

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND THROUGH THE EYES OF GERMAN TRAVELERS

By PAUL G. GLEIS

If as Americans we knew almost nothing about Old Maryland's external appearance, culture, industry and history, we could still easily satisfy our curiosity by merely reading books by European travelers who visited America. We could often gather valuable information from their descriptions, journals and accounts. Some, for instance, are by prominent and competent German scholars who visited Baltimore and the surrounding country during the last 200 years and returned to their home country, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, as the case might be, in order to set down their reminiscences, impressions and experiences. Some German authors would sometimes only hear or read about the new world and then indulge in novelistic and historical efforts regarding it.

ZSCHOKKE

To the latter group belonged the German-Swiss novelist, historian and statesman, Heinrich Zschokke (1771-1848). He knew America only from hearsay and from reports of returning adventurers or a few history books. No wonder that in his pleasant story about Maryland, "The Founding of Maryland" (1820) he confused the establishment of the port of Baltimore, by the Maryland assembly, on the Patapsco River, in 1729, with the founding of the Maryland colony, by Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, whose younger brother Leonard led English settlers aboard the famous

ships *Ark* and *Dove* to St. Mary's City in southern Maryland, in 1634.

To Zschokke the name "America" and "Maryland" symbolized a land of a glorious future, of the happy and free as opposed to what he called (in 1817) "Europe's Decline." The same spirit permeates his other American novels too: "The Princess of Wolfenbüttel" (1804) and "The Planter from Cuba" (1832).²

Zschokke's enthusiasm for America even influenced later German novelistic admirers of North America, like Charles Sealsfield, Karl Spindler, Ernst Willkomm. In his epistolary story of Maryland, Zschokke claims to base his account on the family papers of the Lords Baltimore. He colored his interesting novel with romantic notions on the alleged arrival of Cecil Calvert in the Patapsco, October 3, 1633. The landing by Leonard Calvert on Blackiston's Island was really March 25, 1634.³

Composed of twenty-three chapters, Zschokke's story recounts the preparatory activities of Cecil Calvert in England, his leave-taking, his journey across the ocean, and finally the fictitious landing at "Baltimore" while cannons roar and Indians welcome the strangers in the beautiful harbor. The following quotation is from a "letter," written in Baltimore, by Cecil Calvert, to his friend Harry Oham in England, dated 1633:

"My first greetings from the new world to you, o dear Harry! We landed in Chesapeake Bay and sought the harbor, which my father's

¹ P. G. Gleis, "Baltimore vor 100 Jahren im Urteil einiger Dichter und Denker Deutschlands," Sonder-Abdruck des *Baltimore Correspondent*, 30. Nov., 1935. Seite 14-20, (Zschokke, Jos. Winckler, Fried. List, Nikolaus Lenau, Gust. Frenssen).

² See: "The Concept of America in the Works of Heinrich Zschokke," (M. A. diss. by Sr. Laurene Marie Kochert, Catholic University, Washington, D. C., 1947).

³ See: Erich Albrecht, "Heinrich Zschokke's Version of the Founding of Maryland," in *American German Review*, VIII (1942), 15 ff.; Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans*, (Princeton, N. J., 1948), 11-12. We also want to refer our readers to a recently published historical novel dealing with George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore: *Der ewige Traum*, by Josef Feiks, (Benziger, Publ., Einsiedeln, Switzerland, 1950).

papers had presented as the most excellent in the world. Indeed we went through a very narrow passage into a second wider body of water, whose low banks were picturesquely surrounded by bushes and meadows. Here there would have been room enough for over a thousand ships! As we sailed through the passage, cannons thundered their greetings to us. On the banks we saw huts and men, the smoke and the welcoming fires. It was a splendid summer morning. Our ship returned the salutation of the cannons. Oh, what a view unfolded before my eyes when I landed and was welcomed by our friends and the peaceful aborigines who jubilantly exclaimed: 'Freedom! Long live freedom!', a cry which was simultaneously echoed also from those on the ship. Then they conducted me to an eight-room wooden house, in which they had arranged my furnishings most comfortably."

LEDERER

Quite different and quite realistical and historically true are, however, the reports by early German explorers and travelers of the 17th and 18th centuries. John Lederer of Hamburg, Germany, a highly educated man, was in Calvert County, Maryland, about 1671, trading and observing geographical, geological and ethnological matters, and writing down his experiences in Latin. His own manuscript is lost but Sir William Talbot, a nephew of Cecil, Lord Baltimore, secretary of the Province of Maryland, preserved it in an English translation under the title *The Discoveries of John Lederer*, London 1672. In 1675 Lederer was on his way home to Germany.⁴

Other German explorers of Maryland were Jesuit missionaries of the 18th century,⁵ but they apparently left few written notes. During the Revolutionary War, however, three other highly placed German individuals crossed Maryland or visited the new city of Baltimore, two so-called

"Hessians" and one not a "Hessian" but a defender of American independence. They were all army men. They jotted down their impressions in letters sent home or in personal journals.

RIEDESEL

The first of these is the well-known commander of the German "Hessian" troops fighting on the English side, Baron Friedrich Adolf von Riedesel (1738-1800)⁶ and his wife Friederike⁷ who accompanied him in person to America and shared his trials and tribulations.

General von Riedesel really was a Hessian by birth, but he served as officer in the army of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick in the Seven Years' War. Later, he was general adjutant of Duke Karl when the latter (in 1776) entered into an understanding with England regarding furnishing a "Hessian" corps (of 4,298 men) for England's war against the American colonists. As a major general he left Brunswick early in 1776 and arrived in Quebec in Canada in June 1776. His wife followed him in 1777 to Quebec, keeping a diary. Both participated in Burgoyne's campaign in New England, (Lake Champlain, Ticonderoga, Bennington, Albany) and witnessed the capitulation of Burgoyne at Saratoga, October 18, 1777, to the army of the American general Gates. This battle and the Hessian surrender contributed much to the ultimate establishment of American freedom. Riedesel himself was taken prisoner, with his German troops (about 1500 of them) but was personally absolved from blame. The "Hessians," including General and

⁴ Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans*, 30-39.

⁵ Cunz, *op. cit.*, 88-89; Gleis, *SHGM, Reports*, XXVI, 33-36.

⁶ Max von Eelkuig, *Leben und Wirken des . . . General-Leutnants Friedr. Adolf Riedesel*, (3 vols), Leipzig, 1855; Volume 2 translated as *Memoirs, Letters and Journals of Major General Riedesel* by Wm. Stone, New York, 1868; Lina Sinnickson, *Frederica, Baroness Riedesel*, Philadelphia, 1906. Clemens de Baillou, "Baron Friedrich von Riedesel," *Monatshefte*, XLIV (1952), iv/v, 212-216.

⁷ Friederike Charlotte Luise (von Massow), Freiherrin von Riedesel, *Die Berufs-Reise nach America. Briefe der Generalin von Riedesel in America auf dieser Reise und während ihres sechsjährigen Aufenthaltes in America zur Zeit des dortigen Krieges in den Jahren 1776-1783*, (Berlin, 1801.) English edition: *Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga*, by Madame de Riedesel, transl. from the original German, (New York, 1827, second ed. 1867.) "Riedesel," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 28, p. 531.

Mrs. Riedesel, were sent to a camp in Cambridge, Mass. In 1778 they received orders from Congress in Philadelphia to move south to a camp in Virginia, near Charlottesville.

General Riedesel, with his family, left Cambridge, November 28, 1778 and crossed the Hudson River where with his adjutants he left his family to overtake his troops. The German army meanwhile marched through Jersey and Pennsylvania to the Susquehanna River and York, Pa. and reached the Maryland border December 26, 1778, at Tawneytown, where it found good quarters. The weather, however, was bad, the roads were worse. December 29th they were in Frederick, Md. and the next day nearing the Potomac River, not far from Sugar Loaf Mountain. The river at this section forms the boundary line between Maryland and Virginia.

Speaking of Maryland the "Journal" of General Riedesel makes the following observations:

Maryland, as far as regards cultivation, is very similar in appearance to Pennsylvania, although it is far behind the latter. The country on the Potomac is beautiful and fertile. The Germans and English are here about in the same proportion. There are here perhaps a few Tories, but they are not allowed to manifest their feelings openly. Fredericks-Town is a pleasant country town. On New Year's eve (Dec. 31, 1778) the German troops first stepped on the soil of Virginia, a country which had been described by the people around Boston as a real El Dorado. The soldiers crossed the Potomac near Knowland's Ferry, and bivouacked during the night in the woods in Loudoun County.⁸

Mrs. Riedesel, in the meantime, pursued a disagreeable journey through a hostile population to Lancaster, Pa., and Maryland, begging people for food and shelter, with her children weeping from cold and hunger, with admirable resignation finally reaching Charlottesville in February 1779, being twelve weeks on her way, covering 678 miles.

During the year 1779 an exchange of officer prisoners was arranged

(though later revoked by Congress) between superiors of the armies. Riedesel hoped to be permitted to rejoin the British at New York or in Canada. He journeyed north again, to York, Pa. and Elizabeth, N.J. and arrived here when his hopes were dashed because Congress wanted to keep a general of Riedesel's reputation. He wished to assume the command of the new German troops in Canada which had just arrived there. He was sadly disappointed at the end of the year 1779. Finally, in October 1780, he was exchanged and in 1781 he commanded the flower of the English troops on Long Island and later in Canada. He returned to Brunswick, Germany, on October 8, 1783.

His wife left Virginia separately for the north passing through Maryland and visiting friends on her way to York, Pa. In her diary for 1779 she wrote the following remarks on her experiences in Maryland.

I left Frederick-Springs, Va. in August 1779 to join my husband in Yorktown in Pennsylvania. Captain Freeman, one of my husband's aids-de-camp, remained with me. Mrs. Garel, an amiable lady—having begged me to pay her a visit on her estate in Maryland whenever I should pass in the neighborhood I chose the present occasion to visit . . . I had given Madam Garel notice of my arrival, and she sent a man on horseback to meet us.—We rode through a fine avenue towards the beautiful mansion-house where the whole family waited for us and received us most cordially . . . Not far from this country-estate was a city named Baltimore which I was told was a very beautiful town and the residence of several amiable families. One of Mrs. Garel's intimate lady friends, a pleasant, talkative lady, came to pay us a visit. When I saw them together I could imagine that I witnessed the meeting of Rousseau's Heloise with her lady friend. The old father reminded me of the husband of Heloise. Madame Garel was like her in warmth of feeling . . . We spent eight or ten days with her and departed with real regret. She furnished us with the best of provisions which there was little prospect we should want for a long time; that liberality was almost superfluous; for the royalists received us with frank hospitality, from political sympathy, and those of opposite principles gave us a friendly welcome, merely from habit; for in this country it

⁸Elking, vol. II., (German edition), p. 302; Engl. edition, vol. II., p. 61. Elking read "London" county for "Loudoun" county.

would be considered a crime to behave otherwise, to refuse a welcome to a stranger. . . . We at length reached Yorktown, Pa., where I found my husband. We had travelled through beautiful country, part of which was inhabited by Moravians, and was extremely well cultivated.⁹

Another baby was born to Mrs. Riedesel, in 1780, in New York. She went back to Germany with her husband, in 1783, and later collected her notes and letters for publication.

After Yorktown (1781) British rule was practically at an end. The soldiers laid down their arms waiting for the peace which came in 1783. Beside General Riedesel other high "Hessian" army officers kept notes or sent letters home to Germany, among them Von Cochenhausen, Von Urff, De Loos, Von Wurmb, Bauermeister, Knyphausen, Scheffer, and they no doubt mentioned Maryland and Baltimore. But it is impossible to record them all. Riedesel's "*Briefe und Berichte, in den Jahren 1776-1783 geschrieben*," were republished in 1881 and 1893 and attracted wide attention.

SCHOEPF

In the same "Hessian" army was a prominent young army physician, a German, born in Wunsiedel in 1752. He was chief surgeon (in Ansbach, in 1776) to the troops sent to help England in America. He had, besides medicine, studied botany, mineralogy, forestry in Erlangen and in Berlin. An able and reliable scholar and physician he wrote books and articles on zoology and botany of the new world after he returned from America in 1784. His name is Dr. John David Schoepf. He arrived in New York, June 4, 1777, but was restricted in his experience and activities to Philadelphia and to the military English hospitals or to attending British gar-

risons in Rhode Island and Long Island until an armistice and peace was made in 1783. Then he received a leave of absence for exploring the rest of the country, especially the South which on his return he described in detail in two volumes: *Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinten Nordamerikanischen Staaten*, (Erlangen, 1788).¹⁰

The trip lasted a full year starting in New Jersey, in July 1783. It took him from Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Kentucky, to Maryland (Frederick, Hagerstown, South Mountain, Baltimore, Annapolis, Georgetown, Bladensburg) and back to Wilmington and Philadelphia, in November 1783, and again in 1784 from Philadelphia south to Virginia, North and South Carolina, East Florida and the Bahama Islands, and back to Europe (England, France). He arrived in Bayreuth, October 1784 and died there in 1800.

He gives us a wealth of information on Maryland, its cities, people and lay of the land, really too much to be repeated here in toto. Coming from the western regions along the Ohio River he reached Maryland at Hancock on the Potomac and visited the nearby Berkeley Springs, a famous resort. However, he called its therapeutic effects "superstition"; the water was not warm at all, according to his findings and it was common water at that, having normal temperature. Hancock had 12 houses at that time. He passed through Shepherdstown on the Potomac, to Frederick, where the greatest part of the inhabitants were German, including a Dr. Fischer. He also noticed the glass works near "South Mountain" (on the Monocacy River), expressing doubts as to its quality and its future.¹¹ Regarding Baltimore, he said:

⁹ *Berufs-Reise*, p. 234 f. (Engl. ed. p. 221 f.)-The "Madam Garel," mentioned here, was actually Mrs. Carroll, of the well known and distinguished Carrolls of Carrolton in Maryland. Charles Carroll, perhaps the wealthiest man in the colonies, signed the Declaration of Independence.

¹⁰ English version, *Travels in the Confederation (1783-1784)*, from the German of Joh. David Schoepf, translated by Alfr. J. Morrison, (Philadelphia, 1911; 2 vols.).

¹¹ Dorothy M. Quynn, "Johann Friedrich Amelung at New Bremen," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIII (1948), iii, 155-179. Harriet N. Milford, "Amelung and his New Bremen Glass Ware," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII (1952), i, 1-10. Dieter Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 163-166.

It is hardly thirty years since the town was established and already may be counted among the larger and richer cities. It numbers almost 2000 houses, for the most part built of brick, neatly and conveniently, and this number is very nearly equal to that of all the houses in the remainder of the province of Maryland. The inhabitants are estimated at 12,000 and more, and again at 15,200. The advantageous situation of the harbor at the mouth of the Patapsco River, and at the upper end of the Chesapeak-Bay, gave the first occasion for the founding of the city. It is sage and commodious . . . Baltimore has already drawn to itself the whole trade of southern Pennsylvania . . . it got to itself the name of one of the most important trading towns in the whole of Chesapeak-Bay. But nothing was so favorable to the commerce of the place as the last war. The situation of the harbor assured it against the sudden attack of hostile craft . . . During the first years of the war the Congress for some time fixed its seat here . . . more houses were built, and house rents rose uncommonly high, as they are at the present time. The extraordinary price paid for ground in the city is an argument showing how profitable trade has hitherto been . . . There was building in all parts of the town, and at the same time care is taken for beautifying the pavements and lights. Work and activity were to be seen everywhere. "Fell's Point" is the south-eastern end of the town, a narrow tongue of land extending into the Bay, this part of the town, being distinguished by the water and masts surrounding it. There especially is all the shipping business done. Whenever, according to the first plan, this point is wholly united by buildings with the rest of the city, the length of the city will be nearly two miles; but at this time a marshy channel still divides the two parts and is neither ornamental nor contributory to good health. In the harbor there were lying at the time some fifty vessels . . . Baltimore exports chiefly flour, maise, salted meat and other articles of food, all kinds of timber, and tobacco. For this last article there is an inspection-house at the "Point"—the object of the merchants of Baltimore . . . is exports and imports. They neither intend nor desire to be manufacturers . . . the price of labor is high; the working hands are few, and those few lazy . . . The advantages which Baltimore has hitherto derived from its trade, as the most productive source of its prosperity, will arouse envy and the imitation of others . . . The merchants of Baltimore . . . have expressed the wish that a Board of Trade, or commercial collegium, be established . . .

He continues to refer also to individual inhabitants of Baltimore. The

French from Arcadia lived in the most unsightly section of the town they being in general neither well-to-do nor enterprising. A Roman Catholic Church stood on one of the heights outside the city where two other churches, but half in ruins, were to be seen also. According to a report in the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, no. XI, 1786, at that time, (October-November, 1783), "a German Society was established at Baltimore by a Berliner in behalf of needy Germans who had gone there without due care."¹² Dr. Schoepf knew apparently nothing of this society at the time of his stay in Baltimore but he had the pleasure of knowing Dr. Charles Frederick Wiesenthal (1726-1789), first president and prime mover of the "German Society of Maryland."¹³ "He has been here since almost the first beginning of the town, and for his private character as well as his attainments is generally esteemed. It is a pity that his years and infirmities restrict his activities too narrowly, already obliging him to take in a "partner." This is very usual as a custom in America . . ." He investigated the flora and fauna and minerals in the region about Baltimore and found it not poor.

From Baltimore, Dr. Schoepf undertook an excursion to Annapolis, Bladensburg, Georgetown, Great Falls of the Potomac, Alexandria, and made his own keen observations again. He passed, as he says, monotonous woods (p. 349); very little cultivated land could be seen along the road to Annapolis. The corn appeared everywhere in bad condition, small and thin like the poor soil. The roads were, or were intended to be, he says, kept up at public expense, but were not well cared for. The bridges and ferries were impracticable.

In Bladensburg he noticed the Sunday-laws but also a man having two wives living together in sisterly manner with children from both. "Booze "

¹² Schoepf; Engl. ed., p. 339, note.

¹³ See Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 108-111, 120-121, 181. Cf. also "Genealogical Notes on Charles Frederick Wiesenthal," pp. 82-85 of the present *Report*.

was given to children to put them to sleep; a boy, 5 years old, was drunk. In Georgetown a case at law was pleaded and decided in the open on the porch of a tavern; the costs were paid in punch. The river at that spot was two miles wide, with high banks containing iron ore, and was rich in fish, especially near the Little Falls and Great Falls. No mention is made of the Jesuit College, nor of any Germans; the tobacco-trade here was in the hands of Englishmen who left when the war broke out. Ever since Georgetown was a poor place nobody having money or credit enough to start a trade. He crossed the river to Alexandria, eight miles away, a tobacco settlement with straight streets, 200 not unpleasant houses and with people formerly wealthy owning ships and warehouses, engaging in a flourishing trade.

Returning to Bladensburg he noticed only two or three public houses but people in animated discussion of an election for the Maryland Assembly of 1783; they debated the doubtful duty to pay the debts of the new government to British merchants; they discussed the new constitution and its obligations. The river at Bladensburg was fit only for small tobacco-boats. The planters took their tobacco to Bladensburg to be examined here as to its quality. The receipts served as bank notes. The price for a hundred pounds was 29-32 shillings in Pennsylvania currency. Freight for a ton of tobacco to be shipped to England was costing seven pounds sterling or 35 shillings a hogshead. An acre of good land cost one hogshead of tobacco.

Near Bladensburg was an iron-ore-spring but otherwise the climate was unhealthy from the swamps which caused obstinate fever. Negroes, loving southern indolence, raised a little cotton but mostly lived of sweet potatoes and "been-nuts" with oil which were also used for the pigs. Dr. Schoepf remained in Bladensburg a few days watching the improvised life in the taverns and homes which in-

cluded hunting for fire wood for heating and baking and which considered only the bare necessities for daily existence. Among the guests in the tavern there were a tailor, a saddler, a shoe-maker, a colonel, and a lady; three negroes, servants, smelling from dirt, were half-naked; it was a repulsive sight.

Crossing the South River Dr. Schoepf came to Annapolis (Nov. 1783). There were 400 fine looking houses. The State House on an elevation, with a cupola and four wooden columns, was not splendid but handsome, built of brick, two stories high. The large hall on the ground floor was not spacious but tasteful; it had raised seats in the form of an amphitheatre. Next to it was a little one story building meant for the public treasury, with well-barred windows but now empty. The real treasuries were the tobacco warehouses. Taxes were paid in tobacco and other produce because the people had no hard money. At one end of the town stood the house in which the Governor lived; another one, extensive and designed for the Governor's residence, begun by Governor Bladen, was not finished; it was too costly; its bare walls remained known as "Governor's Folly." The streets were seen as running radially towards a common central point, the State House. They were not yet paved and with the sandy soil this occasioned great inconvenience in summer, in the opinion of our German visitor.

Annapolis boasted of a play-house then but of no church—says Dr. Schoepf—as indeed in everything regarding luxury the town was inferior to no other and surpassed most of them. There was little or no trade—the harbor was empty, worms eating through ship-bottoms; there was no ship at this time.—The country between Annapolis and Baltimore was flat. A ferry led over the Patapsco. Annapolis had the honor of setting up the first mint. Congress was invited to Annapolis for interim sessions. Maryland enjoyed a good soil and cli-

mate on the bay, was rich in tobacco and agriculture and divided into 16 counties.

Dr. Schoepf considered some of the Germans and some other inhabitants of Maryland as the "most unmannerly people to be found far and near" (II, 26) but as a member of the British allied troops from Germany he could scarcely expect invariable courtesy on the part of the people speaking his language. As a whole he never complained and he appreciated the progress and courage evidenced on all sides.

CLOSEN

The third member of our group of war time visitors from Germany was also connected with the military service, this time on the American side, a personal friend of General George Washington, Baron Ludwig von Clozen, a German from Mannheim in the Palatinate, an adjutant to General Rochambeau. The latter, in 1780, was dispatched from Brest in France at the head of an army of 6000 men of French and German nationality to cooperate with George Washington. In July 1780 he landed in Rhode Island. Rochambeau intrenching himself at Newport held his position until June of the following year when in pursuance of a plan of campaign arranged between himself and Washington the French-German troops marched through Connecticut and joined the American army on the Hudson whence was begun the well-known southward march for Yorktown in Virginia.

In a "Journal,"¹⁴ written in French which he kept, Clozen described this march in detail, mentioning first the city of Providence, R. I., after they left Newport, June 14, 1781, then, in stages, Peekskill, Westpoint, Hackensack, Princeton, Trenton, Bristol, and the entrance into Philadelphia. Here he greets his German countrymen

and welcomes the German language in America: "la langue allemande qu'on parle dans cette partie de la Pennsylvania, de préférence a l'anglais; la maniere de cultiver et de bâtir, tout m'y rappeloit mon chère pays-natal (Vol. I. page 288); je me croyais, ma foi, transplanté tout à coup au milieu du beau palatinat." He praises the neat appearance of the "rich and grand German villages" and houses, the good roads but laments the absence of good Rhine wines; the apple cider here was quite delicious, however.

Clozen and Rochambeau continued the journey from Philadelphia by ship, on the Delaware River, to Chester (p. 307) where George Washington welcomed them once more very heartily especially since the good news had arrived that the French admiral de Grasse was now in the Chesapeake Bay. On foot the French brigade marched to Wilmington and reached Elkton, Maryland, September 7, 1781, Red Clay and Christiania. The American troops here demanded their pay and finally got it through the efforts of Rochambeau who (Sept. 9) with his army left for the south. Von Clozen decided to follow the land route desiring to see something of the country and its people. The army marched over land towards Baltimore and Annapolis where it hoped to find large ships taking it to the James River in Virginia (p. 312).

First the Susquehanna River had to be crossed. There was no ship or boat at Liddle Ferry. Rochambeau therefore ordered the horses of officers, the artillery and the Lansun-Legion toward a ford in the river, five miles upstream. This detour (Sept. 9) took them four more miles further up where the river was two miles wide. The river scenery was pretty but the crossing itself was "diabolical." Rocks, the current and the rapids were annoying and dangerous; the horses

¹⁴An unpublished handwritten copy, in 2 volumes, is in the Manuscript Room of the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C. The original seems to be in Germany in the hands of some heirs. Little information is available on this rich source material.

stumbled taking false steps, but finally the other side was gained without mishap.

Baron von Closen and his officer-camerade de Bourg joined the rest of the tramping army at Bushtown (p. 314), 18 miles south of the Susquehanna, and the army camped here for the 32nd time, on the right (south) side of the river. The brigade had made only 15 miles on the first day, and 12 miles the second while the two friends had covered 36 miles. Bushtown was rather ugly and situated in a swampy territory. While the first brigade slowly advanced toward Baltimore by way of White Marsh the two officers rode directly to Baltimore.

The country between Bushtown and Baltimore was covered with forests (I, 314). The roads were not at all of the best. The author continues:

Baltimore is a very beautiful city filled with handsome buildings. Its trade is flourishing. The bay is only a mile from the city and connected with it by a river known as Patapsco. In this city there are some Germans, Dutch and Irish and there is a section called "the French quarter," inhabited only by poor Arcadians, of French origin who were brought here by the English government after the Seven Years' War. The army joined us in Baltimore on the 12th (of September). The legion stayed here for a while yet.

Von Closen was anxious to reach Virginia ahead of the armies for which there were no incoming ships immediately available at Baltimore while the French commander de Viomenil decided to march to Annapolis. He and his friend therefore left Baltimore the same evening (Sept. 12) to proceed in a hurry on the shortest route trusting their good horses and thus hoping to get to Williamsburg in Virginia eight days ahead of the others. They were only one or two days in Baltimore loading ten horses with baggage and taking along two supervisors and four servants at heavy expense but foreseeing pleasant adventures. However, they were meeting trouble soon enough. Two miles from Baltimore,

they found at the shore of the Patapsco River which here was 1½ miles wide that the ferry boats were on the other side of the water. It took an hour before they came over. Fortunately, the weather was pleasant. Two boats were completely filled. The heavy load made the crossing slow, and oars were used against the stream. They lost a whole night to reach the other shore, and then no guide could be found to take them six miles to the inn of a Mr. Bryan. In spite of Closen's eloquence in English and all the promises of reward in hard cash no one, not even of the colored men of the ferry could be persuaded to conduct them there. The evening came and it began to rain. There was nothing to be done but to go on at random. They got lost in the woods in the darkness. Closen left most of his group at this spot and accompanied by a negro discovered a house where he was hospitably put up for the night by a Mr. Walker and his family who accepted no money except a few shillings for the fodder for the horses. But that was an exception. Normally Closen was charged 4 to 6 crowns for one night and "for the trouble."

On September 13th, 1781, riding over bad roads and through forests south of the Patapsco, Closen's group came, 10 miles further on, to King's Tavern where they had breakfast and after 17 miles on horseback to Queen Ann's (page 322) where they had dinner and crossed the little river of the same name on a ferry. There were only 10 to 12 houses in Queen Ann's. Ten more miles and Upper Marlborough caused them to sing spontaneously the French popular song: "Malbrouk s'en va-t-en guerre." This place with about 20 homes assembled around a meeting house was very pleasant. Two adjutants of George Washington, Smith and Humphries, met them there with a message.

On September 14 continuing their trip they found better roads and

charming habitations—among them the home of a rich Mr. Dean, father-in-law of Governor Lee,—and superb horses, and after riding 16 more miles they were in Port Tobacco (p. 324) at the foot of a hill on a stream of water. Here they rested their horses, had a good supper and good beds but were exploited out of 21 dollars or five "Louis de France" (325). They noticed a church on a hill dominating the country view. From Port Tobacco they came to the Wicomico River and to Charleston on the shore of the Potomac and through beautiful and fertile lands, with fruit trees and vegetables, to a lodging house on the Potomac where the river was five miles wide opposite Virginia and to the ferry of a Mr. Hore. The food consisted mostly of corn cakes (gallettes) and corn fritters. The Potomac was crossed Sept. 15.

In 1782 after Cornwallis had surrendered on Oct. 19, 1781 at Yorktown, Virginia, Rochambeau was to take his troops north to New York. The army was brought safe and well to Baltimore, in summer 1782, and marched slowly along the shore the same way back. In Baltimore the army let warm weather pass by and the sick recover. Von Closen visited Fredericksburg, Va., and Alexandria, Va. in April 1782, crossed the Potomac to the Maryland shore at Alexandria in a ferry, reached Bladensburg, "a small place with isolated houses" and then Baltimore where he was received by the consul of France and a war commissioner and left May 2, 1781, for Bushtown, on bad horses but this time better roads, 27 miles north of Baltimore, crossed the Susquehanna on a ferry, got to the head of the Elk River, to Chester, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Sussex Court House, Elizabeth and New York.

Von Closen revisited Virginia and Maryland in 1782-83. He mentions Mt. Vernon, Madame Washington

and Mr. Custis, Bladensburg and Georgetown, and "Great Falls," dancing in Bladensburg, leaving Bladensburg-camp July 23, 1782, for "Spencer Tavern," the Patapsco and Baltimore (119-120), White Marsh, Bush-town, Wilmington and other places.¹⁵

As we noticed, the portrayal of Maryland by prominent visiting Germans in the 18th century was fair, considerate, objective and sympathetic. General von Riedesel and his wife were impressed by the overwhelming American hospitality, the culture of the higher classes, the rapidly rising and flourishing cities. Dr. Schoepf had a delightful trip. Baron von Closen met George Washington and his aides and found Baltimore and Annapolis beautiful and promising places. The country was young and full of vigor. Most visitors were pleasantly surprised. The poet Zschokke, though never having been in America, was not wrong after all in praising Maryland and the new world as a haven of liberty and progress.

Most German visitors of Maryland in the 19th and 20th centuries made the same gratifying discovery. They found Maryland, and especially Baltimore, a center of education, science, beauty, liberty, industry and trade. Big beautiful ocean ships plowed the high seas between Bremen and Baltimore and promoted the interchange of ideas between two great peoples. The present writer collected relevant material from about thirty distinguished German visitors and authors who often reveal intimate glimpses and information on churches, schools, general progress, and individuals like Edgar Allen Poe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Calvin Ellis Stowe, Charles Follen, Daniel Webster, Francis Scott Key, James R. Randall, Johns Hopkins, John W. McCoy, George Peabody, John McDonough, Enoch Pratt, Philip M. Wolsieffer, Albert Schu-

¹⁵ Von Closen returned to Europe in June 1783. He became a Maréchal de Camp in the French military service and died at Mannheim in 1830. His son Freiherr von Closen, born in 1786 at Zweibrücken, studied in Vienna and Landshut, entered the Bavarian government and its legislature, was a member of the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848, wrote books on educational affairs and died in 1856 as the last scion of his line which can be traced back to medieval history.

macher, Wilhelm Knabe, J. G. Wes-
selhöft, Charles Karthaus, Justus
Hoppe, Ferdinand R. Hassler, Karl
Ludwig Fleischmann, We learn from
these German visitors much about
political conventions in Baltimore,
about the German Society, Zion
Church, Baltimore Street, Johns Hop-
kins University, museums and monu-
ments, the city administrations, the
harbor and the shipping industry,
Mt. Vernon place, the women of
Baltimore (ranking as the most
beautiful), the surrounding territory,
the libraries, the railroads, the press,

the laws. Historians, diplomats, min-
isters, teachers, soldiers, poets, jour-
nalists, from Switzerland, Austria,
Germany, came to observe the cus-
toms and general aspects of life in
Maryland up to more recent years.
Social and cultural forces of historical
significance are often hidden away in
these foreign German books of fact,
fiction and travel. These treasures
deserve to be lifted from the obscurity
of cellars, attics, archives, studios and
cemeteries to enrich our knowledge of
the history of Maryland.