493: Comment la découverte de l’Amérique a transformé le monde, Paris, Albin Michel, 2013, p.95-96.

The official version of this letter should be found and placed in the annex to compare to the German translation that Flohr gives.

This letter must be the one sent by the Minister of War, Count de Ségur whose signature is imitated in this manuscript. It expresses the king’s gratitude, and the high esteem in which Count Rochambeau is held at the Court. Louis XVI personally sent a letter (dated November 26) to Rochambeau, telling him to have the “Te Deum” sung in Virginia: “I will take pride in the successes of my arms only as being a delivery of peace,” he added; “I summon the archbishops and bishops of my Kingdom to have a “Te Deum” sung in the churches of their dioceses, and I am writing you this letter to tell you that I desire that it also be sung in the town or the camp in which you find yourself with the troops whose command is entrusted in you…” (this extract comes from Viscount de Noailles, Marins et soldats français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l’indépendance des États-Unis (1778-1783), 2nd edition, Librarie Académique Perrin et Cie., Paris, 1903, p. 296; the letters from Louis XVI and Ségur are kept in the Historical Services of the Défense in Vincennes.

The celebration of royal victories often took the form of the singing of a “Te Deum” in all the provinces of the kingdom. Often accompanied by the public reading of a letter from the king, processions and merrymaking, the ““Te
army celebrated this occasion on March 21st. Immediately after that party, Mr. de Rochambeau went to France accompanied by Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, several officers, and a convoy of wounded soldiers declared invalid, but who left as soon as March 16th and who arrived safe and sound in France.

With spring approaching, we again provided a detachment group for Petit-York that boarded a frigate in order to go to North America. But when they were to set sail there was an accident and all was almost lost without a trace. This accident happened around midnight, while it was very dark and the elements were destructive. Fortunately the boat was still on the York River, if not all would have been lost, because she ran aground on a sand bank where she fell to pieces.

But as the ship had not gone completely under, the men aboard were safe, even if it meant staying in water up to their underarms, and until the next day around 10, 11 o’clock. That accident took place at night around 10 o’clock and it was very dark, that is why we were only able to notice it the next day.

We remained in Williamsburg until July 2, 1782. They we set off in the direction of the New York region. We marched grouped together by regiment, because the heat was great and also because of water and the poor state of the roads etc.

On July 2nd, the first brigade, which included the Bourbonnois regiment, left Williamsburg and arrived in Trinckenspring after 9 miles, a very open area. On the 3rd, it was the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment that left to join the place where the first regiment was stationed. On the 4th, it was the 2nd brigade that left, one regiment at a time, to arrive in the place where we were.

Deum laudamus’… followed by all the ceremonies” shows the link between the king, the Church, and the people, and came to justify the extraordinary taxes accepted by the taxpayers.

324 The fate reserved for elderly soliders and invalids of war at the time was in the process of being reformed. Indeed, the Hôtel des Invalides, the hospital for disabled soldiers, was largely overpopulated, the retirement pensions given to soldiers having served for more than 24 years, also the disability premiums were very expensive. Under these conditions, the Minister Saint-Germain put a drastic plan in place to cut spending in 1776, reducing the number of pensions and throwing the excess soldiers out of Les Invalides. He repealed the ordinances that had established “military veterans” in 1771, and offered, to all elderly soldiers (including foreigners), the right to a pension.

325 However, Guillaume de Deux-Ponts indicates in his campaign diary (p. 69 of Mes campagnes d’Amérique) that he left Virginia on October 24, 1781 just after the surrender of Cornwallis and his army. Viscount Guillaume was sent by Rochambeau to bring the news of the Franco-American victory to the Court. Another ship was chartered for the Duck de Lauzun, charged with the same mission. Guillaume de Deux-Ponts did not return to America later.

326 On page 106 of his journal, the War Commissioner Claude Blanchard mentions the misadventure of the frigate La Diligente that runs aground at the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay, “by fault of the pilot”. This frigate heading to Boston sunk completely, while 23 sailors and soldiers perished.
On the 3rd, the first regiment set off again and travelled 8 miles to Barronsthawern, an inn in a beautiful region.

106.

On the 4th, the 2nd regiment took to the road and took the place of the 1st regiment. On the 4th, the 3rd regiment reached the place we had occupied, and so forth.

On the 4th, the first regiment travelled 9 miles to Readlies. On the 5th, the 2nd regiment took our place.

On the 5th, the 2nd brigade arrived in Readlis in turn. On the 5th, the first regiment travelled 9 miles to New Charlestown or NeuCarlstatt, as for the 2nd regiment, it took the place of the previous one and so forth. 327

On the 6th, the first regiment again travelled 9 miles to Neu Castel, a small town by a river alongside which we made our camp. The next day, Royal Deux-Ponts arrived here as well and took a day to rest, along with all the regiments. It is here that the whole army gathered together.

On the 8th, the first brigade set off again and travelled 7 miles to Hanover, a small town along a river in a pleasant and beautiful region. Now we were marching, brigade by brigade, in the direction of Fredericksburg. We made our camp about a quarter hour from the town, near a magnificent town hall located along the road’s edge; there a great crowd was assembled upon our arrival. On the 9th, we left to travel 13 miles

Illustrations

107.

to Bettesbrück. We made our camp near a beautiful plantation. On the 10th, the 2nd brigade came to take the place of the first.

327 Actually, the army proceeded in the same fashion for the outbound trip starting in Providence, split up in four divisions, each one marching with an interval of one day between the others, except Flohr does not mention it. [Howard C. Rice Jr, Anne S. K. Brown (translator, editor), American Campaigns of Rochambeau’s Army, volume II, Princeton University Press, Brown University Press, 1972]
On the 10th, we set off again to travel 15 miles to KarlsTrinckenspring, an agricultural domain. In this region, grapes grow abundantly in the forests; there are many to see, red as well as white, and they can be eaten, but they are much more sour and bitter than cultivated grapes.

On the 9th, the 2nd brigade arrived in Karls Trinckenspring.

On the 11th, the first set off again to travel 9 miles to Bollingen, a small town in one of the most beautiful regions. Many muskrats can be found there. These rats are the same size as domestic rats, they are grey and stink so much that it is almost unbearable. When you arrive in a place where they live, you can smell them from 800, even 1,000 paces. These rats also have very long tails, and when they are approached they defend themselves in the following manner: they piss on their tail, then roll it up into a corkscrew, then project it in the man’s direction, and when this piss lands on clothes or the bare skin of the face or hands it causes stains that can never be washed off.

On the 10th, the 2nd brigade arrived in Bollingen in turn.

On the 12th, we left to travel 9 miles to Jansthawern, an inn. On the 11th, the 2nd brigade arrived there as well.

On the 13th, we travelled 19 miles to Fredericksburg, a rather large town along a river with intense boat traffic, but which loses its force once in Fredericksburg and there is nothing more than a small river. We had a day’s rest there, near Raponeck or Fall-Muth, a small town parallel to Fredericksburg, on the other side of the river, about a quarter hour away.

On the 15th, we set off again for 15 miles to Quebec, a village of a few houses. We made our camp near a beautiful plantation.

On the 16th, the 2nd brigade left Falmouth and took our place.

---


329 In the campaign diary, consult the foreword dedicated to the writing of the manuscript.
On the 16th, we set off again for 12 miles to Dumfrett, a small town; we had to cross a river with intense traffic there, the town being located on the other side of the river. We made our camp about half of a quarter hour from the town, on the other side of the river.

This river is one English mile in width and burrows into a wild country that is populated by savages only; its source is located right near the Rappahannock River. But the Rappahannock flows in the direction of Fredericksburg etc.

On the 17th, we travelled 12 miles to Golscheßter, a small town in a pleasant region near a highlands area; there, once again, we were visited by the inhabitants. We made our camp close by. On the 18th, the 2nd brigade also arrived from Golschester.

On the 18th, we travelled 17 miles to Alexandria, a lovely little town near a large river that was 2 English miles wide; we made our camp beside that river, the town being on the other side; General Washington has his property not far from there, 6 miles away, in the province of Virginia.  

On the 19th, we left Alexandria to travel 8 miles to Georgethaun, or Georg-Stadt in German, also located along the other side of the river, just like Alexandria. We crossed the Potomac River, made our camp not far from the town; the two small towns of Alexandria and Georgstadt can be seen on the following page.

Illustrations

112.

---

330 George Washington owned a beautiful (and famous) estate called Mount Vernon in Fairfax country, near Alexandria in Virginia. He took great pleasure welcoming guests there (like Lafayette and Rochambeau).
Just like the river. The Potomac River’s source is in the untamed mountains of Canada.\textsuperscript{331} In this frontier region, many bears and beavers can be found. The province on Maryland begins here. The 2\textsuperscript{nd} brigade arrived there on the 20\textsuperscript{th}.

On the 20\textsuperscript{th}, we travelled 13 miles to Bleatingsburg, a beautiful little town located on a plain, in a beautiful region. There, the famous hot spring visited by inhabitants from near and far to take the waters is located. We made our camp near the town and the river, which has but little boat traffic; we rested there until the 23\textsuperscript{rd}, the 2\textsuperscript{nd} brigade having joined us on the 21\textsuperscript{st} to rest as well.

On the 23\textsuperscript{rd}, we travelled 14 miles to Fridrigsthaurn, an inn beside which we made our camp. Starting in Bleadingsburg, the army now moved in a group. As for the Lauzun Volunteer Corps,\textsuperscript{332} we had not seen them since York, they did not camp near us, they did not march with us, it was not until Baltimore that they came close to us, but they did not camp with us, their camp was a half hour away from ours. In the region of Fridrigsthaurn

we came across German inhabitants once again, the province of Maryland actually being heavily populated by Germans.\textsuperscript{333}

The region of Fridrigstaun, Friedrigsstatt in German, is called “in Germany” by the inhabitants, this region being mostly populated by people from Palatinate, Zweibrücken, and Alsace etc.

\textsuperscript{331} The Potomac River does not take its source in Canada, at least not according to the current conception of Canada. Flohr thinks that numerous rivers that empty into the Chesapeake Bay have their source in Canada, while they actually flow down the Appalachians.

\textsuperscript{332} The Volunteer Corps, or Freikorps, are light infantry groups that use guerrilla warfare, otherwise called “little war” in Spanish. Developing on the fringes of armies, they look the land over, spy on the enemy, pillage the enemy, protect the marches and convoys. They have a certain freedom to act and live more or less autonomously.

\textsuperscript{333} A few Germans settled in Maryland starting before 1660, having received land in Baltimore County. An early Christian community, the Labadists, settled at the instigation of their leader, Vorstmass, born in Wesel in Rhineland, but who went by the name of Schluter. He chose Augustin Herman’s land, whose son converted to the sect. Schluter became a tobacco farmer and a very rich slave trader. Germans were small in number before 1730 in Maryland, but were very active in the commercial development of Baltimore (tobacco, shipyards, leather, international commerce, as the Bremen and Hamburg companies established agencies there). Starting in 1729, the western part of Maryland was populated by Germans coming from Pennysylvania. These Germans had been attracted by the favorable conditions announced by Lord Baltimore in 1732 (very low rent, rent exemption on land for the first three years). Frederick Town was founded by about one hundred Palatinate families in 1745, led by Thomas Schuley who was school master, pastor, and magistrate of this new city. His son Jacob Schuley later became a captain in the Continental army. It was made up of Lutherans, Protestants, but also the Moravians who founded Graceham 12 miles to the north of Frederick Town. Germans continued to flock towards Maryland, and their numbers were estimated to be 3,800 settling in Frederick Town or Baltimore between 1748 and 1753. In 1784, another 300 Germans originally from Bremen settled in Maryland to practice artisanal and manual labor professions, and notably found the Fleecy Dale glass factory.
What is also very surprising in this region is that it is the German language of Palatinate that is spoken above all. Although Alsatian, people from the other side of the Rhine, and others can be found here, one would believe that they are all natives of Palatinate. For that matter, in hearing them speak I believed that I was in the land of my fathers, but noticed that I was off by about 1,600 hours.

On the 24th, we travelled 14 miles to Langkästerstahwern, an inn in a pleasant region, near a small mountain. We made camp near the inn and there we were visited by many inhabitants. We saw only women on horseback around the camp; as for the men, we did not see any, as everyone of the male sex was away at war; the men we saw here were either invalids or old, as all those who had not yet reached the age of 60 were called to action.

On the 25th, we went 18 miles to Baltimore, an almost entirely German city of considerable size, located along a beautiful river used by many, to which the city owes its flourishing commerce, considering the intense boat traffic.

---

334 Flohr’s impression of only coming across Germans originally from Palatinate can be explained by the wave of immigration which, starting in 1709, hit this region devastated by Louis XIV’s armies and the great winter of 1709. The Palatines did not emigrate for reasons of religious persecution (though this was one of the determining causes of the first German emigrants of the 1680’s), but to escape poverty and attempt to find a better life in America. Daniel Defoe speaks of “Poor Palatines” who wandered around Dutch ports or in London waiting to be able to leave for Philadelphia. In 1709 in London, there were 6,000 of them, originally from the bishoprics of Worms, Spire, Mainz, Trier, the county of Nassau, Hanau, the Landgraviate of Hesse-Darmstadt, of Alsace or of the Baden. The great waves of German migration to America that peeked in the late 1740’s and early 1750’s with 6,000 arrivals each autumn essentially attracted immigrants from Ecclesiastic principalities or micro-states in southwest Germany, whose pronunciation of German is close to the language spoken in Zweibrücken.

335 This is a beautiful expression marked with nostalgia. Baron von Closen uses a very similar expression on page 116 of The revolutionary Journal of Baron von Closen: “The fertility of the country, the climate, the customs of the inhabitants, the use of the German language in this part of Pennsylvania in preference to English, the methods of cultivation and construction, all these reminded me of my dear native land; and although I was pursuing adventure more than 1,800 leagues from there, I felt, I declare, as if I had been transported suddenly to the center of the beautiful Palatinate”. Closen, who is also of German origin, comments on a village near Trenton, New Jersey.

336 The age of 60 is not at all surprising. It was not at all rare for soldiers to stay in the service until 50, even 60 years of age. What makes this conflict unique is therefore more likely found in the relative importance of the call to arms than the age group concerned.

This river is a large sea inlet that stretches to the Chesapeake Bay where it comes together with the Potomac River, as well as many other waterways. The mouth of the James River, or James-Fluß is also found in the Chesapeake Bay etc. There, the York River, which goes all the way back to Yorktown, Virginia, where it connects with several tributaries, also empties into the sea.

We stayed in Baltimore, in our camp, for the whole of a month. Upon our arrival in the camp there was a great crowd that welcomed us very courteously; they recognized us as we had already come the year before, during our march to Virginia.

Illustrations

115.

passing by Annapolis, a beautiful city 33 miles from Baltimore and located along the same river.

In Baltimore we made a very nice camp with, at the entrance, green archways decorated with leaves. The camp was located about 500 paces from the city.

It was there that the detachment group we had left in Williamsburg met up with us.

As for the Lauzon Volunteer Corps, they were camping on the other side of the city, a half hour from our camp.

In this city of B. one can find quite a few Frenchmen, who live there: most of them live on the same street, which is why it is called the Rue Française.

As for religion, there is a majority of Calvinists there, which is the main religion. There are also quite a few Lutherans as well as Catholics who also have a church here, which is rarely seen in this country. As for the other sects, there are many of them, of all kinds, with all sorts of names: Neo-Lutherans, new Neo-Lutherans.

116.

Likewise there are Neo-Calvinists and Old Order Calvinists. Likewise there are many Quakers, Baptists, Dunkers, Seventh Day Baptists, Anabaptists, and Freemasons, whose services are
public. When they have a funeral they can be seen going to the church in a great procession, each one with a tool in hand, all with their white aprons in front.338

These sects are nevertheless not authorized to have bell towers on their churches, which must have the appearance of houses, but which can be beautifully decorated inside, like the most beautiful of churches. What’s more, on each church belonging to a sect there must be a chimney to give the impression that it is a house.

As for the three normal religions, they can build churches and bell towers as they like.339 Namely Calvinists, Lutherans, and Catholics, but it must be known that the Calvinists have 2 beautiful churches in the city of Baltimore.

One of the two, the larger one, it still brand new, and it is a beautiful stone building. At the time when I was there

it was still under construction; this church just outside of the city, on a small hill, next to the Catholic church.

---

338 For a slightly longer list of Protestant sects, see the note for journal page 20.
339 The rivalries between established Churches and Protestant sects were imported from Europe and multiplied in the Thirteen Colonies which gave rise to a veritable “kaleidoscope of religions” (B. Van Ruymbeke, L’Amérique avant les Etats-Unis, Paris, Flammarion, 2013, p. 331). This is not entirely novel, as in England starting in the 1640’s the Anglican Church had to grow accustomed to seeing Protestant sects draw more and more believers to private homes, exerting a real competition vis-à-vis the established Church. This competition worried those with the title of parish priest, as the Journal of the Earls Colne parish’s Anglican pastor, Ralph Josselin, proved. Each colony had its own legislation for matters of religion, and it would be a simplification, according to Emile G. Léonard, Histoire générale du protestantisme, Paris, PUF “Quadrige”, 1988, t.III, p.6, to oppose Europe, still in the grips of religious conflicts, with America, a new land of freedom and tolerance: for example, Maryland forbade Catholic schools in 1704. The measures were not necessarily applied to the letter, as colonial leaders wanted to avoid colonist fleeing to other lands, French or Spanish, they were often transformed into a two-fold tax increase. Great religious diversity existed, even if three groups of colonies could be made out: the Puritans in Massachusetts and Connecticut dominated the New England colonies; the Quakers in Pennsylvania were also powerful in all the middle colonies; the Anglican Church dominated in New York and in the southern colonies, where it sometimes benefited from the status of established Church: North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia. Certain colonies did not have dominant Protestant tendencies like in Delaware or New Jersey. The most tolerant state toward all tendencies was Rhode Island. It was founded on the principle of religious freedom and the separation of Churches and public powers. Flohr’s statement that Protestant sects did not have the right to fit their places of worship with a bell tower is surprising, and reveals without a doubt the very German interpretation of the principle “cujus regio, ejus religio” still in effect in the German States in the eighteenth century. In that case, the Prince’s religion was established as the official religion, favored over the other tendencies. Flohr would no doubt like to note that Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism of certain German princes, which he calls “the three normal religions” were established in America with more legitimacy than other Protestant groups, especially as traveling pastors of the Great Awakening, like George Whitefield, liked holding their evangelical sermons before several thousand people (15,000 in Philadelphia in 1740 then 6,000 in Boston) regardless of their religious affiliation.
As for the Lutherans, they have a beautiful church in the city, where there are also a few churches belonging to sects.

The whole time we were at this camp, we received many visits from people of the area, who were German for the most part, who had to travel 12-15 hours and who came from the Fridrigsstatt region or in great numbers from Fridrigsstatt itself. Among us they came across many whom they knew; even brothers and sisters who had not seen one another for many years met here fortuitously.

We also received many visits from American regional councilmen, members of Congress and a few generals! That is why we would frequently be obligated to come out to deliver staged battles for the pleasure of these gentlemen and American generals, but these exercises were also the cause of many accidents due to the soldiers’ irritation. 340

We stayed there for one month, from July 25th to August 25th, when we left the city of Baltimore. The city of Baltimore is depicted on the following page, just like the river and the city of Annapolis.

Illustrations

120.

We left a major detachment group there. As there were many ill people in the army, they had to be left at the hospital along with a few officers. 341

On August 25th, we left and travelled 13 miles to Rösselseissenwerck, a large establishment. This forge was nonetheless in a state of ruin, abandoned, and was no longer inhabited. The gentleman who owned the forge was a Tory, that is to say an upstanding Englishman, 342 and as there was a

---

340 The goal of the great maneuvers and staged battles was to train the troops as well as the generals. A training theater, but also for the purpose of distraction, the courtesans, or here the Americans, came to admire the maneuvers. However, these prestigious dramatizations, with pedagogical virtues, these make-believe wars, were tiring for the troops who often did not see the point of them. Besides, the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment had participated in the military maneuvers at Compiègne in 1769, in the presence of the king.

341 Large cities were key areas in the battle space. Whether or not they were fortified, they constituted storage spaces, as much for war munitions and food supplies, as for military hospitals.

342 In the German original, the use of the word “tory” is the first use of the English language—with the exception of the preface. The designation “Tory”, refers to the Loyalists, the Americans who were loyal to the British Crown and opposed to independence and the war. Before this, Flohr refers to “upstanding Englishman” or “upstanding Americans” to connote the different allegiances or political opinions. The vocabulary used says a lot about the author’s comprehension of the reasons for the conflict in which he is participating.
rebellion he abandoned everything. Now this forge no longer had an owner, which is why it was in ruins. We made our camp nearby.

On the 26th, we set off again and travelled 14 miles to Buschtawern, an inn located in a beautiful region, where we made our camp.

On the 27th, we set off again to travel 12 miles to Suß-Johanna, a beautiful region. The same day we crossed the Susquehanna River. This river is 2 English miles in breadth; we made our camp about a quarter hour away on the other bank and had a day’s rest in Suß-Johanna. The same day and the following we transferred all our equipment and our pieces of artillery to the other bank of the river. On a tiny little hill on this side of the river, a beautiful inn can be found where all our baggage was transferred from the other side. That Susquehanna River has very intense boat traffic and stretches all the way to the Canadian frontier. It takes its source in the Appalachian Mountains, still known as the Blue Mountains, it flows through the province of Pennsylvania, and this Susquehanna River forms the border between Maryland and Pennsylvania. This river as well as the geography of this country can be seen on the following page etc.

On the 29th, we set off again and travelled 16 miles to Head-of-Elk, a small town, the same day we passed through Carlstatt or Carstawn, a lovely little town in a pleasant region. We made our camp right next to the town of Head-of-Elk situated along a beautiful river with intense boat traffic, the river on which our grenadiers and Chasseurs boarded ship to go to Virginia last year.

On the 30th, we set off again for 17 miles to Peiff-Krick, a very pleasant region, where we made our camp right beside a river called Peiff-Krick. The same day we had passed through a lovely little town called Christinathaun or, in German, Christinastatt, in a pleasant region, at the foot of a flat mountain, where many ships could still be seen.

---

343 The crossing of great rivers is always a long and delicate process, with bridges forming real bottlenecks. It is not uncommon to cross them several times, or, as is the case here, to have artillery and equipment passed separately.


345 The “Blue Mountains”, known by the name “Blue Ridge Mountains” are located in the Appalachian chain of which they form the first relief (going toward the west). They are not, therefore, in Canada, strictly speaking.
On the 31st, we set off again for 16 miles

Illustrations

124.

to Chester, a lovely little town not far from Delaware. The same day we had passed through 3 lovely little towns, the first of which bore the name Heyport, the 2nd, Wilmington, a beautiful place embellished with beautiful buildings, also very near the Delaware River; the 3rd was Brandenwein, a beautiful little town, also inhabited almost exclusively by Germans. The 4th was Chester, next to which we made our camp and where a great number of inhabitants came to visit us.

On the 1st of September we set off again for 16 miles to Philadelphia, the capital of all of North America. The same day we passed through the small town of Tarby before coming close to Philadelphia. But first we had to cross the very beautiful Schuylkill Bridge, which crosses the river that also has intense traffic. As soon as we had come near Philadelphia we stopped off at the hospital outside the city, where we had to put on white gaiters in order to march into town in the most orderly fashion, like the previous year, brigade after brigade, the artillery with the lights in hand, as can be seen and heard in the following part.

Illustrations

125.

We marched through the city in the following order:

---

346 Some may find a town whose name means “cognac” to be surprising. Brandywine is located between Delaware and Pennsylvania, not far from Fort Christina. It was founded by the former director of New Amsterdam, a certain Peter Minnewit, born in Wesel in Rhineland, arrived in 1626, who bought the island of Manhattan from the Indians for 60 florins, he was called back in 1632 following disagreements. He then offered his services to Sweden and returned to America in 1638, in Delaware, where he founded Fort Christina (as an homage to Queen Christine). New Sweden was developed by numerous Germans, such as Prince Edler von Buchen who emigrated with 54 families from Pomerania, or Heinrich von Elswich, a tradesman from Lübeck, the town fell under the control of New Amsterdam in 1655, then under the control of the English in 1664. According to Huebener (Theodore), *The Germans in America*, Philadelphia & New York, Chilton Company, 1962, p.4.
The first brigade led by the Baron de Vioménil, in front and on horseback. The first regiment was the Bourbonnois. The 2nd, the Royal Deux-Ponts. Behind that one came the light artillery, but first the heavy artillery with the constables on either side, lit wicks in hand, ready to fire.

The 2nd brigade led by the Viscount de Vioménil and at his side, Mister Castellux, Brigadier general. The first regiment was the Soissonnois. The 2nd, the Saintonge. The brigade’s artillery came first, the regiment’s artillery came in the middle along with the constables with the lit wicks. Then came the Lauzun Volunteer Corps, composed of 2 companies of Hussars, one company of grenadier, one company of Chasseur, one company of constables, and one company of riflemen. One company of Hussars was in front, the other brought up the rear. The foot soldiers were in the middle. At the entrance of the city, coming from Schuylkill, was the French ambassador’s residence, on the left. Nearly opposite, on the right of the street, is the House of Congress or the city hall. It is a particularly beautiful building with a marvelous gallery above the main entrance. For that matter, there are many other remarkable buildings and also a few beautiful churches and other buildings of this type etc.

The next day, the inhabitants of the region came once more, even those who had to travel 12 to 15 hours. There were a particularly large number of them who had come from Lancaster and Germingston etc.

It so happened that brothers and sisters met who had not seen one another for years, that is why they had great joy in seeing one another again.

The city of Philadelphia is also exceptionally commercial because of its beautiful port for trade ships that sail up the Delaware River to Trenton; there, the river is no longer navigable. It takes its source in Canada in the Blue Mountains.

On the 3rd, we left Philadelphia to travel 13 miles

Illustrations

347 Constable is the name given to an artilleryman of the Imperial Army. This passage, therefore, clearly illustrates the preciseness of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment. Indeed, Flohr’s vocabulary is that of imperial armies, and not that of French armies. German soldier that he is, Flohr applies his own military references to the French army.
to the Red Lion, an inn along the road, where we made our camp. That day we passed through a small town called Franckfort or New-Franckfort, which is only inhabited by Germans.

On the 4th, we passed through Bristol, a small town, and arrived in Trenton, a small town along the Delaware River, which we crossed, and we made our camp on the other side of the river right next to the town. One does not find Germans there very often, only a household from time to time. We rested there as well until the 7th. We travelled 14 miles from the Red Lion to Trenton.

On the 7th, we set off again to travel 14 miles to Princeton, a small town. There is a beautiful college there that the King of England had built in 1756, but which was damaged by the war; we made our camp nearby.

On the 8th, we set off again for 13 miles to Somerset, a small town in a pleasant region. In this region

a great quantity of apple trees can be found. Cider, that is to say apple wine, is very inexpensive here. We made our camp near the small town and were surrounded by fruit trees.

On the 9th, another 14 miles to Balionsthawern, an inn. We made our camp nearby. On the 10th, we passed through Morristown, a small town at the foot of a flat mountain, in a beautiful region. That day we went 16 miles to Whippany or NeuHannober, a very small town. We had a day of rest there.

On the 12th, another 16 miles to Pompton, a small town near the mountain. On the 13th, we set off again for 16 miles to Suffern, a plantation, where we made our camp. The inhabitants, only women, who rode horseback like the English cavalry, were impatiently waiting for us. They had come to buy soldiers from us, as at that time men were very rare in this country, given that both old and young had to serve on the battle field, the father as much as the son, and in truth many had already perished and most women had already lost their husbands.

348 Repetitions are numerous and blatant in relation to the outbound journey. One can wonder why Flohr goes about things like this, perhaps for the sake of coherence as compared to the norms of the regimental diary?
But our army quite simply refused this, and the beautiful women had to return home saddened, without men.\textsuperscript{349}

On the 14\textsuperscript{th}, we set off again for 18 miles to Plackpoint or Pleackpoint, a beautiful region where we made our camp beside the mountain. We had a day’s rest there.

On the 17\textsuperscript{th} we set off again for 8 miles to Peekskill, a very small town. That day we passed through Werb-Plain, a beautiful great stretch of land where the American army’s camp was located: it was surprising to see that camp with its decorations made of all sorts of archways and artistically constructed balconies. That army was composed of 12,000 men etc. Each regiment had planted his province’s seal on the archways before the camp entrance etc. it was magnificent.\textsuperscript{350}

That afternoon, after having crossed the North River\textsuperscript{351} at Königsfery, we went another 5 miles to Peekskill, where we made our camp on a high mountain that we only reached late in the night; we were almost unable to put up the tents as there were so many stones and rocks. From this mountain the North River can be seen flowing through the high mountain from a distance of up to 6 to 8 hours; only rocks and cliffs can be seen

Illustrations

132.

\textsuperscript{349} The eighteenth century armies tried to limit the relations soldiers could have with young women. Even though good values are appealed to, one must also keep in mind that they army was a highly infectious environment, and venereal diseases could easily develop there. Moreover, such relations could encourage jealousy and rivalry between soldiers, even cause them to desert.

\textsuperscript{350} Regiments often bore the name of a province or country (Royal Deux-Ponts, Auvergne, Saintonge, etc.) where the majority, but not the entirety, of recruiting was organized. The Royal Deux-Ponts was, for example, composed of Germans, Alsatians, and men from Lorraine. Though a link exists between the name of the regiment and the geographic origins of its soldiers, this link is nevertheless not exclusive. The regiment being associated with a province, soldiers identified with it, even though all were not actually from there.

\textsuperscript{351} Image: Anonymous, \textit{Vue de l’Hudson en 1777}, etching, 1777, Blérancourt, Franco-American Museum of the Château de Blérancourt. Link: http://www.photo.rmn.fr/cf/htm/CSearchZ.aspx?o=&Total=112&FP=112761701&E=2K1KTSJ3PEVR4&S\textsuperscript{ID}=2K1KTSJ3PEVR4&New=T&T\textsuperscript{Pic}=111&Sub\textsuperscript{E}=2C6N0CGJT@L
along its course. This river can be seen on the following page etc. We were able to relax there. Houses were also converted into hospitals, because the mobile hospital already had many ill people who could not be treated, which is why they were put into these hospitals.

As for the region, it is very mountainous up to the New York region and nothing can be seen save rocks and cliffs through which the river takes its course.

This North River, still called the Hudson, takes its source in Canada not far from Saint-Laurent and crosses through Albany and the province of New York; it has intense traffic up to Canada where it is navigable for small boats; during this war it was very useful for the English, who had established a base in New York, where they could travel along that river, which brought them a large advantage and all sorts of conveniences.

Not far from there is the powerful fortress called West Point, which is so well fortified that it is impossible to take it; it is also equipped with storehouses and arsenals beyond measure, and equipped with as much artillery as needed.

133.

On September 20th, General Washington inspected us. On the 24th, we set off again for 8 miles to Grambon, a domain 18 miles from New York. We relaxed there with the idea of carrying out a siege of New York, but nothing happened. We set about constructing camp barracks and stayed there awhile, but when we were finally settled in we had to leave again and abandoning the barracks that we had constructed brought us much sorrow.

On October 23rd, we set off again to travel 15 miles to Danbury, a small town near the mountain in a pleasant region. That is where the province of New England starts.
On the 24th, we set off again for 10 miles to Newtown, a beautiful little town near the mountain. We made our camp right beside it and had a day of rest.

On the 26th, we set off again for 18 miles to Breckneck. Along the way we had passed through a burg, Gatbahr, which is \( 3^{358} \) miles long. We made camp near Breckneck.

On the 27th, we set off again for 15 miles to Barronsthawern, an inn next to which we made camp, in a forest. In the evening there were all kinds of entertainment in our camp, and we saw the officers and soldiers dance and jump with all the beautiful young American women: this entertainment lasted until nightfall.

Illustrations

136.

Then they returned back to their homes, quite happy, and our other soldiers went back to our tents to sleep a short while.

On the 28th, 12 miles to Farmington, a small town near the mountain, in a pleasant region. We made camp at the base of a small hill amongst fruit trees.

On the 29th, another 11 miles to Hartford, a lovely city, rather large, along a river with intense traffic, thanks to which it is very commercial. That river separates the city into 2 parts. We made our camp on the other side of the river, about \( \frac{1}{2} \) mile from the city and we rested until November 4th. Then we set off again for 14 miles to Bolton where we made our camp.

“provinces”). This was a common conception, which corresponds to a geographical and especially cultural reality. Originally, two English companies were in competition for the establishment and colonization of North America. The Virginia Company of London was granted a charter including the territories south of Long Island to Cape Fear (the future North Carolina), whereas to the Virginia Company of Plymouth fell the territories north of the tributary of the Hudson to New France. The term “New England” appeared for the first time in 1620, when Plymouth was founded (modern day Massachusetts), the second company’s colonies kept the denomination “Virginia”. Faced with growing tensions with the Indian tribes, the colonies then in existence (Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut) formed the New England Confederation in 1649. Even if the different attempts to bring the colonies together did not last, the economic conditions (livestock farming, exploitation of forests and sea, trading), religious conditions (a major Puritan community), political conditions (these colonies did not have a governor appointed by the King of England), and exterior conditions (external commerce was dominated by exchanges with Great Britain) contributed to the creation of a distinct regional identity in the southern and “middle” colonies. The Thirteen Colonies of the eighteenth century are generally divided into three groups: New England, the Middle Colonies, and the Southern Colonies.

\( 358 \) On journal page 35, it was only 2 miles.
On the 5th, to Windham, a small town. 12 miles away; we had a day’s rest there.

On the 7th, we set off again for 10 miles to Lauterling, a small town, where we made our camp.

On November 8th, 11 miles to Plainfield. But we pushed forward all the way to Wallenthaun, a small town near a flat mountain in a pleasant region. We made camp right beside the town, on a plain.

On November 9th, we set off again for 14 miles to Wassermann House, a very beautiful domain.

137.

The owner’s name is Wassermann. We made our camp nearby. That day we had covered 10 miles.

On the 10th, we set off again for 12 miles to Providence, a rather large city. We had a few days of rest there.

On the 13th, we moved the camp to the other side of the city, one mile away. We rested there until December 4th. The Von Rühl and Cabannes Companies were sent as a detachment group to Papisneck, a small village along the water’s edge, where the war ship The Fandasque, on which the hospital was boarded, was being repaired in order to go to the Indies, under the protection of 2 companies.

There we had a beautiful farewell letter from those men, the American directors, who thanked us in the name of the whole of the country for the help we had brought to the country. But as we were staying for a certain amount of time, the Americans were never completely reassured

138.

and never ceased to believe that the French had their sights set on this region. As they did not appear to be leaving, they received thanks a 2nd time for the help they had brought.

359 Viscount de Noailles mentions that “Five hundred men from Deux-Ponts are going to accelerate the arming of The Fandasque, which is heavily damaged”, see Marins et soldats français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l’indépendance des Etats-Unis (1788-1783), Librarie académique Perrin et cie, Paris 1903, 2nd edition, p. 322-323. However, that ship did not go to the East Indies, but to the Antilles, or West Indies.
We then thought of returning to Newport, which is 30 miles from Providence. But the fleet that
came to fetch us headed toward Boston. Later we learned that we should go to Boston to set off
toward the West Indies with Captain Wotzelle’s flotilla.  

On December 4th we set off again to travel 19 miles to Readham, a small town equipped with a
very beautiful town hall. We made our camp nearby in very bad weather.

On the 5th, another 16 miles to Baltham, a small town. We made our camp in a glacial cold that
was hardly bearable. The day before it had rained, in the evening it cleared up and there were
very violent winds.

On the 6th, we packed up the camp in a freezing cold to travel 13 miles to Boston.  

Illustrations

139.

a large and beautiful city equipped with numerous remarkable edifices as well as a few beautiful
towers. This city is almost entirely surrounded by water and it has a well-fortified port.

360 Louis-Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil. Born in Rochester in 1724. Marine Guard in 1740, then captain
in 1765, fleet commander in 1779, he became lieutenant general in 1782. He commanded the Fendant in Ushant, a
backup fleet for d’Estaing in 1779, the Triomphant in the Guichen fleet. He rejoined de Grasse in 1782, and took
command of the fleet after the Battle of the Saintes where he was wounded. He died in 1802.
Image: Jean-Pierre Franque, Louis-Philippe Rigaut, marquis de Vaudreuil, oil on canvas, Versailles, Château of
Versailles and Trianon, first half of the 19th century. Link:
http://www.photo.rmn.fr/cf/htm/CSearchZ.aspx?o=&Total=103&FP=110498306&E=2K1KTSJ3ZWA53&
SID=2K1KTSJ3ZWA53&New=T&Pic=19&SubE=2C6NU0H7UC05

361 The city of Boston was founded in 1630 by a group of Puritans led by John Winthrop, President of the
Massachusetts Bay Company. It was the second colony of future New England, and it rather quickly surpassed the
oldest colony, Plymouth, as the economic and political center of the region. The Puritans established a colony
governed according to strict religious rules. The first school of North America was opened in Boston in 1635, as
well as the first university, Harvard, founded in 1636. Boston was the most populated city of North America until
the mid-eighteenth century, when it was overtaken by Philadelphia. Boston remained nevertheless an important
intellectual center and a major port in Atlantic commerce. The inhabitants of Boston were on the verge of dispute
against the laws of the Parliament of London, establishing new taxes and restricting liberties. When Flohr speaks of
the city in these terms: “it is here that the rebellion began”, he is referring to the incidents that resulted from the
conflict between citizens opposed to taxation without representation (the main argument that held the Parliament of
London liable for legislating on the territories behalf and that of the unrepresented citizens) and the colonial
authorities (governor, army): the Boston Massacre (March 5, 1770), the Boston Tea Party (December 17, 1773),
then the first battles of the war, Lexington, Concord in April 1775, finally the Battle of Bunker Hill near Boston.
After the city’s liberation by Washington after a short siege in March 1776, Boston was relatively sheltered from
combat.
Image: Louis Garneray, Port de Boston, engraving, v. 1842. BNF Images Link:
p&contexte=resultatRechercheSimple
Upon our arrival we were boarded ships. The grenadiers, Chasseurs, as well as the largest company of riflemen were boarded on the war ship *The Brave*. The other companies, on a ship christened *L’Isle de France*.

A few days later, we disembarked, but the companies that were on the war ship stayed aboard. We were housed in town in an old storehouse where we nearly died of cold.

Incidentally, the city of Boston is the biggest in all of North America, after Philadelphia. It is here that the rebellion began. This city has a port and wharfs that are magnificent. It also has a remarkable seal, inspired by nature, and composed of a grasshopper seated on a small tower, as tall as a child of 5 years or more.

After that

we were once again boarded on the same ship, *L’Isle de France*. But as this ship was old and in poor repair our colonel refused to let them take us aboard. But as the general had it examined and visited by impartial people, who found the ship to be fine, we had to go aboard, save for one company, which boarded an American privateer, such that there were 5 companies aboard *L’Isle de France*, where we suffered so much from cold that, now as before, we could hardly believe it. This region, it is true, extends far to the north, all the way to Canada, and it is easy to imagine that it was very cold there.

On the 19th and 20th, we received orders to load all of our regiment’s equipment. On the 22nd, we cleared the ship from the ice, as it was near the shore and ice had formed around it. On the 23rd, in the afternoon, we began to raise the anchor. It was just one day before Christmas.

---

362 Flohr provides proof here that shows he was neither a grenadier nor a Chasseur, as he boarded the *Isle de France* and not *The Brave*.


364 The grasshopper is indeed one of the symbols of Boston. The choice of this insect can be explained by the presence of a grasshopper on the roof of Faneuil Hall’s tower, a public building in the Boston port (that can be seen in Flohr’s drawing of the city, above a “Rat Haus”, or city hall). The presence of such a statue is a reference to the London Stock Exchange, which has a similar weathervane. This weathervane’s existence during the War of Independence was used as a *shibboleth*, a “verbal sign of recognition between members of the same group”, allowing potential spies to be unmasked.
In the evening, we left the port, around 5 o’clock in the afternoon we passed the port’s entrance, where insurmountable arrays of cannons can be found on either side. As soon as we had passed the entrance we dropped anchor until the next day. Incidentally, the large war vessels had dropped anchor here while we were in the city, as the port was not deep enough to allow the fully charged war ships to enter and leave.\textsuperscript{365} What follows are the names of the war ships as well as a drawing of the city of Boston.

The flotilla under the command of Mister Wotrelle, Commander in Chief of the flotilla sent to the West Indes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of the war ships</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
<th>Grades\textsuperscript{366}</th>
<th>Names of the war ships</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le Triomphant</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Fleet commander</td>
<td>Le Nerayt</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Duc de Bourgogne</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td>L’Amazon</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Couronne</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Brave</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td>Privateers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Citoyen</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td>La Claire Voyant</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’Hercule</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td>Le Malling</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Souveraine</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Bourgogne</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nord Comberland</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Neptune</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td>The war ship la Magnifique from sunk in the port of Boston</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Portsmouth</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’August</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{365} A ship of the line has a draft of seven to eight meters on average.

\textsuperscript{366} It is clear that the section of the table indicating the identity of the ships’ commanders is not filled in. In other parts of the manuscript blanks are found that reveal either that Florh wanted to integrate information he was unable to find, or that he forgot to copy it down.
The morning of the 24th, the day before Christmas, we set sail towards the West Indies. At around 10 o’clock we had already left the city of Boston. From the moment of our departure the horizon was promising a storm and it was very cold because we were very far north, and up north the more cold and violent the sea is, the harsher is the cold. The day before Christmas we tacked in the Boston region until evening, because the sea was too violent, and we thought the storm would quiet, but it did not appear so, and in the evening we had to take on the high sea in the midst of the storm.

Christmas day was rather sad for us and the situation worsened day by day, because with this storm it was so cold on the ship that it was nearly unbearable, and all the rigging was covered with clear ice, so much so that the sailors, like the soldiers, dreaded having to grasp them.

On the 25th, the horizon appeared bright and clear, and the more we moved into the high sea, the more violent it became; day and night we heard nothing other than the whistling and roaring of waves and violent winds, and those furious waves seemed as high as the tallest mountains to us. Christmas day was even more terrible than the day before, so much that our faith was almost shaken.

On the 26th, the weather was the same and there was no longer any hope to be found, we suffered one storm after another, the best thing to do was to summon up patience and rely on God.

On the 27th, the horizon was a little foggy, but the storm was still just as strong. Now we had left the Boston region, but we stayed in these waters for a few days to wait for the ships coming from

---

162

---

Portsmouth. Thereupon, the storm doubled in strength. The sea waves were so violent that we thought the end was near.

But as our ship was very poor, I have said it before, it was ripped open on both sides by the raging waves, so much so that being inside, it was possible to see through it; at the same time the upper deck had cracks of 8 to 9 inches wide in several places etc. The masts broke completely, and on the night of the 27th there was no longer any dry place on the whole ship, so much so that no one could keep dry any longer; sometimes water came in from above, sometimes from the torn open sides, sometimes there were the sounds of such great cracking that our hair stood up on our heads, one was standing here, another was hiding there in a corner, all like frightened hens, each one of us was weary of living.

On the 28th, the weather was the same, it was not calming down at all, quite the contrary, the storm was becoming stronger and more terrible hour by hour. Around 8-9 o’clock in the morning, the ship began to make a sound that chilled us to the bone; on the upper deck, near the central mast, the ship split, such that we thought it was going to break in two at any moment; which would not have failed to happen if the will of God had not been there to save us.

Shortly after, the captain had the distress flags deployed: thereupon the commander quickly had a privateer sent to see what was wrong with our ship. That privateer immediately delivered the news to the commander that our ship was no longer in a state to be able to accompany the flotilla, as its state had become so poor, that at any moment they thought it was going to sink.

As soon as he heard this, the general had a frigate, the Cérès, sent, and a privateer, the Clairevoyant so that they could escort us to the calmer seas in hot lands, all the way to the region of Puerto Rico, where we had to wait for the flotilla once again.

---

368 Portsmouth is a port city located in New Hampshire. Clermont de Crèvecoeur was aboard one of those ships, l’Amazone, which was bringing news of the flotilla’s departure to the crews of the Pluton and l’Auguste which were being repaired in that city. [p. 85, The American Campaigns of Rochambeau’s Army]
On the 28th, we broke away from the flotilla in the midst of the storm.

On the 29th, we passed by Newport, a city in Roth-Eyland. The storm was still raging, so much so that we thought we would not see the New Year, as our distress was much too great, and we no longer had hope of it calming down the smallest bit.

On the 30th, the horizon was a little more favorable until noon, then the storm picked up once more, as strong as before, and the state of our ship worsened with each passing day, such that the pump did not have one instant of respite. Every day the shipwrights were making makeshift repairs, but all was in vain. Because it was like during the destruction of Jerusalem.

The same day, around 11 o’clock at night, we noticed that our ship had already sunk down 3 inches.

compared to the waterline corresponding to its cargo; with that another pump was immediately installed, and later still, 4 pumps were running without end, day and night. But all was in vain, everything threatened destruction as the violent sea did not want to be favorable, and was continuously threatening to sink us.

On the 31st, the horizon was stormier than ever, the sea had whipped up waves taller than mountains all day long, so much so that they were burying the ship that was almost continuously under water. In the evening there was a little fog on the horizon and the mist led one to believe that the weather was going to change.

Around 8 o’clock at night, the wind picked up again, stronger than ever. Around midnight the shipwright on board came and announced to the pilot that the ship had sunk 3 feet since the day before and that if a solution was not found, water would invade the ship in one hour’s time and we would not see the light of day again.
The pilot immediately reported to the captain: he inspected the ship straight away and made the same assessment, namely that the ship had sunk 3 and a half feet in relation to its normal draft and that water was already coming in through the portholes.

The captain immediately ordered the helmsmen to throw all the anchors into the water, same thing for all the equipment found on the ship and inside. This order from the captain was executed straight away. And so, on the night of the New Year, around 11, 12 o’clock, all our regiment’s equipment was thrown into the sea, as well as the officers’ trunks; after which we noticed an improvement in the ship’s situation, water was no longer coming in as often, because it had become lighter now that we had thrown things overboard that were worth thousands. But it was better to lose all the equipment than to let all the men die.

One can easily imagine the mood we were in that dark night, we no longer thought we would survive that night to see the New Year, even less New Year’s Day, as there was not longer the smallest shred of hope left in us. The storm was whistling, the waves roaring, while the cracking of the ship chilled us to the bone, so much so that we thought our last hour had come, that we had already sunk, and indeed, most of that night we were covered by waves and under water.

Around 2 o’clock in the morning, to make matters worse, the waves tore off half of the rudder, and our distress was greater than ever. That rudder was cut in two pieces, and the piece still attached could not be immobilized because of the horrendous storm that was making it beat left and right, to the point that the metal bars on the rudder made holes in the ship; all the methods and procedures that were implemented no longer served any purpose, we had to leave it in the good Lord’s hands.

At daybreak the storm calmed down, and what was left of the rudder could be partially repaired.
The sight of daybreak filled our hearts with joy as we now thought that it would be easier to solve the problem in broad daylight.

The first of January 1783, around midnight, the horizon was a little misty, but the weather was favorable and calm until around the evening, such that we were able to roughly repair our rudder and other damage.

Around 7 o’clock in the evening, the storm picked up again, just as strong as before and lasted all night long.

It lasted until January 2nd around noon, then we had a tail wind, from the northeast, which satisfied all our wishes.

On the 3rd, there was a lull during which our caulkers374 repaired the ship a little with the help of pitch or tar. This lull lasted until around midnight, then the wind picked up a little again to calm down around dawn; then there was another lull, such that we were barely making 3 [knots]; in the evening the wind picked up again, so much so

152.

that we were moving forward rather well, making 9 knots to the minute according to the nautical chart etc.375 On the 4th, around noon, the horizon was bright and clear, with pleasant weather, the cold wind coming from the east was not so strong.

On the 5th, good winds, which made us move toward the West Indies rather quickly.

On the 6th, we still had a good east wind.

On the 7th, the horizon was once again a bit foggy, but the winds were still rather good. Now we were at the same latitude as Charleston, or Karlstatt, in South Carolina, and had almost reached the hot lands, and the sea was no longer as strong.

374 A caulk is a worker who cauls the ship, which means he puts tow, suet, and tar in the vessel’s joints, holes, and gaps.
375 It is unlikely that Flohr had access to a nautical chart when he was writing. Rather, it is most likely the trace of information he was given in person on the boat. Appearing throughout the thirteenth century in the western Mediterranean ports (Majorca, Genoa, Venice, etc.) these so-called Portolan charts show the coasts and islands, ports and harbors on a small scale. However, it is only starting in the sixteenth century that seamen started making use of them on a regular basis.
On the 8th, we crossed the latitude of the island of Bermuda etc.\textsuperscript{376}

On the 9th, we arrived at the latitude of western Florida, St. Augustine and Savannah\textsuperscript{377} etc.

On the 10th, we had slightly unpleasant weather, but with a bright and clear horizon.

On the 11th, we had a good wind from the North once again, the horizon was bright and clear, we were making 7 knots to the minute according to the chart.

153.

On the 12th, the horizon was still bright and clear with pleasant weather, and quite hot; so much that we could no longer stand having the slightest bit of clothing on our bodies, which surprised us very much! Indeed, not so long ago the cold was still so great and now it was just the contrary. Firstly it is surprising that in 12 days of boat travel one passes from cold to heat thusly. Then we were surprised because we were in the midst of winter and yet we were unbearably hot.

On the 13th, the winds were good and a bit cool until 8 o’clock in the morning, then it was once again so hot we could hardly stand it. And this heat became greater day by day. First we had suffered such an intense cold 10-12 days ago that we knew not where to put our hands and feet to warm them, and now we were melted under the effect of the heat.

On the 14th, there was a lull

154.

as well as intense heat. Today we also crossed the solar line called the Tropic of Cancer for the first time, which is why the heat was so great that it became nearly unbearable. This line the Tropic of Cancer is linked to a very peculiar custom amongst sailors\textsuperscript{378}

\textsuperscript{376} Image: Pierre-Philippe Choffard, Carte des Isles Bermudes ou de Sommer, taken from Bellin (Jacques-Nicolas), Description géographique des Isles Antilles possédées par les Anglois, Paris, Didot, 1758, t.1 n48. Gallica Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2300030q/f22.item.r=bermudes.langFR

\textsuperscript{377} Mentions Western Florida here does not really make sense. Sailing across the Atlantic, just after Bermuda, the Ile de France should have arrived as far as eastern Florida. Incidentally, Savannah is the most northern city (in Georgia), followed by St. Augustine in Florida farther south. Western Florida and Eastern Florida are two adjacent territories that were at the time loyal to the British Crown (taken from Spain by Great Britain in 1763).

\textsuperscript{378} This ceremony is known by the name of sea baptism, Crossing the Line or baptism of the tropic. It is organized each time a ship crosses the Tropic of Cancer, but also the Equator, or other symbolic places like the Straight of
It consists of this: all those who were crossing the line for the first time had to be baptized, or drenched entirely with seawater. Etc.

On the 14th, this ceremony took place on our ship. After lunch one could hear the clinking of chains being shaken by Lucifer, a demon, perched atop the central mast. A great tub was immediately filled for the baptism. At 1 o’clock the Lucifer descended from atop the mast accompanied by his escort: he was dressed entirely in sheep’s skin, such that his feet and hands could not be seen, his face was black as coal and he wore two ghastly horns on his head.

In his hands

Gibraltar in former times. This ceremony was mainly celebrated within the French navy even though different national variations existed in the eighteenth century. These Line-crossing ceremonies still exist in the American and Australian navies, in the Royal Navy, and in the French National Navy, albeit under a slightly different form. The line crossing and its baptism are always celebrated, nevertheless the organized ceremonies give way to informal practices inspired by the so-called ancestral tradition, that the naval authorities and the law today consider to be hazing. It is without a doubt a very old tradition, testimonies of which appear in numerous naval memoirs, such as Un Flibustier Français dans la mer des Antilles 1618-1620, edited by Jean-Pierre Moreau, Paris, Sehgers, 1990. The precise origin of this cruel ritual is unknown even though it is thought to have originated with Portuguese and Spanish sailors during the era of Great Discoveries. When the zone of the tropics was considered uninhabitable, crossing the line was consequently like entering a new world, which required a new baptism. Even though this naval celebration is based on baptism, the Christian sacrament, the themes it took on are anything but linked to the Church, as can be seen in the description Flohr gives of it. However, the described scene differs somewhat from other sailors’ descriptions. In several definitions taken from nineteenth century encyclopedias or dictionaries (Dictionnaire historique des institutions, mœurs et coutumes de la France, Adolphe Chéruel, Paris 1899; L’univers, Histoire et Description de tout les peuples, Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la France, volume 2, ed. Le Bas, Firmin Didot Brothers, Paris 1840), the actual ceremony included the presence of a “Mister Tropic”, or a character comparable to Neptune, sometimes accompanied by Amphitrite and other characters of his court. In both cases, this ceremony involved transvestitism, and the reversal of authority on board because Neptune, or Mister Tropic, or Lucifer in this case, arranged the sacrament. The organizer in question is generally the most experienced sailor, or the one who has crossed the line the most and who is not the captain of the ship or another officer. All the members on board who have not crossed the Tropic of Cancer are then forcibly baptized, which also included the officers. The baptism itself was generally done by throwing salt water on the subject. Sometimes certain crews practiced baptism by immersing the subject directly in the sea, held by a rope. It is a dramatized rite of passage, a cathartic experience to mark the passage of an imaginary border between the known and the unknown. Through the uproar caused by the reversal of authority on board, the universality of the sacrament of baptism, the line-crossing ceremony is an important moment for a crew and its morale. In any case, this ceremony broke the monotony of a very long voyage. Jean-Baptiste-Antoine de Verger (1762-1851), second lieutenant in the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment, aboard The Brave with the grenadier and Chasseur companies of the regiment, mentions this maritime tradition as being “ridiculous ceremonies” in his journal (p 171, The American campaigns of Rochambeau’s Army, vol. 1). Louis-Alexandre Bertier, Rochambeau’s aide-de-camp does the same in a much more inspired fashion (p. 227 of the same work). [also see Harry Miller Lydenberg, Crossing the Line, Tales of the Ceremony during four centuries, New York Public Library Bulletin, volumes LIX-LXI, 1955-1957].

155.
he had an iron hook. He was brought by two sailors who dragged him by the chains. He was so covered with chains that the slightest movement made one believe he was in the presence of the incarnation of the devil. He was followed by a small boy of around 9 years, fully nude and painted completely black, who also was carrying a hook in his hand. He represented a young devil and followed the Lucifer, appearing as though he wanted to take hold of him through threatening gestures. All the soldiers had to stand on the ship according to their rank, the officers stood on the aft castle near the captain. The devil was walked about the whole of the ship then placed near the tub of water. Now everyone had to pass before the tub filled with water to be baptized. The eldest lieutenant of the ship and a helmsman were doing the baptizing. Each time someone was baptized the devils shook their hooks pretending to want to throw the man being baptized in the water.

The officers were baptized first

and each one had to give 24 S and even up to 6£ after his baptism. If the officers only wanted to give 12 or 15 S the devil threatened him and pretended to bring him down. The soldiers gave 1 S or ½ S etc. When the ceremony was finished, the sailors had collected a hat full of money, and thus had made a good profit. Then Lucifer was accompanied back atop the mast and undressed. That is how each sea voyager’s first passage across the line of the tropics is marked. Never do the sailors forget this custom because it brings them a lot of money.

On the 15th, good winds and pleasant weather.

On the 16th, good winds. Today we saw a number of clusters of cuttlefish eggs that formed something like paths on the sea; they were yellow in color and formed countless little berries.

On the 17th, we had a small storm.

On the 18th, good winds once more.

On the 19th, we had a short-lasting lull, then we had good winds once more.

379 This refers to a platform resting on cross-trees and on pieces of wood supporting the lower masts, which are used to carry out maneuvers high up.
On the 20th, around 9 o’clock in the morning, a sailor perched atop the mast cried out that he saw land on our left. One hour later we had come so close to that land that one could leisurely observe its smallest details. Around 2 o’clock we were very near, and that land appeared quite lovely and nice, because there were greenery and trees everywhere.

That island is inhabited by the Spanish and bears the name Puerto Rico, it is already situated in the West Indies. Around 3 o’clock we were very near the port entrance: in all the forts and batteries the Spanish signaled to us to make it known whether we were friend or enemy, we were immediately recognized as being friends.

As soon as we were identified as friends, we could approach the batteries, very near the city named San Juan, the capital of the island and a large garrison. This city of San Juan is entirely situated behind the great fort, also it is practically invisible from the sea. One enters the port by circumventing the great battery, the city being located beyond the river, on a plain; this city as well as the island of Puerto Rico can be seen on the following page.

As for the vegetation on the island

Illustrations

it is very rich! One can find many oranges, lemons, a lot of pepper, coffee, cotton, sugar etc. There are spices a-plenty.

On this island there is also a river that flows with gold. On the 21st, we sailed all day long in close proximity to the island. On the 22nd, we were joined by our fleet, which had stayed in Boston.

On the 23rd, we stayed again near Puerto-Rico.

---

380 Puerto Rico is the smallest islands of the Greater Antilles, it was discovered by Christopher Columbus on November 19, 1493. “Puerto Rico” means rich port. The first Spanish establishment on the island dates to 1508, San Juan was the main port of it. In 1781, Puerto Rico was still as Spanish territory, and as such was an allied territory, Spain being committed to France against England.

Image: Jacques-Nicolas Bellin, Port et ville de Porto-Rico dans l’île de ce nom, map, 1764.

Gallica Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/blk1b59024316

381 Here one can see how much Flohr is receptive to rumors.
On the 24th, we passed by a great rock located in the sea about a half-hour from land.

On the 25th, we caught sight of the lands of the isle of Bonheure, which is inhabited. 382

On the 26th, we passed off the coast of the island of Saint Domingo, a French island formerly called Hispaniola. 383 On the 27th, we had good winds, which fulfilled our wishes.

On the 28th, good winds again, just as we wished.

On the 29th, we crossed the latitude of the island of Guadeloupe, a French island. 384

On the 30th, we crossed the latitude of the island of Martinique, a French island. 385

On the 31st, we arrived at the same latitude as the island of Curaçao, a Dutch island; 386 that same day a few of our war ships

382 The identity of this island remains undetermined. It could be the island of Bonaire, near Curaçao, which Flohr mentions later.


385 The meaning of “cross the latitude of” deserves clarification. Whether it is actually the latitude of Florida, Guadeloupe, or Martinique, the flotilla does not pass close enough to land for it to be seen. Between Puerto Rico and Curaçao, passing by the Lesser Antilles came down to taking a detour. This kind of information can lead one to suppose that when Flohr wrote of his voyage, he had a geographical map at hand.

386 The first Europeans to arrive on the island of Curaçao were the Spanish in 1499. The island was occupied by the Dutch starting in 1634, it was managed by the Dutch West India Company. The main city, Willemstad, was founded on a site favorable for the establishment of a port. The island became a center for contraband and major commerce. The slave trade and salt harvesting established this coveted colony’s prosperity. Holland having been allied with France and Spain against England, the port of Curaçao offered ships in distress like L’Île de France, le Neptune, or La Couronne a stop over to resupply or repair damage.

Image: Veuve du Fort Royal de la Martinique, drawing, eighteenth century.


entered the port of the Dutch island of Curaçao: This island is 7 hours in length and nearly the
same in width. There is but one town on this island, and that town has a magnificent and well-
fortified port, which stretches the whole length of the town and can receive ships both large and
small. This town also serves as a garrison for major troops composed of Dutch soldiers, who in
Europe are called the soul sellers because many are sold to serve there, but only a few return.387
But they are not as terrible as one may think. These 2 regiments of soul sellers have uniforms
composed of dark blue jackets with red lapels and red lining, as well as white fourragère instead
of epaulets. The island of Curaçao, also called Ciracau, with its edifices and its port can be seen
on the following page.

On February 1st, we were still the only ones going back and forth in front of the port, the whole
flotilla was scattered about, some had gone in the direction of Puerto Cabello,388 the others
toward the port of Curaçao in order to enter it. All day long we weren’t able to move forward, for
the following reason: in the islands of the Antilles the wind always comes from the same
direction, and sometimes it only changes direction one or two times a year. This is why these
islands are called the Leeward Islands, or Windward Islands, this is also why sailors need 19 to
20 days or more for one standard crossing, as the wind always comes off the land toward which
one is forced to go etc.389

Illustrations

387 The island of Curaçao was run by the Dutch West India Company, backed by the general Dutch States. Contrary
to its sister company (the Dutch East India Company), the West India Company did not have the authority to declare
and lead war. In fact, in the Orient, the Company kept its own troops, as much for the security of its trading posts as
its ships. The recruitment of mercenaries was done throughout Europe, and particularly in Germany. England,
France, and Spain being, in fact, rival naval powers, the Company preferred to turn to the Germans, who, for that
matter, were Protestant. As such, in 1777, 80% of the Company’s soldiers were of foreign origin. Enrolled for five
years (not including the voyage), they rarely came back to Germany (some of them would die, others settled in the
Indies). It is most likely to this truth, important within the German world, that Flohr is referring, all the while
confusing the Dutch soldiers and the mercenaries from the India Company. See Guidon de Chambelle (Jean),
Mercenaires français de la VOC : La route des Indes hollandaises au XVIIe siècle, text presented by Dirk van der
388 Flohr does not distinguish between Puerto Lapello, Puerto Bello, and Puerto Cabello. These three names refer to
the same town of Puerto Cabello on the Venezuelan coast.
389 In this region, the dominant winds blow from the northeast to the southwest. But the port of Curaçao is oriented
towards the southwest. Therefore the boats had to approach the island facing the wind, which was more difficult for
them.
We changed tacks all day long, an operation intended to move downwind. That day we repeated this operation 30 times, an operation which in the German language is called making an about-turn to the right, in order to put the wind to good use and reach the target. But each time we were pushed back by the wind. As this meant that we did not know when we would arrive, our rations and water were cut off! Each day we had no more than a quarter liter of water, such that wine was thus less precious than water on our ship.

On February 2nd, the wind was rather good, we changed tacks all day long once again, the other ships that had headed in the direction of Puerto Bello, we had lost them from view, as the wind is always better going towards Puerto-Bello than going towards Curacao. Moreover, as it has been said before, our ship was bad, broken in many places, threatening to fall into ruin etc. We could not overwork the rudder, because it was completely broken and was nothing more than a piece of makeshift equipment, even though it is a key sailing element. When we could derive some benefit from the wind during the day, at night this advantage was reduced to nothing. So much so that being near the coast, having seen it all day long and also in the evening, and having found points of reference there, the next morning we couldn’t see anything.

Around noon on February 2nd,

165.

Candlemas day, when we were going to proceed to the distribution, a terrible accident occurred on our ship, in the galley. When the rations distributers were getting ready to distribute the eau-de-vie, they removed the cover from the barrel of alcohol in order to take the desired ration. It is commonly known to be dark in the galley, and that one must always carry a lamp; the wine stewards then set their lamp on the barrel of eau-de-vie, but as the fellows were drunk, they overturned the lamp due to inattention, which fell in the barrel, which caught fire immediately. At that moment we were eating lunch; a sailor arrived at a run and announced to the captain of the ship that there was a fire on the ship, in the galley; he had not finished talking before the flames were already erupting from the large hole next to the central mast; when he saw this, the captain of the ship

166.

---

390 The galley is the place where rations are distributed to the crew.
was petrified. One can easily imagine that we soldiers were no longer in the mood to eat, that the desire had left us, that we threw down our spoons and for 3 days we did not need to find them again; in each corner we looked, we only saw and heard lamenting, and Mary Joseph prayers proclaimed by the weak women on the ship etc. One soldier said to another that he would not let himself be burned alive, me I say I would rather jump in the water than be burned alive, because death by drowning is not as painful than if one is burned alive. All the soldiers were already holding onto the ropes all around the ship, ready to jump into the water; we were determined to retreat before the fire as long as possible, but to let ourselves fall into the water as soon as it came too close.

But with the help of God that incident did not take on large proportions, thanks to one of our naval lieutenants and a soldier. That officer quickly took measures so that water could be drawn from the hold and so the fire pump could be installed. As for the captain of the ship and the other officers, they did not know which order to give, as they were so frightened. Yet on the ship there was a sailor, one of the roughest, who arrived at the site of the fire at the moment when the wine steward was going to overturn the barrel, which would have meant our ruin, if that had happened. Seeing this, our sailor threw the wine steward to the ground, such that he would nearly have been unable to get up, the same sailor immediately took a biscuit sack, threw it inside and covered the barrel with a sail in order to smother the fire. The fire had reached the deck of the ship, but was fought there as well, so well that the fire was entirely put out.

For about an hour each one of us was overwhelmed, because we could already see the town of Curaçao, and that is where we should have perished, even though we had escaped so many storms and other dangers, overcome with joy, it is there, in such good weather and so close to land, that we should have perished.
The same day, around 10 o’clock in the evening, the war ship La Bourgogne met up with us, passed right by us, and we could talk to one another for about half and hour, the amount of time it stayed beside us; then the ship set off again, and when it had moved away from us and was within a rifle’s shot away in the direction of land, we heard a dreadful cracking. The ship had struck a rock so seriously that it broke into pieces. As soon as we heard that we immediately made a right turn in the opposite direction toward the high sea. At daybreak we looked for the land we had seen the day before, but it had disappeared, because during the night we had drifted more than 50 hours toward the open sea.

As for the ship shattered on the rock, it remained aground and half fallen to pieces during the black night with its 954 men. Nearly all of them perished, save 35 of them who had taken refuge at the front of the ship, which had not yet sunk.

Those who were able to save their own lives had to wait 5 days with no food or drink, until a frigate from Curaçao came to get them.

On February 3rd, we steered back to Curaçao. Around 2 o’clock in the afternoon land was in view. In the evening we arrived in the same waters as the day before.

As for the war ship La Bourgogne, which had been shipwrecked, it is easy to imagine the distress of those who had remained alive: they had nothing to eat or drink. All the food supplies were in the back, the part of the ship that had sunk. The ship wobbled so much on its rock that the survivors believed they were going to go under at any moment.

---

391 The war ship La Bourgogne was a vessel with 74 cannons, launched in 1766, (not to be confused with the ship Le Duc de Bourgogne), it was part of the De Grasse fleet in America. After the Battle of the Saintes (April 9-12, 1782), La Bourgogne reached Boston in August, part of the Bourbonnais regiment embarked upon it. During the night of the 3rd to the 4th of February 1783, between the island of Curaçao and Puerto-Cabello, La Bourgogne ran aground near Uvero Point off the coast of Coro (in the north of Venezuela). Flohr’s account is second-hand, as he could not have directly witnessed the sinking of the ship at night, even though he was “within a rifle’s shot” from it. “The dreadful cracking” heard by the occupants of l’Île de France is also doubtful, as La Bourgogne would have run aground on a sand bank. On the contrary, the narrative following the shipwreck concerning the officers’ and sailors’ conduct is in accordance with the other available versions. The distinctive feature of this unfortunate incident is the behavior of the officers and Captain Champmartin who abandoned their crew and ship. [JBJ Champagnac, Histoire Abrégée des Naufrages, ou extraits fidèle des relations tant anciennes que récentes des naufrages ou autres sinistres maritimes, Fruget et Brunet Libraires, Paris, 1836 ; Lettre d’un officier de l’armée de Rochambeau par le Baron Ludovic de Contenson, the Correspondent of March 25, 1931, p. 75].

392 The distance of a rifle’s shot is an unofficial unit of distance specific to soldiers. It corresponds to about one hundred meters.
As the ship had been wrecked right near the shore, they captain undertook a maneuver to save his life: he ordered his quartermasters and helmsmen who had survived to construct a wooden raft that would allow him to reach solid land! They did as they were told and the raft was completed, all those who had participated in its construction believed their lives would be saved thanks to this,

170.

especially as that raft could have held all the survivors of the ship. But as soon as it was completed it was the captain of the ship and all his officers and a few good sailors who took their places on it to escape. Others wanted to jump on the raft, but as soon as they reached it, the officers drew their swords and epees and pushed them back by jabbing and hitting them all while trying to clear the raft from the ship, but other sailors etc. now jumped into the water to reach the raft, and as soon as they had swum to it and had grabbed hold of it, the officers cut off their hands etc. But it was not particularly God’s will to save that raft, and while they had managed to escape to half the distance of a rifle’s shot, they sank with their raft into the depths of the sea and not one of them survived.

Upon daybreak all the sailors who had stayed on the ship attempted to swim to the coast; some of them made it, but some perished by drowning. Those who made it could not receive anything to eat

171.

as it was an uninhabited island, and they had to eat wild plants. Neither could they sufficiently protect themselves from the wild animals that put them at risk etc.

On the 5th day after the shipwreck, they were found by a frigate and transferred to Puerto Cabello, both those who had stayed on the wreck and those who were on the uninhabited island.393

On the 4th, we had rather good weather and had arrived at the same latitude as the town! We even thought of entering it the next day, but during the night the wind became cooler and we sailed

393 Image: Plan de la rade et de la ville de Porto-Cabello, map, 1806. Gallica Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8441136f
through the night, changing tacks 15 times to keep the wind, incidentally we thought we had taken advantage of it, but when day broke and we looked for the town, we could not spot it; as we had moved about 12 hours away from it; instead of moving forward we had gone backwards, and we thus thought that it would not be possible to reach that town and enter its port, because of that nasty counter wind that always blows in one direction.

172.

The morning of the 5th, around 9 o’clock, we raised the distress flags, because the food supplies as well as water were going to be gone very soon, we were at a quart of water per day. We thought that someone should come to meet us following our signal, but no one was seen on the island.

On the 5th, we arrived once again at the same latitude as Curacao and we had even passed it in the evening, such that we were going to be able to enter the port in the morning, even if we had to have bad winds during the night.

On the 6th, we sailed before the port again until around noon, at that moment we were so close to the town that we could enter it whenever we wanted to. But we had to wait for the pilots who would let us in, because it is customary in foreign countries and naval ports, that pilots lead all foreign ships to the port, because they know the way and can point it out.

173.

Around 2 o’clock in the afternoon, the pilots, whom we had called, according to the custom in the navy, by a cannon shot, arrived in rowboats.

As soon as they arrived on our ship, the pilots were courteously welcomed. And who were they? 2 Moors, but they knew their job well.

Around half past 2, we entered the port, it was a pleasure to see that, and we had many spectators, both islanders and garrisoned soldiers. That port is so well fortified that it is impossible for an enemy to enter. We immediately had an incident during the entrance to the port, because we had come too close to land, but everything worked out thanks to the ship captain’s skill.
Around 3 o’clock, we dropped anchor in the port of Curaçao, right near the house of the Viceroy who lives here, a house located immediately on the right after the entrance, about 30 or 40 paces from the water.

174.

Just behind this residence are soldiers’ barracks. It should be pointed out that we were surrounded by Dutch ships, as many war vessels and frigates as commercial ships. About 10, 12 paces from our ship was the Dutch captain’s ship, from which the retreat was announced every evening by a cannon blast. Upon our arrival numerous Dutch soldiers visited us, there were only Germans, all sorts of compatriots and acquaintances etc.

In the evening, the Dutch posted a guard before our ship, who was supposed to prevent any of the soul-selling soldiers from coming aboard our ship, even though during the day, from 6 o’clock in the morning to 6 o’clock in the evening, at any moment they could come aboard to visit their compatriots, no one was preventing them from doing so. This port stretches the whole length of the town, there are beautiful structures on either side. As for the inhabitants, they are German for the most part and especially those who speak Low German. They are of the Protestant religion.

175.

We stayed anchored there for a few days, until we were given the order to have our ship repaired, because it was very damaged and was no longer in any state to go out to sea again.

On the 9th, we weighed the anchor to enter farther into the port, in a place where it was possible to comfortably do the work, we dragged the ship by the ropes because the passage was too narrow and there were already more than 120 ships, large and small, in the port.

Now we set about unloading the ship. First and foremost we had to go on land for housing; it was on the left of the port entrance, on a small hill from which the whole island could be seen, because it was almost entirely flat and had no hills taller than the one where we were. There we set up a few large tents with the help of sails so as to stay there. It was also necessary, not without difficulty, to bring all the food supplies up to the hill as well as the bakery to bake bread, and to endure some vexing things, like these ones here: the ship’s cooking pot was also

---

394 Historical note: a particular Dutch form of press gang.
brought down to land, so that we could cook along the water’s edge, in the port, at the base of the hill. Therefore it was necessary to bring up the soup, once it was cooked, to the top of the hill, to be eaten. Bread was cooked on the hill, then brought down to the ship, to be brought up again at distribution time, and it was thus for all the things and other food supplies. When someone watched the comings and goings he must laugh in spite of himself. Because the best place to do everything was at the base of the hill, near the water.

On the 18th, we had an execution, two of our soldiers and also two sailors. The soldiers were punished according to their custom. As for the sailors, they were submerged according to naval custom, namely they were attached to a rope and passed under the ship 3 times. The rope was hanging from the top of the mast where it was attached; half way up a piece of wood had been fastened crosswise, that is where he had to sit, with hands and feet bound; then they let him fall and they brought him back up on the other side etc. As for the vegetation, there is cocoa, lemons, oranges. The island is completely stripped and bare. There is but one fountain on the island, this is why water is purchased. This fountain is a half hour from the town and is well-guarded. The water is almost as white as milk, it is transported on the backs of donkeys to the town, where it is sold.

As for the other foodstuffs, they are not particularly expensive, except for bread which is very expensive! Because all the grains are imported from Europe. But meat can be purchased at a low price, even though it is not raised on the island; it must be imported from the great mainland of America, which is located 24-30 hours opposite the island, such that on clear days we can see it, this immense land. As for the wild animals on the island of Curaçao, there are great numbers of them.

Several days after our arrival in the port came a few ships from France, loaded with items and food supplies for the troops in the West Indies. During our stay there we had to provide a detachment group for a trade ship,

---

395 In the army, the death penalty was traditionally carried out by hanging.
396 This punishment is called keelhauling.
made up of 27 soldiers, a drummer, 4 corporals, 2 sergeants, a lieutenant, and a chief mate. This detachment group was provided by our company. Around March 6th, we set about loading the food supplies and fresh water on our ship to sail towards Puerto Cabello, about 70 or 80 hours from Curaçao, where all the ships were to assemble in the same place while waiting for the announcement of peace.

A few days ahead of us, the war ship Le Neptune sailed to Puerto Cabello, as well as La Couronne, that arrived 2 days later after having had a good voyage.

On March 12th, we left Curaçao as well, with rather poor winds. In the evening we left the land of Curaçao and arrived near the island of Bonheure which is rather sparsely populated and is also owned by the Dutch.

On the 13th, we sailed alongside the island of Bonheure. On the 14th, we passed a small village on that island, it was formerly a naval port, but now accessing it is difficult. Barely had we arrived there when, one of our war ships, which was supposed to load the wine we had stocked there because of contraband, had an accident. That ship, Le Brave, went very close to land in that former port, to load the wine; they moored the ship to a furnace that was there, then wanted to drop the anchor to immobilize the ship. They deployed the anchor, but it did not touch the bottom, and as the anchor of a war ship weighs up to 80-90-100 quintals, it pulled the ship several feet towards the bottom; the ship captain thought at first that the incident was coming from the anchor’s rigging that had not uncoiled well. Because no one suspected that so near to land the bottom would be so deep. Not finding anything on that side, the ship was in such a fashion that water was already coming in through the portholes, the ship captain ordered the anchor to be cut, which caused much sorrow, but the ship immediately came upright, reducing the furnace to which is was moored to a pile of ruins.

---

397 This detachment group that left the rest of the regiment for a mission on a trade ship is the one Flohr speaks of later in the text, from page 206 to 213, which is a chance for him to digress on the subject of Jamaica.
The men on the ship\textsuperscript{398} did not think that the situation could be rectified. They were nevertheless saved by one officer’s skill, left the port and accomplished their mission later on the high sea. This case is discussed a lot, because no naval officer, nor any sailor had experienced such an affair, namely not being able to reach the bottom so close to the mainland.

On the 15\textsuperscript{th}, we also had good wind and magnificent weather, and the island of Bonheur was behind us.

On the 16\textsuperscript{th}, the horizon was a little misty and cloudy, the wind rather weak.

On the 17\textsuperscript{th}, the horizon was a little misty again; around 9 o’clock in the morning, we saw the mountains of Puerto Cabello, so high that they reach the clouds, that is what we believed all morning long; around 1 o’clock we had come so close that we could see that what we took to be clouds were the summits.\textsuperscript{399} Around 2 o’clock we could gaze upon those mountains that were surprisingly tall. Around 4 o’clock in the afternoon, we entered the port of Puerto Cabello and dropped anchor around 6 o’clock in the evening, right near a magnificent fortress surrounded by water, located within a rifle’s shot from the town. That fort, or fortress, was occupied by Spanish regiments, just like the town of Puerto Cabello. That town is located on the American mainland, not far from the Tropic of Cancer, which in German is called the midday line or the sun line.

\textsuperscript{398} These men belonged to the Royal Deux-Ponts. According to Jean-Baptiste-Antoine de Verger, who was on board, they were men from the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs with the company known as “von Fürstenwärther” and 120 men from the “von Rülhe” company (p. 170, \textit{The American Campaigns of Rochambeau’s Army}). On the contrary, de Verger recounts this incident on pages 174-175 of the same work, as does Closen on pages 308-309 of his journal.

\textsuperscript{399} Image: Anonymous, \textit{Au Venezuela}, chromolithography, Liebig brand advertising card, 1907. Joconde Link: http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde_fr?ACTION=RETOUVER&FIELD_1=DOMN&VALUE_1=&FIELD_2=Ctyob&VALUE_2=&FIELD_3=AUTHR&VALUE_3=&FIELD_4=Clieu&VALUE_4=&FIELD_5=REPR&VALUE_5=&FIELD_6=Cdate&VALUE_6=&FIELD_7=DECV&VALUE_7=&FIELD_8=LOCA&VALUE_8=&FIELD_9=Mat%e9riaux%2ftechniques&VALUE_9=&FIELD_10=Titre&VALUE_10=au%20venezuela&NUMBER=2&GRP=0&REQ=%28%28au%20venezuela%29%20%28TITR%20%29%29&USRNAME=nobody&USRPWD=4 %24%34P&SPEC=5&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=100&DOM=All
That town and port are so well equipped with forts that it is impossible for an enemy to penetrate it, because the great fort on the left of the entrance as well as the one equipped with howitzers situated on the mountain above the town, ensure the protection of the whole port etc.

The great fort near the entrance, a new structure, has a magnificent look, with a rampart that plunges into the water and is so well equipped with cannons that it is quite astounding; bunkers^400 are contained inside that fort where 2 regiments and even more can take there quarters, and a beautiful esplanade in the center for exercise;^401 the town and the port can be seen on the following page. Several days after our arrival there, peace was declared.

Illustrations

184.

Which brought about great joy within our ranks, as we regained hope of returning to our homeland; a few days later a celebration was organized in the port; all the war ships were decorated with marvelous canvases embellished with all sorts of decorations, all the flags and ensigns were raised on the masts and the cannons fired joyous rounds. The Spanish did the same in their fortresses and retreats. As for our general staff, they did not stay with us for very long, but went to Caracas, a large city, the place of residence of the Spanish Viceroy and a bishop etc.

The town of Puerto Cabello is found on the mainland west of America, called Tera-Firma, in the province of New Grenada.^402 It is governed by the Viceroy of New Grenada and is ranked as a kingdom, the Viceroy always having to be named by the King of Spain. Just like those of New England or Peru.

The province of New Grenada on one side stretches very deep into the untamed mountains of the Amazon. The major cities in this region

^400 A bunker is an arched bomb- and cannonball-proof shelter. A fort equipped with bunkers is one in which artillery is protected in bunkers.

^401 Flohr’s enthusiasm for the local architecture is not shared by the officers who stayed in this port. On the contrary, according to Viscount de Noailles: “the port is vast and opens to the east. The town, ugly and poorly constructed, offers no resources, and the officers are not very enthusiastic about a stay to which a letter from Versailles can put an end” (p. 338, Marins et Soldats français en Amérique). Clermont de Crèvecoeur, Lieutenant of Artillery, as for him, finds the fort at the port’s entrance dilapidated (p. 92, The American Campaigns of Rochambeau’s Army) and incapable of resisting an attack. De Verger mentions that Puerto Cabello is “rather small, and the houses poorly built” (p. 172 of the previously cited work).

^402 Image: Thomas Jefferys, The Coast of Tierra Firma from Cartagena to Golfo Triste, map, 1775. Gallica Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b59058533/f1.item.r=venezuela.langFR
are Caracas, a large city 2 hours\textsuperscript{403} from Puerto Cabello. Valencia is 10 hours away. Panama is 12 hours away. The naval ports of this region are: Puerto Cabello, Coro, Los Wayen, Cathayen.

As for the inhabitants, their faces are pale and they are mostly Spanish; they are Catholic, and wherever they go, wherever they are, they have a rosary around their necks. They tolerate no religion other than their own. Their eating habits seem strange from a European point of view. They have no other bread than that which is brought from Europe, incidentally they do not make a big deal of it, most of them do not eat it when it is given to them, which I tried to do many times.

They have a type of bread that one would find incredible in Europe: there is a type of tree over there that is completely hollow on the inside and filled with a flour whiter than snow! It is like in Europe, where there are trees, especially plum trees, that are hollow on the inside.

and filled with rotten wood that looks like snuff tobacco. That is how the Indian trees give flour, with which the inhabitants make their bread. The majority of it is baked in the sun. Those trees also have strange bark, like skin, with which one can knit the most beautiful stockings or fabric for shirts and other clothes. It can be worked like hemp or linen, and the inhabitants are dressed mostly with this. Aside from this, they have enough rice and other vegetables etc. There are also inhabitants native to that land who are under Spanish administration. But many indigenous people live on the mountain and are subject to no one, nevertheless they live in a more intelligent way than the savages.

The skin of their face is all brown and they have long black hair! They eat nothing but wild fruits.

There are still other indigenous people in this region that are surprising to behold. They know nothing of God and walk about

\textsuperscript{403} Louis-Alexandre Berthier, geographical engineer, mentions in his diary that Caracas is 55 leagues from Puerto Cabello, he notes that with his small troop it took 6 days to travel the distance between the two cities (p. 266, \textit{The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army}).
like wild animals, as nude as God created them! When they see people who are clothed, they look at them as if they were senseless and do not stop looking at them for as long as they can see them. They are as surprised to see a clothed man as a European is surprised to see a nude man. These inhabitants have dark brown skin on their faces and long black hair, a slightly flat nose, they are 5 feet in height or a little more; also their legs are bowed inward. As for the women, they are surprising to behold, as they have breasts that hang to below their navels, so much so that it is very awkward for them when they want to run; which is why they attach them when they go hunting, with bandaging made from tree bark. Nevertheless, most of the time their breasts are hanging, but they always have their bandaging close by.

Those men know how to run so fast that it is nearly impossible to catch them with a horse,

and they run almost as fast uphill as on flat land. Their children are raised like wild animals; and a child of 5-6 years knows how to run so fast that no European adult is able to catch him. Those savages also have their kings and chiefs, but one cannot recognize them, only when they have paint all over their bodies, which is the mark of their royal title. They make the paints with certain red or black berries or other sorts of colors. This produces the most beautiful colors, when they have it smeared on their bodies. In this region there are 5 savage peoples amongst which the Amazons are reputed as being the most dreadful, as they do the most wrong to the inhabitants and are always at war with them. The women go to war as much as the men and are armed in their own way like men. The Amazon savages venerate the first animal they see in the morning and offer their prayers to it in their own way. Secondly there are the Guyanese savages who venerate serpents as a god and when

---

404 Image: Labrousse and Laroque, *Danseur et danseuse de la Guyane*, watercolor engraving, 1796. Taken from GRASSET SAINT-SAUVIER, *Encyclopédie des voyages, contenant l’abrégé historique des mœurs, usages, habitudes domestiques, religions...*, Paris, Deroy, 1796 (illustrations not paginated). Gallica Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b23000455/f29.item.r=amazone Work at the BNU in Strasbourg: http://opac.bnu.fr/List.csp?Profile=Default&OpacLanguage=fr&SearchMethod=Find_1&PageType=Start &PreviousList=Start&NumberToRetrieve=10&RecordNumber=&WebPageNr=1&StartValue=1&Database =1&Index1=Tou&EncodedRequest=*B4*E7*84*BC*10Y*A2*14*5EjC*21v*DA*1E*90&WebAction=NewSe arch&SearchT1=grasset%20encyclop%C3%A9die&SearchTerm1=grasset%20encyclop%C3%A9die&OutsideLink=Yes&ShowMenu=Yes
a serpent sometimes happens to harm them, they say it is their god who is punishing them.

Thirdly there are the Peruvian savages. They venerate the ostrich as their god, because there are many ostriches there and they are the largest birds apart from griffons; therefore they have made them their god, saying that animal was the master of all animals and that it could help them.

Fourthly there are the Mexican savages who most often have their dwellings in trees. They venerate sea-cows as their god, that is why they gather at the sea shore many times per year to serve their gods. If a man happens to fall into the water, they say it is punishment from the gods. If the male animals leave the water and walk on land, the men follow them like a herd to serve them.

Fifthly there are the Maquelanian savages who venerate the lion as their god, as they say it is the most powerful of all animals, and it would know best how to protect them; when lions happen to cry out, they say their gods are angry with them, they fall to the ground and offer their prayers to their gods in their way. These savages are enormous in size compared to normal men, they measure 6-
7 feet tall or more, and are proportionally rather large. The region they inhabit is so incredibly mountainous and untamed that normal men cannot stay there, because of the wild animals that live there.\footnote{The way in which Flohr makes an inventory and classifies the population groups is very characteristic of the taxonomy’s place in the knowledge of nature such as it is considered in the eighteenth century. Here these populations are described as “natural” by Flohr. For that matter, he does not forget to underscore their harmony with the environment in which they live.}{410}

There are serpents there that are 24 to 30 feet in length; when they slither along they lift their bodies 3-4 feet up, which is terrifying to see when they move along.

As far as we were concerned, we felt very good in Puerto Cabello, where hundreds of occasions to enjoy ourselves were presented every day by the fruits and plants that could be seen everywhere all around, as well as by all sorts of animals.\footnote{Image: Anonymous, \textit{Au Venezuela}, chromolithographie, Liebig brand advertising card, 1907.}{411} As for our sustenance in that place, each day it was made up of a pound and an eighth of beef, but because the meat there wasn’t as rich as any other fresh meat, we received double rations. When they are alive, the cattle over there are amongst the most beautiful of their species, but as soon as they are slaughtered, their meat resembles that found in a knacker’s yard, it is reddish and it does not have the good taste that we know of other sorts of meat. This meat can be bought from the indigenous people at a rate of 1 [... ] in French money for a pound, sometimes even less. Steers can also be bought, as many as you want, for one Spanish crown, which in German money is 2 [...] and 20 Kreuzer; these steers are completely untamed, and most of them they have no master, also they must be shot in order to be caught. As for the pigs, sheep, and goats, there is also a great abundance of them etc.

As for the wild animals of New Grenada, there is no shortage of them, here they are: a multitude of monkeys, that provided us with entertainment each time we would go to the country.\footnote{Image: Edouard Riou, \textit{Singe hurleur et macaque}, wood etching, 1883. Taken from Crevaux, Jules, \textit{Voyages dans l’Amérique du Sud}, Paris, Hachette, p. 55.}{412} When
we would get away from the city, after a half hour or 15 minutes of walking we could see monkeys in groups of 15 to 20, doing all sorts of acrobatics.

Those monkeys also put on a surprising show when they begin their search for food in the plantations and banana groves,

bananas being their favorite food. This is why the natives must watch over their fruit day and night. The first time I was heading toward that mountain, I was very intrigued by those monkeys, eight of which I saw in a grove of banana trees; as soon as they noticed us, they ran away into the forest, creating such an uproar that I nearly turned back. Even with an empty belly, one is in such good spirits in this land because of the spectacle offered by the animals and plants. Having a stick in hand is enough to make the monkeys flee the area and run away. But if one approaches them empty handed, it is possible to get within a few steps of them. However they had become shrewd, because our officers had often gone hunting for monkeys with pistols concealed in their pockets; when they would get close to the monkeys, they would take their pistols out of their pockets and shoot them. In the end the monkeys had understood and would run away. But the natives set traps and caught them alive, this is why many of them are sold in cities; one can buy a very nice monkey for 10 […] in French money. Also those amongst us who got monkeys or parrots over there to bring them to Europe were numerous. Leaving Puerto Cabello we had more than 40 monkeys on board, as well as a large number of parrots. A parrot could be purchased over there for 6 […], but they only know how to speak Spanish in the style of the land.413 When you walk in the forest, you can see them flying everywhere, like flocks of birds, like flocks of sparrows in Europe; it is the same thing for the monkeys. In those forests, the animals make such an uproar that whoever has never heard it, flees at a run.

Work at the BNU in Strasbourg:
http://opac.bnu.fr/FullBB.csp?WebAction=ShowFullBB&EncodedRequest=*2B*CCy*E7*05*98*D0*9F*18 *A3*AAm*17*B9*CA*B5&Profile=Default&OpacLanguage=free&NumberToRetrieve=10&StartValue=9&WebPageNr=1&SearchTerm1=1883.1.1326818&SearchT1=&Index1=Tou&SearchMethod=Find_1&ItemNr=9

Likewise many serpents can be found in that land, sometimes reaching the monstrous size of 18, 20 feet and more, and which are as fat as a well-filled sack. These serpents kill the largest of wild animals, and harm many indigenous people.

Likewise a strange species of lizard exists, the size of a large dog, which I myself often saw running away dragging their spoils,

a whole belly or the innards of cattle. Those lizards are eaten by the indigenous people, and are even considered a delicacy. In that untamed region there are also many lions, leopards, tigers, and a very large number of bears. One can also find a unique species of wolf, which, compared to our European wolves, are smaller. Many other animals exist whose species and variety are completely unknown to Europeans.


Gallica Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b23007000/f194.item.r=gros.langFR

Work at the BNU in Strasbourg:
http://opac.bnu.fr/FullBB.csp?WebAction=ShowFullBB&EncodedRequest=*2B*CCy*E7*05*98*D0*9F*18*A3*AAm*17*B9*CA*B5&Profile=Default&OpacLanguage=fr&NumberToRetrieve=10&StartValue=9&WebPageNr=1&SearchTerm1=1883.1.1326818&SearchT1=&Index1=Tou&SearchMethod=Find_1&ItemNr=9

416 There are no leopards in America. Flohr is probably speaking of the jaguar, which is present on the continent. Below is a link to a depiction of an American jaguar:


Gallica Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2300274k/f43.item.r=jaguar.langFR

417 In America, the jaguar and the puma (or cougar) are also called tigers. However, there are no tigers in America. Image: De Sèves (drawing.) et Baron (engraving.), *Le cougar femelle*, engraving, 1776. Taken from BUFFON Georges- Louis Leclerc, *Histoire naturelle générale et particulière avec la description du cabinet du roi*, supplement t. III, pl. 40, p. 224.


Gallica Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2300240s/f37.item


RMN Link:
This region, incidentally like the whole of western America, is infested with crocodiles. Due to their size, these crocodiles are, of all the animals, the most terrible: they stay in stagnant water and marshes, or nearby; when they notice a man, it is certain death, because they sweep down upon him like an arrow to devour him. When they are hungry, they cry out like a man who had an accident and who would moan; that has already cost the lives of many men who came close, believing a man had had an accident, by falling for example, or that he was the victim of another accident of the sort; but when they would arrive at the place, the crocodiles would devour them. These animals almost have the appearance of lizards, except their heads are a bit more pointed, and their feet shorter. What’s more, their bodies have no articulation, which is why they are stiff like a piece of wood. One can take advantage of this when they sweep down on a man: one need only to take a few steps to the side, and they pass straight by like an arrow, unable to change direction, unless it is to make a wide turn like a heavily loaded cart etc.

I myself often observed such animals: there were 2 of them, enclosed in a cage for the owner’s approval, behind an iron grate. They belonged to the Spanish governor residing in Portoblat. I

---


421 Portoblat remains an unidentified locality. What is more surprising is the fact that Flohr had access to a governor’s residence. What’s more, there was no Spanish governor in Puerto Cabello. He resided in Caracas, which is farther inland. Numerous officers of the Royal Army were able to visit that city and were welcomed by this governor, Don Fernando y Gonzalvo y Morenos y Torres y Gonzales (according to *Journal du Prince de Broglie, Colonel en second du régiment de Saintonge, aux Etats-Unis d’Amérique et dans l’Amérique du Sud, 1782-1783*, French Society of Bibliophiles, Mélanges, 2nd part, Rahir, Paris, 1902) and also Don Fernand Gonzales according to *Count de Ségur (Mémoires, ou souvenirs et anecdotes, par M. le Comte de Ségur, 3 vols*, Emery, Paris, 1826).

Louis-Alexandre Berthier notably relates his outing with Count de Ségur, Count de Dumas, and Marquis de Laval, and the many receptions hosted by the Caracas aristocracy in their honor. He describes the journey and some of the same dangers as Flohr like the *mahalebs* or *manicheel* trees. Christian de Deux-Ponts would also have gone on such an outing himself, as Berthier and the Baron von Closen cite an incident that happened to the count upon his return to La Guardia, the port of Caracas. Christian de Deux-Ponts unfortunately did not leave any accounts of his travels. Flohr may have accompanied one of these officers, notably his colonel, as an aide, for example. However, even if the use of the first person singular in this precise case tends to give the assertion a truthfulness quality that is difficult to question as a result of the rarity of the author’s personal accounts, this information should be considered cautiously. So, in the case where Flohr would have accompanied Christian de Deux-Ponts to Caracas, why does he not talk about the capture of their ship by the English under the orders of the young Horatio Nelson on the return trip?
often would stand before the grate to observe these animals, who were often crying and howling like real men; they do that most often when they are hungry, and they see people around. The 2 crocodiles, one of them 18 feet, and the other 21 feet long, were as large as an ordinary well-filled sack.

196.

There were also many sea-cows; they are the size of a one-year-old calf or a small cow, are ash-gray in color, on their backs they have bristles like a wild boar, otherwise they appear to be like other bovines, but without horns. There are also great numbers of hedgehogs that have a strange appearance.422

As for the birds, there are many completely unknown species, and amongst them the most beautiful are the Indian crows.423 Amongst the rest of them, you cannot see a bird that looks even the slightest bit like a European bird.

As for the fruits and other plants, those are oddities for people who have never seen them. There is a variety of apple that is marvelous to behold, but that cannot be eaten in their natural state like those in Europe. They are red on the inside and on the outside.424 Then there is a plant called bananas; nature has given them the appearance of a steer’s horn; they grow on stalks like broad beans; when they are ripe they can be eaten with bread, like cheese.425 There are also cocoa-nuts, also called cocoa; their plants are also some of the most surprising.426

———

The trees are of a good size and stand elegantly. The trunks, branchless, are totally smooth and point upwards. Their wood is all whitish and tender like the wood used for clogs! Their leaves are 5 to 6 feet long and about 8 to 10 inches wide. These trees do not have branches like other trees; also their fruits grow along the trunk, on very small twigs. These coconuts are even edible! They are as large as a child’s head, and sometimes larger. After having hollowed them out, they can be used as a bottle, as they can generally hold 1, 2, 3 even 4 glasses. They have a shell like all nuts, except it is thick. They are filled entirely with a white core, the middle is hollow and filled with a liquid that is white like milk and very sweet to drink.

As for the lemons and oranges, those are inexpensive fruits over there: for 1 or 2 […] of French money one can buy a hatful of them; they have a delicate taste, especially when they are fresh.

There are many other plants with rather extraordinary tastes. A person who has never seen them before, would have ample opportunity to observe all this abundance of unknown fruits. Walking in the forest, I did not once think of eating and for that matter I was not hungry, as I was very busy observing the vegetation. A lot of pepper is also grown over there, a plant that is a delight for the eyes because of its beautiful vegetation. This pepper grows in plantations, on tiny little trees. 427 One can also find a lot of chocolate there; it is one of the most beautiful plants of all! Chocolate grows in very tall trees, and looks like multicolored melons or cucumbers. 428 Other

---

Joconde Link: http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde_fr?ACTION=RETRouver&FIELD_1=DOMN&VALUE_1=&FIELD_2=Ctyob&VALUE_2=&FIELD_3=AUTR&VALUE_3=&FIELD_4=Ctieu&VALUE_4=&FIELD_5=REPR&VALUE_5=noix%20de%20coco&FIELD_6=Cdate&VALUE_6=&FIELD_7=DECV&VALUE_7=&FIELD_8=LOCA&VALUE_8=&FIELD_9=Mat%e9riaux%20techniques&VALUE_9=&FIELD_10=Titre&VALUE_10=&NUMBER=1&GRP=0&SEQ=0&REPR=%28noix%20de%20coco%29&USRNAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=5&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=100&DOM=All

427 Image: Romein de Hooge, Plantago de Poivriers (right-hand part), engraving, circa 1700.


428 Image: Anonymous, Cacaotier, Cacao, engraving, circa 1727. Taken from GEMELLI CARRERI Jean François, Voyage autour du monde, t. 6, Paris, Ganeau, 1727, p. 221.

Gallica Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b23007215/f61.item.r=cacao.langFR
than that, one also comes across numerous varieties of spices etc. indigo\textsuperscript{429} in particular, and others still.

In this region there is not one single kind of wood that looks like European woods; one comes across a lot of Brazil wood just like many other kinds and colors of wood; every day we would burn wood that sells for high prices in Europe. As for cotton, a lot of it grows here, just like sugar and coffee. The inhabitants wear nothing by cotton garbs. As for the sugar plant, it is of the same species as corn, except that the leaves are a bit smaller than those of corn, but for someone who has never seen them, he could not tell the difference, as the stalks look like those of corn with their knots and segments, and it is very juicy! Sugar is made from these stalks, according to the following method.

When the sugarcane is ripe it becomes a bit yellow, then it is cut and piled in storehouses; then it is chopped into small pieces, pressed and cooked in caldrons. Then it flows from one caldron to another, because there are always 4 to 5 caldrons that are aligned. Then the refined sugar is put in the first caldron and so on: from the residue an alcohol is distilled called ratafia.

This ratafia is a very harmful drink for people who are not used to it, particularly for Europeans whose lives are shortened if they consume a lot of it.

Concerning familiar fruits in Europe, such as apples, pears, cherries, and others like these, there is no way to purchase them here. Whereas European villages are surrounded by orchards, here there are plantations of oranges, lemons, figs, bananas, pepper, cotton, chocolate, \textit{cacao} etc. It all grows on trees. There is also a species of tree which makes one swells up as much as the skin will allow, even if one remains under it for only a half hour, and if one sleeps there for a long time it can even cost you your life, which we saw several times, which I myself saw and was

affected by. While I was walking with a friend and while we had been walking for about a half hour through the undergrowth to see the oddities, the heat was so intense that I suggested to my friend

that we lie down a bit in the shade and rest, which we did; we lay in the shade for around an hour, without thinking that it could be one of the venomous trees. But because we were tried and hot, we fell asleep for a bit. When we got up, we wanted to talk to one another, and it was then that I saw that my friend’s face was swollen, and when I wanted to tell him, my friend also told me that I was swollen and he had already wanted to tell me, then each of us was able to feel it for ourselves, because we were so bloated that we were almost unable to see; as soon as we saw that we had been affected by this illness, we returned to the ship, and when our comrades saw us, our heads had swollen to the volume of a bushel, so much so that they all made fun of us. Shortly thereafter, some other men from our ship returned, the same thing had happened to them, but the illness cleared up on its own

the next day. These trees, which are so venomous, are called carcasses in the local language; subsequently we were wary of them, we no longer walked there and even less so did we lie down underneath them. There is also a species of tree called manchineel\textsuperscript{430} They drip without end; the water that drips out of them is so venomous that if one gets some of it on bare skin, it leaves yellow stains that are impossible to get rid of.

\textsuperscript{430} Louis-Alexandre Berthier also mentions these trees in his diary. These “Manchineel” trees are “the most venomous plants in the world” according to Girod-Chantrans in \textit{Voyage d’un Suisse dans différentes colonies d’Amérique pendant la dernière guerre} (Neuchâtel, 1785, p. 100-104) \citep{TheAmericanCampaignsOfRochambeau'sArmy}. Image: Pierre Joseph Redouté, \textit{Cerasus Mahaleb, Cerisier de Sainte Lucie}, engraving, 1812. Taken from DUHAMEL DU MONCEAU Henri Louis, \textit{Traité des arbres et des arbustes}, t. 5, Paris, Guérin, 1812, pl. 2.\textsuperscript{2} RMN Link: http://www.photo.rmn.fr/cf/htm/CSearchZ.aspx?o=&Total=1&FP=116374994&E=2K1KTSJ3YLO53&SID=2K1KTSJ3YLO53&New=T&Pic=1&SubE=2CLC2SJ6ATY
There is also a tree that gives off an odor as pleasant as the finest spice. The wood of it is blood red, as if it were dyed. There are also many sassafras trees, which are the most prized in Europe, and from which the finest tea is made that is as red as the most lovely of red wines.

There are also large quantities of Brazil wood and other colorful varieties, which are burned here like one would burn the most common wood in Europe.

Then there is this marvelous sort of nut that looks nothing like European nuts; they are a little larger than ordinary nuts. Neither do the trees look like other nut trees; whoever does not know what they are would not recognize them as nut trees. And then there is another variety of plant that is shaped like giant broad beans; they are called *maxater* by the inhabitants, which means laxative broad beans, because of the starch they contain. They have a small core on the inside that is as sweet tasting as sugar, and about a half hour after taking it, its laxative effect is felt, but if more than one is eaten, no resistance is possible. Aside from that, those broad beans have a hard pod and ripen on store shelves.

The whole time we were in Puerto Cabello it was never possible for us to see the high mountain peaks as they were always in the mist, because they are so tall that they reach to clouds. This tall mountain range, which is marvelous to behold, stretches all the way to Peru, where it is much taller still and more untamed.

---


194
In geography it is described as being the tallest mountain range in the world; I had proof of it over there and found that it could be believable.

There are also ewes in this region, which are monstrous in size and have tails that weigh 40-50 pounds, which are nothing but fat.

Concerning this province, the mountain range stretches on for about 18-20 hours, then comes a beautiful, flat plains region that stretches all the way to Mexico, which is very fertile and where all sorts of good grains grow.

The province of New Grenada already belongs to the southern part of America that is separated in two in the Panama region, and which is made up of two parts, namely the southern part and the northern part.

In German this is called Northern America and Western America; the origin of all this comes from the fact that the bottleneck of America is located there, which is why the whole part is separated into two parts there. This bottleneck is not wider than 7 hours from one sea to the other.

This bottleneck nearly causes America to be divided in 2, but as the isthmus extends from one width to the other, which can each be 17 to 18 hours in length, it is near Panama that North America is separated from South America, South America being especially populated by Spaniards and being made up of 3 viceroyalties of the following names:

The first kingdom is Old Mexico, or New Spain. The capital is Mexico, a well-populated city; it is rich in gold and silver and beautiful merchandise can be found there along with other things of this kind etc.

The second is New Grenada; the capital is Santa Fe, where the viceroy resides; other cities are: Panama, Caracao, Puerto Cabello, CartayenCara etc.

---

435 Image: Jacques Nicolas Bellin, *Carte des provinces de Tierra Firme, Darien, Carthagène et Nouvelle Grenade*, map, Paris, 1764. Gallica Link:
The third is Peru,\textsuperscript{436} which is the largest of all. The capital is Lima\textsuperscript{206}.

where the viceroy resides. The other cities are Chilly, St. Yago etc. There is also the most beautiful mountain that one can see and that is described geographically as being the highest of all the earth; indeed it goes up as high as the clouds, so much so that one can never see it in its entirety because of the cloud cover.

Moreover, in the land of the Amazon there is one of the largest rivers in the world, which crosses the whole country with a length of 900 hours;\textsuperscript{437} it separates the savages from the Amazonians whose security it ensures; otherwise no one could live in these regions because of the savages who eat men if they catch them.\textsuperscript{438}

On April 3\textsuperscript{rd}, the detachment group that had stayed in Curaçao set off for Puerto Cabello, but this was a failure. In the morning, around 8 o’clock it left the port of Curaçao with good winds. Around 9 o’clock we\textsuperscript{439} had already left the land of Curaçao. When were at the same latitude as the island Little Bonheure.
we saw a ship on our right. As soon as the pilot saw the ship, he announced that it was an English ship, but the captain of the ship did not want to believe it, saying that no English ship was currently crossing these waters, they were all in their ports. The pilot responded that if we would only listen to him there would be enough time to turn around and return to Curaçao, otherwise we were lost. Because it was an enemy ship. Upon this the captain of the ship made us turn around to the right, but it was too late. Then we saw 3 ships: a war ship, a frigate, and a privateer. In no time they were right next to us and we were able to note that it was indeed the English.

As soon as they saw that we had turned around, they maneuvered to encircle us and as soon as we saw that we were in the middle and that we could no longer escape them we turned around to the right again to head in the direction of Puerto Cabello. The English ships finally came toward us to within a cannon’s shot.

208.

This affair did not build confidence in the captain of our ship because he had a lot of merchandise, which would have made his fortune for the rest of his days if he been able to bring it to land. This captain was not a naval officer but only captain of a trade ship, who at the time had been sent under the king’s orders to the West Indies, at the same time as the war ships, and with that title he could bring as much merchandise as there was room for. As during times of war trade ships were not safe at sea, the merchandise increases in value and those who were transporting that merchandise could make a good profit.440

The ships ended up coming so close to us that they could speak to us with the help of a loudhailer; they asked us what ship we were, but we did not respond at all. They asked us a 2nd time to make ourselves known, otherwise they would sink us. They spoke to us a 3rd time while simultaneously opening fire. Seeing this, the captain of our ship immediately hoisted the French flag. The English asked us to haul down the sails so that the ship would stop. As soon as the captain of the ship saw that we were prisoners, he gave up

209.

440 During wartime, the European powers encouraged fitting out private trade ships for battle. In taking possession of ships’ cargo, privateers led an economic war. But in taking possession of the sailors, they made a direct war move. Sailors of commercial flotillas actually were regularly employed in the military navy. Moreover, the overall number of sailors was rather stable (around 60,000 for France) owning to the technical nature of the profession. Thus, taking sailors from the adversary came down to depriving them of a rare resource.
and said that we could do what we wanted.

Upon this, we set about ripping open the… packages using axes to help as much as we could. We had filled our sacks so full that nothing more would go in them. During this time, the English were busy organizing our transfer. As soon as their sailors and soldiers arrived at our ship in rowboats to occupy it and to transfer us, we had to come down from the ship and board the rowboats. Then we were taken to the English war ship.

As soon as we had arrived on their ship, we were put into two rows and we had to set our sacks down and remove all the equipment that was inside them! Then came the helmsman of the ship; he went from one haversack to the next, grabbed all the merchandise and piled it up. Then came the captain of the ship who announced that all the merchandise in our possession would go back to the King of England, but our ordinary equipment we could keep, no one would take anything from us.

210.

But when a soldier had new shoes or new stockings, or other items that he had not yet worn, this was considered merchandise and was taken from him. When all was finished we were able to repack our equipment. Then they designated a place for us to sleep and stay during the journey and until our arrival on the island of Jamaica, where we became prisoners and where we had many other comrades.

As for our keep as prisoners, it was rather good as long as we were on the ship, but as soon as we were on land it worsened each day. The quarters were not the best either. As for freedoms, we had nothing to complain about, we were not lacking any. Thus, we could, from 6 o’clock in the morning until 6 o’clock in the evening, come and go alone and freely on the island in order to observe the plants.

443 When we received our food a French secretary was present; distribution was done every 8 days, every Monday they gave us our ration for 8 days and we did our best to made due.

441 T.N.: The meaning of the German Stibig could not be deciphered.

442 In the eighteenth century, agreements between two countries were signed to sort out the fate of prisoners of war, most often starting at the beginning of the confrontations. These texts, regulating the conditions of the captives’ exchange, served to limit the duration of captivity.


Gallica Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b59706709.r=jama%C3%AFque.langFR

443 Note the contrast here between the description of the flora and fauna in Virginia or Venezuela and the simple mentioning of nature on this island. If Flohr himself had gone there, he would have described a minimum of the “uncommon vegetation” (p. 211). On the contrary, even though he does not describe an island he did not see, Flohr still produced an illustration of Kingston and Spanishtown that he inserted into his account like the others: “The island of Jamaica can be seen on the following page, etc.” (p. 212).
211.

The capital of the island is Kingston, but that was not where we were held prisoner, but instead about a half hour from there, in a small village with the name of Spännischtawn. The island of Jamaica is one of the richest of all the West Indies because of its uncommon vegetation, among which one finds sugar, coffee, cotton, pepper, chocolate etc.

This island is also so well fortified that it is impossible for the enemy to penetrate it without being destroyed. Near the entrance there are the most tremendous fortifications that one can encounter. It is, near the entrance of the port, the Fort Royal where some one hundred cannons are put up. At that moment there were more than one hundred English ships in the port, but the majority of them were due to leave for England.

The island of Jamaica is also one of the first to have been discovered by Christopher Columbus, who enjoyed himself there, because on this island the air is particularly good and not unhealthy, as is the case on many other islands.

This is why Columbus would have savored

212.

his retirement there if he had not died before. This island has a very uneven mountainous area and yet the English inhabitants settled everywhere. The island of Jamaica can be seen on the following page, as well as its port and its fortifications near the entrance, the same for Kingston, and Spännischtawn.

We stayed there until May 17th, then we were loaded aboard a frigate and taken from the island of Jamaica to the island of Saint Domingo, in the town and port of Port-au-Prince, where we stayed for a certain amount of time. Port-au-Prince is rather populated with Germans and is located 60 hours from Caap or Cape François. There are no tall houses there, they have but one level, because the earthquakes are too strong, so much so that oftentimes houses were destroyed, which caused great misfortune. It is occupied by 2 regiments of colonial troops that stay there permanently and that bear the same name as the town of Port-au-Prince. These soldiers live very well there, it is nothing like the soldiers of the kingdom, all of their equipment is made of linen.

We stayed in Port-au-Prince until our departure for France. As for the army or the fleet, it stayed in Puerto Bello until April 10\textsuperscript{th} before also going to the island of Saint Domingo.\textsuperscript{445} Around 7 o’clock in the morning, we set about weighing the anchor and we left the port around 9 o’clock; right away we had very good winds such that around 2 hours after noon we could no longer see the main land.

On the 11\textsuperscript{th}, we crossed the same latitude as Petit Bonheur and Curaçao; as for the weather, the winds were rather good and came from the side.

On the 12\textsuperscript{th}, the horizon was a bit misty and the winds very weak, from the northeast, but around midnight that changed and that night, near the morning hours, we once again had good winds from the east.

On the 13\textsuperscript{th}, the horizon was once again a bit stormy, and around noon we encountered a small squall that did not last long and did not impede our route that was to take us to St. Domingo.

Now the island of Jamaica follows, that can be seen on the following page at the same time as its port and batteries.

Illustrations

On the 14\textsuperscript{th}, we had poor weather, but this did not impede our journey.

On the 15\textsuperscript{th}, the horizon was bright and clear and we had pleasant weather.

On the 16\textsuperscript{th}, we had good winds and we crossed the latitude of the island of Jamaica that was on our left.

On the 17\textsuperscript{th}, we were in the waters of the island of Saint Domingo etc.

\textsuperscript{445} Here ends the indirect account of the itinerary of this small Royal Deux-Ponts detachment group. It shows the collective work that Flohr intended to produce: relating the whole voyage of the members of his regiment.
On the 18th, we saw the lands of St. Domingo, around noon we arrived just near what is called la Grange in French, which is a tall rock in the sea 2 hours off the coast of the port of Cape François: in order to reach the Cape one must pass very near that rock! And after having passed by the rock you are safe, as if you were in a port; this is why this rock is compared to a barn. Around 3 o’clock in the afternoon we passed by la Grange and we came near the port, and all of us could see the city of Cape François before us and the many ships that were moored in the port, but as the wind was weak we could no longer enter it that day; in fact, that port has a distinctive feature; whoever wants to enter it must do so before noon, because after noon the wind is always blowing the wrong way. We anchored near la Grange.

The morning of the 19th, we weighed the anchor and entered the port around 8-9 o’clock with the good winds. This port’s entrance is very dangerous for ships that are not used to it, because the port is just large enough for a single ship to pass through and the channel curves in some places and is straight in others. This port is so well fortified that it is impossible for an enemy to penetrate it. There were already over one hundred ships in the port, among them a flotilla of 18 Spanish war ships and a few frigates. The troops of the Spanish flotilla were stationed in town because some of their ships were under repair. As long as those Spanish troops were around there were many tragedies, because the French and the Spanish could not get along, the Spanish gave themselves priority for everything, even though we were in French territory; not a day went by without deaths in the streets and back alleys of the town, on the Spanish side and on the French side; but calm returned when the foreign troops embarked on their ships once again to set off toward Spain a few days later, after which we could come and go in the town and on the island with ease, without fear, without apprehension.

Concerning that island, it is one of the largest of all the West Indies and it has some of the richest vegetation. St. Domingo, which according to ancient writings is also called Hispaniola, is divided in 2 parts, the largest belonging to the king of Spain and being also populated by
Spaniards, and the other belonging to the French who are lucky to have it. The capital of the French part is Cape François, of the Spanish part, St. Domingo. These two parts are permanently equipped with troops.

In times of peace, the French garrison is made up of 2 regiments stationed in the city of Cape François; these 2 regiments bear the same name as the city, namely the regiments of the Cape.\textsuperscript{446}

Their uniform was a dark blue frock coat with green lining and facing, but they do not wear this uniform often because the heat is so strong in this land. Their everyday frock coats are made of white linen. They are good troops and their pay is higher than in France. As for their quarters, they are very well housed in nice barracks. They are well equipped with beds, as each soldier sleeps alone on a small latticework bed or on a bedstead fitted with a nice mattress, they have 2 linen sheets but no blanket, because the heat is too strong. As for their mattresses, they are stuffed with the best cotton, because here cotton is much less expensive than sheep’s wool.

As for the vegetation, it is marvelous in the eyes of a European who has never seen anything like it. There are oranges and lemons a-plenty, as well as bananas. And a marvelous kind of apple, but they cannot be eaten even though they are very beautiful. They are blood red, a bit elongated and have a large core. There are also many marvelous melons etc. it is a marvelous fruit that grows on trees.

There are also plants as big as a melon, though they are prickly like chestnut husks, green on the outside, but reddish on the inside, which taste like small strawberries, which make the best salad

\textsuperscript{446} Contrary to what Flohr claims, the two regiments stationed at Cape François did not have the same name. Two armies could actually be found there: first the regiment of the Cape, and second the regiment of Port-au-Prince. However, these two armies were similar. Dependent upon the navy and not on the infantry, they both were formed in 1772, succeeding the Legion of Saint Domingo, created in 1769, which brought together the island’s artillery, infantry, and cavalry. Led by Sir de Laval for the regiment of Port-au-Prince, and by Raynaud de Villevert and then Sabran (starting in 1780) for the regiment of the Cape, both participated in the American War of Independence for two major operations. In 1779, under the orders of Count d’Estaing, a detachment group took part in the Siege of Savannah. In addition to these troops was the Saint Domingo corps of volunteer Chasseurs, composed of men of color. In 1781 they also participated in the military expedition of Florida. Lesueur (Boris), “Les troupes coloniales aux Antilles sous l’Ancien Régime”, \textit{Histoire, économie & société}, 2009/4 28th year, p. 3-19.
when they are ripe and that are called nattys in their language. For that as well, a man who has never seen one would not cease to be surprised, their beauty is so great etc.

On this island there is also a lot of sugar that grows, as well as cotton, pepper, coffee, indigo, etc. As for wood, there is not one kind that looks like European varieties. A lot of Brazil wood is found here and other colored species that are completely ordinary here, and which are burned like our ordinary wood. There are also many cocoa trees, also called coconut trees, which are marvelous to behold. The trees here are green in winter just like in summer and are always full of fruit, ripe ones and green ones.

There is not much difference here between summer and winter, and whoever does not know so beforehand is not able to tell

221.

when it’s winter, because it is so hot, and people who are not used to it find it unbearable. As long as I was there I was surprised, as it was the middle of winter and the heat was stronger and more unbearable than in our country during the summer. Whoever does not know about it cannot tell the difference between summer and winter, if only that in summer there are many storms and earthquakes. During these earthquakes it often happens that the earth splits open, creating 6-7 foot wide crevasses, the depths of which are so black that it is a frightening sight.

The city of Cape is rather large and is located on a plain, but on one side it is edged in by a rather tall mountain. This city is also adorned with a few remarkable buildings, namely the Government building, the hospital named Providence and, facing it, the barracks that are parallel to it, and finally the weapons space fitted between the two of them. There is also a beautiful church there, which, however, does not have a bell tower, because the earthquakes are too strong and would bring them to the ground; for that matter there are no tall houses, they have but 2 stories.

Illustrations

224.
This is because they are often destroyed, which has caused much tragedy. The city is also in possession of a beautiful arsenal, which is located right near the water and which is defended by a large battery on the side of the port, also there are numerous defensive structures elsewhere.\footnote{Image: cf. ill. 176, T. 2 - Brown}

As for this island’s wild animals, they are numerous and many are very harmful, such as the snakes, crocodiles etc. As for the fowl, not a single one can be seen that resembles a European fowl, all the birds are made much differently and are adorned with all sorts of colors.

As for livestock, there are all sorts of animals, but they are the same species as in Europe, namely cows, sheep, pigs, goats etc.

However, there are sea cows on this island as well as other wild animals. We stayed there until around April 24, 1783. Then we were ordered to prepare the sails in preparation for the departure for France, which consequently was carried out.

On the 26\textsuperscript{th}, we were very busy loading the provisions aboard that were indispensable for our expedition, as well as the military things etc. As for the hospitals, all the ill were embarked at the same time as all the regiment’s equipment that was on land etc.

On April 30\textsuperscript{th}, early in the morning, several ships left the port around 8 o’clock, the others followed, save 3 war ships, which stayed until May 1\textsuperscript{st} before following us. The winds were a little weak when we left. Around 9 o’clock we had already passed by the great fort at the entrance, which was on our left; salvos in our honor were fired from there; Governor Bellecombe had come with his general staff to see us off and wish us good luck for our expedition. Around 10 o’clock we passed by la Grange, then we arrived on the high sea and the city was lost from view.

On May 1\textsuperscript{st}, we still had weak winds, and our fleet only moved forward slowly. On the 2\textsuperscript{nd}, our flotilla split into 3 divisions according to the port that each one was supposed to reach in France, some headed for Brest,\footnote{Brest is the main port of the navy known as Ponant, reserved for the English Channel and the Atlantic.} others for Toulon,\footnote{Toulon is the main port of the Levant flotilla, reserved for the Mediterranean Sea.} the flotilla divisions and the destination ports being detailed on the following page. Until the 4\textsuperscript{th}, we still remained rather grouped together. On the 3\textsuperscript{rd}, the horizon was bright and clear with rather strong winds, but which weakened around
noon. That day we had to pass through a very dangerous area through which perhaps no ship had passed for many years, due to the danger, but

226.

Divisions of the flotilla en route to France, according to the destination ports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Division</th>
<th>Cannons</th>
<th>To Brest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nord Cumberland</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Citoien</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Duc de Bourgongne</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Brave</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Plouton</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’hermite</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Neptune</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’august</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Nayrettefregatte</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd Division</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Toulon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le Triomphant</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Couronne</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Souverain</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Division</th>
<th>to</th>
<th>Brest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

227.

our commander took the risk of passing through there to take advantage of a shorter route. They say that this place was an island that sunk during an earthquake. During the whole of this dangerous passage, the rowboats went ahead of the ships to look for the right route and to see that there were no reefs etc.

On the 4th, our flotilla split up according to the destination ports. On the 4th, we passed by the islands named the first Triangle, because it is triangular, the 2nd Cape Verde or Green Hills.
On the 5th, we crossed the Tropic of Cancer and headed in the direction of Africa. On the 6th, we passed by the island of Martinique on our right, the same day we came across countless numbers of enormous fish, which heralded a storm without a doubt.

On the 7th, there was wind, even a storm, on the horizon, but this did not last long.

On the 7th, we crossed the latitude of Grandbanck and had rather good winds from the southwest, such that we were rapidly moving along toward our homeland, which delighted everyone.

On the 8th, it was once again a little misty with weak winds that we had until around the following day, then we had splendid weather once again.

228.

On the 9th, we had westerly winds in our sails once again. On the 10th, good winds and superb weather, one could not hope for better; the same day we again came across many fish that were marvelous to behold.

On the 10th, we had rough weather in the afternoon with a storm that rose around 2 o’clock in the afternoon and that lasted until the following day around 6 o’clock in the afternoon, then there was a lull until around midnight, then the winds picked up a little once again. During that storm, you should have seen the spectacle the monkeys made, as we had about forty of them on the ship. As soon as they sensed the storm and the pitching and tossing they made such an uproar that we could not hear one another speak, and they died one after the other, such that half of them were lost, just like the parrots, which we had in large number. As soon as we arrived on the ocean, the weather became cooler, even though it was summer, but in this area the air is always cooler and the weather is stormier more often than elsewhere at sea.

On the 11th around 6 o’clock in the afternoon,

229.

the storm calmed down and we had good winds like we wished for, and we were hopeful that we would soon see our homeland once again. On the 12th, the horizon was bright and clear and the winds were excellent.
On the 12th, good winds again and fair weather. Around 6 o’clock in the evening there was a strange phenomenon in the sky: a funnel descended from the sky, swollen like a filled sack, straight at the top and wide at the bottom, stretched across the surface of the water. This funnel was continuously drawing in seawater, and everyone could see how this water was drawn up into the air, as far up as one could see. As these funnels are dangerous and as they are only rarely seen, the commander signaled to all the ships to move away from the funnel, because if a ship came close to it, it would go under mercilessly. You must be aware of the fact that it can draw in ships that come too close to it.

We beheld this phenomenon for around an hour, it would not clear up and was going from one side to the other, such that our flotilla was having trouble steering clear of it. Because it lasted a long time, all the ships were ready to fire with their cannons, because heavy artillery could disperse this phenomenon, which they had already experienced several times in the navy, but as soon as the sun set, it vanished into thin air.

We spoke of this phenomenon a lot, because we had officers and sailors who had sailed the seas for more than 30 years and who had never seen anything like it. This funnel made such a noise at the place where it was drawing in water that one would have thought it was a small storm.

On the 14th, good winds and superb weather.

On the 15th, the winds had weakened, but that did not last long and we had good winds once again.

On the 16th, the horizon once again appeared cloudy and misty until around the evening, then it changed and the winds came from the northeast, which lasted several days.

On the 17th, good winds and superb weather.
On the 18th, the same winds, which delighted everyone. That afternoon we came across monstrous fish once again which were marvelous to behold.

On the 19th, we had the best of the winds: *post nubile phaebus*.

On the 20th, the same winds, just like we hoped for.

On the 21st, slight change in the weather with a small storm that had passed within 2 hours.

On the 22nd, the horizon appeared misty all day. We again came across some very large fish that are called dolphins, and others called alsans that reach 30 to 40 feet in length.

On the 23rd, the horizon was a little misty and the winds were very weak, from the south, but we made 8-9 knots all the same, which represents 3 in one hour.

On the 24th, the horizon appeared rather bright, but the winds remained the same, from the south.

On the 25th around 9 o’clock in the morning, we came across a Swedish trade ship loaded with coffee, sugar, and other goods of that nature. That ship went along with us until around the evening, then it went in another direction.

On the 26th, at sunrise, we had winds from the southeast, accounting for ¾ of the winds.

On the 27th, the same winds, around noon that day we came across a Danish trade ship that had taken the Indies route.

On the 28th, we had the best of winds yet again.

On the 29th, still the same winds.
On the 30th, good winds and very pleasant weather, we could not wish for better.

On the 1st of June, the horizon appeared bright and clear with rather strong winds, but which were good and pleasant, and very pleasant weather, which delighted everyone.

On the 2nd, the horizon was a little misty, with weak winds from the northwest that did not last long.

On the 3rd, we encountered a small storm that arrived as a large storm around 2 o’clock in the afternoon, but which did not develop and lasted until around the following day, then we had good winds once again.

On the 5th around 8 o’clock in the morning, we had very cool winds from the north, but it is true that the air is always rather crisp on the ocean.

On the 6th, we arrived at the latitude of Africa.  

On the 7th, around noon, we came across many fish once again that were marvelous to watch.

On the 8th, we sailed along the African coast and passed by Barbary Coast.  There the heat intensified a little.

234.

On the 9th, we left the African coasts and the Barbary Coast etc.

On the 10th, we arrived at the latitude of Spain and Portugal. With good winds just like we hoped for. Around noon that day we once again came across monstrous fish called dolphins that are marvelous to behold, just like the show they put on.

On the 11th, the horizon was a little misty once again, but we had had good winds for several days.


451 Image: Guillaume Delisle, Carte de la Barbarie, de la Nigritie et de la Guinée, map, Amsterdam, 1st half of the eighteenth century. Gallica link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84912150.r=barbarie.langFR

452 Image: Gilles Robert de Vaudongy, Carte des royaumes d’Espagne et de Portugal, dans lequel sont tracées des routes des postes, map, 1757. Gallica link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8442271j.r=espagne+portugal.langFR!
On the 14\textsuperscript{th}, good winds again. Around 4 o’clock in the afternoon the captain of the ship began studying the nautical map in order to know how far we still were from land.

He found that we were still 146 hours from Brest in France where we had orders to arrive and disembark.

The ship captain announced that we still had 2 days of travel before reaching Brest if the winds kept up; but if the winds were worse it would take 5 to 6 days or more.

On the 15\textsuperscript{th}, we already began to see land from our ship! But no way of finding it. In the evening, we thought we could still see land, but our hopes vanished once more.

In the evening, we threw the sounding line into the water, but we still were unable to find the bottom.

On the 16\textsuperscript{th}, the horizon was misty until around noon; then the sky cleared and the winds became cool. Around noon we threw the sounding line over again to find the bottom. At around 60 fathoms, it touched the bottom, which delighted everyone.

Around 8 o’clock in the evening the bottom was 47 fathoms below. Around 9 and 10 o’clock, we were still at the same depth, sometimes a little more, sometimes a little less. For most of the night we had furled\textsuperscript{453} the sails because we were not far from land.

On the 17\textsuperscript{th} around 9 o’clock in the morning, we saw the French lands again for the first time. Everyone immediately began shouting Vive le Roy.

Around noon, we were so close to land that we could recognize with precision the lands we had gone by a few years ago.

\textsuperscript{453} To gather and compact the sails against their masts.
We were so happy to see our homeland again that we forgot to eat and drink. It is true that during the whole time we had been away from our homeland, we were exposed to hundreds and hundreds of perils, and that our lives were so often in danger, and that the good Lord so faithfully led us back to our homeland and during all that time he protected us with benevolence.

Around 1 o’clock, we were approaching Cape Henry where we still had to cross through troubled waters. Around 3 o’clock the commander gave the signal that all the war ships had to line up, according to their battle rank, to enter the port.

Around half past 3 o’clock, we entered the port under the commander’s orders. On our right there was a single-mast privateer aboard with around 40 men aboard, 27 of which were naval soldiers. That privateer, counting on its small size, came too close to land, hit a rock on which it shattered, so much so that nothing could be seen of it after 6-7 minutes, and all those who were on board went under; there were no living souls among those 40 sailors and soldiers. One can easily imagine the distress and misfortune of these men who had left their homeland 7 years ago, who had crossed the sea and the islands and who had met such peril so far from their homeland, and whom the good Lord had protected that whole time! Therefore they were very happy to be returning home, but they were far from being back home, as they had believed that nothing more could befall them, given that the city of Brest was so close and that it had been in sight all day long, they had thought they would be dining on land, in the city, but they did not think or know that their end was so near and that in less than one hour the depths of the sea would become their tomb, watched over by other crewmen.

As soon as we arrived at the entrance of the port, we received a very warm welcome and were saluted by the batteries located on either side of the port’s entrance.

We were saluted in the same way 4 years ago when we left the port for America.
Around half past 4, we anchored right near the city. As soon as the ships had anchored, the signal was given to the batteries of all the ships to prepare to fire three salvos, the same thing occurred in all the batteries around the port.

Then we met up with the detachment group that we had left in Baltimore last year. They had already arrived several weeks ago in the port on a small war ship and a frigate, *The Romulus* and *The Sereine*.

On the 18th, starting early in the morning, there was a sort of large annual fair on all the ships, and we fought over all sorts of merchandise as if they were free. The reason for this is that we had stayed at sea for a long time and we had not been able to have anything like it. We rushed to the sellers the whole time we were in the harbor. That same day, all the ships were visited by doctors

239.

to find out if we had brought illnesses back from the foreign countries. Nothing was found, except on the war ship *Le Duc de Bourgogne*, where many illnesses were counted; for this reason the men could not disembark for a certain time and the ship had to be kept at a distance from the others.454 Starting the following day, all the sails were taken down, including the lower ones, from all the ships, which were consequently towed by rowboats, then completely unloaded, the artillery was thus transported on land to lighten it, so that they could be sailed into the pools where they were to be repaired, as they had been at sea for a long time and some of them had been severely damaged.

That port was very surprising to behold because of its pools, which are very practical for ship maintenance, and well-equipped sites for ship building etc.455 Likewise, along the port, there are strongly-built warehouses, reserved for war supplies, and which are so full that there is never anything missing! Some of them are filled with pieces of artillery, others

240.

---

454 The goal of these health precautions was to protect the ports from epidemics that ships could bring. Some of which proved to be tragic, like the typhus epidemic of 1757 that claimed thousands of lives in Brittany.

with anchors and ropes etc. Still others contain all sorts of supplies and other products necessary for navigation at sea.

The evening of the 18th, certain regiments had already begun disembarking and passed before the draft board when they disembarked, but they were stationed in the city of Brest until they had also unloaded their equipment and returned the military material in their possession to the warehouses.

The morning of the 19th, our Deux-Ponts regiment began disembarking, which filled us all with unequalled joy. We left our ship, *Le Neptune*, around half past 8 in rowboats, but it was not until midnight that we touched land, because there were too many small boats getting in each other’s way. As soon as we were on land we were stationed with the inhabitants of the city of Brest and we had a day of rest there.\footnote{Housing soldiers in barracks had not become widespread at the end of the eighteenth century. Though the century of Enlightenment saw the construction of barns and barracks in numerous cities of the kingdom, these accommodations, which were too small in number due to lack of money, were not enough for an entire army. It was therefore necessary to resort to housing in inhabitants’ homes, which could prove to be very risky, with the soldier sometimes using his weapons to injure the landlords. The ordinance of March 1, 1768 ordered the houses of all the cities of the kingdom to be numbered in order to facilitate the distribution of troops. At any rate, staying at inhabitants’ homes could be a way to control the civil population and was the foundation of the *dragonnades*.}

The morning of the 20th, the General and the Commissioner came for a military inspection at the Place d’Armes of the city of Brest, which is the main maritime port of all of France; it is there that the largest war ships are able to enter all the way to the city, all the way within the port, it is also there that one can see war ships and other ships of the king right in the middle of the city, surrounded by many royal structures, it is there that one can see the pools where the ships can be hoisted out of the water in order to repair them; the job of hoisting the ships is done by galley convicts. It is also there that one can see a large ship with a roof like that of a house, covered with tiles, which is inhabited only by galley slaves.\footnote{There were indeed galleys in Brest, even if the large majority were located in the Mediterranean. These galleys were larger for the ocean travel than in Toulon. It should not be forgotten, however, that the year 1748 marked the end of the title of general in the galleys and that the following year the construction of the penal colony of Brest began. There were therefore galley convicts living in Brest, there were several thousand of them, but on land.}
As for the city, it is so well fortified that it is impossible to capture it by sea, because the port is completely surrounded by fortified structures. On one side, high up, there is the invincible citadel whose shooting range stretches over the whole harbor; this harbor is large enough to safely hold 5 to 600 ships that can anchor without being in each other’s way.

A strong sea inlet extends that harbor all the way to Landernau, a beautiful city that is very commercial because of that sea inlet that is navigable all the way to the city.

The city of Brest is surrounded by a very beautiful rampart that is admirably built on the rocks. The city is not built on a plain and there are rocks everywhere. All of the city is so hilly that you must climb up then go down if you want to get around.

It is also adorned with numerous structures that are as remarkable as the citadel on the rock.

Because now we were once again on solid ground and ready to return to our homeland, we did not stop thanking God, because after leaving France we were exposed to so many perils, and our lives were in danger on a daily basis, but the good Lord has saved us, the majority of our brothers nevertheless had to pay with their lives:

We saw them fall on both sides on a daily basis, and we did not know at which hour, and at which instant it would be our turn.

Someone who would not give thanks to God for having returned safe and sound would have to be an ungrateful person.

243.


460 Image: _Carte de la baie de Brest_, map draw with a quill pen, India ink and watercolor, 22.7 x 31.5 cm., Paris, BNF, Engravings and photography department, Cote BNF: EST RESERVE VE-26 (L) Link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7741589g
He who faithfully guided him and brought him back to his homeland etc.

On the 21st, we left Brest because we had received the order to go to Guingamp to have a few days of rest and relaxation there.

During the first day of marching we had the impression that the earth was turning with us and when we would see a mountain or a tree, we had the impression that they were fleeing before us, because we still had the feeling that we were at sea, that lasted around 5-6 days, then it disappeared.

The first day we walked for 4 hours to Landernau, a small town where we had been stationed before leaving for America. As for the other places, they are written below, just like the time between the different stages and the provinces where the represented towns and burgs are situated.

The 2nd day, we marched for 8 hours.

The 3rd day, 8 hours.

The 4th day, 4 hours.

Below are the place names.

244.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Names of the towns</th>
<th>Distance in leagues</th>
<th>Names of the Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 June</td>
<td>Landernau</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 June</td>
<td>Morlaix</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 June</td>
<td>Belisle en Terre</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 June</td>
<td>Guingamps</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We stayed in Guingamp until July 20th; a few days earlier we received orders to go to the garrison of Landau, which filled our hearts with joy when we understood that we were heading
for Alsace: even though the journey was very long for men who were had already been at sea for so long, the march did not bother us for one instant, as it was in the direction of our homeland and everyone was going there with joy and satisfaction.

The itinerary all the way to Landau with explanations follows.

End of this book.

245.

Journey from Guingamp to Landau in Alsace

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Names of the towns</th>
<th>Distance in leagues</th>
<th>Names of the provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 Jully</td>
<td>in St Prieux</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Jully</td>
<td>Lamballe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Jully</td>
<td>Brond</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Jully</td>
<td>Montauban</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Jully</td>
<td>Rennes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Jully</td>
<td>sojourn</td>
<td>“</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Jully</td>
<td>Witray</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Jully</td>
<td>Lavale</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Jully</td>
<td>Mayenne</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bretagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Jully</td>
<td>sojourn</td>
<td>“</td>
<td>Maine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Jully</td>
<td>Préamballe</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Maine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Jully</td>
<td>Allonçon</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Normadie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Augst</td>
<td>Mortagne</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Perche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Augst</td>
<td>Wermelle</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Normandie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Augst</td>
<td>sojourn</td>
<td>“</td>
<td>“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Augst</td>
<td>Dreux</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>L’ilsole de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Names of the towns</td>
<td>Distance in leagues</td>
<td>Names of the provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Augst</td>
<td>Houdant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>L’île de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Augst</td>
<td>Mant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>L’île de France</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Names of the towns</th>
<th>Distance in leagues</th>
<th>Names of the provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 Augst</td>
<td>Pontoise</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>L’île de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Augst</td>
<td>Sojourn</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>L’île de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Augst</td>
<td>Lusarge</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>L’île de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Augst</td>
<td>Senlis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>L’île de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Augst</td>
<td>Compiègne</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>L’île de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Augst</td>
<td>Soissons</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>L’île de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Augst</td>
<td>sojourn</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>L’île de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Augst</td>
<td>Fimmes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>L’île de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Augst</td>
<td>Reims</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Campagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Augst</td>
<td>Petite Loge</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Campagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Augst</td>
<td>Challons</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Campagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Augst</td>
<td>sojourn</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Campagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Augst</td>
<td>Witry François</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Campagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Augst</td>
<td>St Dizé</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Campagne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Augst</td>
<td>Bar le Duc</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Loraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Augst</td>
<td>sojourn</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Augst</td>
<td>St Aubin</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Loraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Augst</td>
<td>Toul</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Loraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Augst</td>
<td>Nancy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Loraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Augst</td>
<td>Lunnevill</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Loraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Names of the towns</td>
<td>Distance in leagues</td>
<td>Names of the provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Augst</td>
<td>Blamont</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lorraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Augst</td>
<td>Saarbourg</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lorraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Augst</td>
<td>Palsbourg</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alsace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Augst</td>
<td>sojourn</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Alsace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Augst</td>
<td>Hohfelden</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Alsace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 7bre</td>
<td>Hagenau</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Alsace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 7bre</td>
<td>Sultz</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alsace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 7bre</td>
<td>Weissenburg</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Alsace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 7bre</td>
<td>Landau</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Alsace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>229</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Index with page numbers

| The first battle at sea | 11 |
| The city of Newport    | 18 |
| The barbarian kings    | 21 |
| The untamed land of Canada, populated with Barbarians | 27 |
| The city of Profidenz   | 30 |
| The habits and customs of the inhabitants of the Windham Farmingston region | 34 |
| And of Gutbarh, Neuthaun etc. | 36 |

The treason of Arnold | 37 |

---

461 “Registeraus die Blätterzahlgerichtet”, or the Index with page numbers, is an index that refers to the related pages for each of the subjects that are dealt with. The pieces of information most often mention the names of places visited and their descriptions, but also the matching illustrations. Digressions like the ones about the treason of Arnold (“von der Verräterey des Arnolds”) or about the Battle of Trenton/Princeton (“von der Batalien zu Threnthonund Printzthaun”) are also indicated, which shows the importance they held for the author. Note also that the pieces of information do not follow the pagination. The presence of this index suggests the documentary usage that Flohr allocated to his expedition.
The battles of Trenthon and Prinzthaun 42
Trenthaun and the Tellawar River 46
The city of Philadelphia 50
Witmingston and Head of Elck 54
Yorck in Virginia 64
The siege of Petit Yorck in Virginia and of that region 78
The surrender of the English army at Yorck 85
Number of prisoners in Yorck 88

249.

Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parade of the French army in Philadelphia</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The town of Williamsburg</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of the dead and wounded during the siege of Petit Yorck</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamesthau and its region</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neu Cassel and Hannoberthaun</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friedrigsburg and Fallmuth</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damfred and the river</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allexandria and Georgthaun</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bleadingsburg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cities of Baldimor and Anapolis</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Längkäster, Carlsthaun and Christinathaun etc and the river</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Brandenwein, Schester and Tarly and on the Tellawar River etc. 124
Printzthaun Moritzthaun Sammersad etc 126
Bickskiel and the North River 130

Index

| The city of Haarford                      | 134 |
| Readham and Lutten                       | 138 |
| The city of Boston and its port           | 142 |
| The flotilla in Boston                   | 143 |
| The departure from Boston                | 144 |
| The large storm                          | 146 |
| The Tropic of Cancer line-crossing ceremony | 154 |
| The island of Puerto Rico                | 158 |
| The island of Kirasau or Ciracao         | 168 |
| The town of Porto Cappello or Portobello | 181 |
| The island of Jamaica                    | 214 |
| The Sendemeng island and the town of Caap or Caapfrançois | 222 |
| The supplies on the ships                | 9   |
| The surrender of the city of Yorck       | 87  |
| The fauna in America                     | 191 |
| The attack in NeuYorck near Königsbritsch and Sandyhock | 36 |

220
The battle in the Bay of Schesabeck

251.

Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The camp of Philipsburg</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The arrival in Amerique</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The damaged war ship</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The regions in North America</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Splitting up of the flotilla in three parts heading toward France</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The strange phenomena at sea</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The arrival of General Wassington</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The habits and customs of the Barbarians of America</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

252.

Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georg Flohr</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Flohr</td>
<td>1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flohr Friedrich</td>
<td>1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georg Heinrich Flohr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katharina Flohrin</td>
<td>1810</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possible Cartographical Annexes
Map of the location of Northeastern America

Map of the location of the Antilles

Itinerary of the crossing and comparison to be made between the one given by Flohr and the one mentioned in Mes campagnes en Amérique by G. de Deux-Ponts

Itinerary of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment to be mapped out—see Jean-Philippe Droux: some maps of this itinerary already exist in Soules, Histoire des troubles de l’Amérique Anglaise (and the multimedia library), and the same map in volume II of The American Campaigns of Rochambeau’s Army.

Map of the location of the Chesapeake Bay

Siege of Yorktown

These cartographical appendices could be supplemented by textual appendices, notably by making the electronic versions of the war diaries cited in the footnotes available online to compare their content to Flohr’s commentaries. (see Dropbox, documents added by Edern).