

GEORGIA'S GERMAN-LANGUAGE PROCLAMATION:  
AN APPEAL TO THE HESSIANS TO DESERT

By GEORGE FENWICK JONES

On 20 February 1782 the governor of Georgia issued a German-language proclamation that was smuggled from Ebenezer to the Hessian troops in Savannah by "slatternly women" urging the disgruntled garrison to desert.<sup>1</sup> This document is of interest not only as Georgia's sole foreign-language proclamation but also as Georgia's oldest surviving gubernatorial proclamation.<sup>2</sup> Its wording is as follows:

State Georgia

Bey dem Hochgeehrten Hn Johann Martin, Esq. Capitaine Gouverneur  
und Comander in Vorbesagter State Georgia

John Martin  
Great Seal

Proclamation

Indem eine grosse Anzahl Von Germanien und Hessischen wie auch andere Truppen in Savannah jetzt in Brittanischer oder Englischer Linie und gebiete sich befinden, und sind selbige gezwungen in besagte Dienst zu Verharren, welches Ihrem Contract und Accord gänzlich zu wider und entgegen gehandelt, und sind so genöthiget, und gezwungen sich Ieglicher Mühe Arbeit und Gefahr darzustellen, und zu streiten gegen ein aufrichtiges und unschuldiges Volck, welches die selbe nie beleydiget auch in keiner Sache Misgehandelt hat und viele von welchen sind auch deren Landtleuthe und Bluts Freunde, welche vielmehr verlangen und Wünschen selbige in ihr Eigenthum zu nehmen, und mit aller güte und Wohltat die disem Lande gemäss zu begegnen Und zu einem weiteren Zeugniß des Aufrichtigen Wunsches guter Intention und Meynung, der Einwohner und Bürger dieses Landes, gebe und ertheile auf und mit gutbefinden und Beystimmung des Achtbaren Executive Counsel oder geheimen Raths diese meine Proclamation mit Versprechung Darbietung und ertheilung eines Stuck Lands Von Zwey Hundert Acker frey von allen Unkosten, ingleichen eine gute Kuh und zwey Ziegel Schwein einem jeden unter officier oder Soldaten; welcher den Brittanischen oder Englischen Dienst verlässet und begehret ein Einwohner Bürger und mit Glied dieses Lands zu werden. Gegeben unter meiner Hand und Siegel vorbesagter State zu Ebenezer den 20. Febr. 1782

Auf dessen Hochgeehrter Befehl,  
Abraham Jones, Sec.

Transliterated into English this proclamation would read:

State of Georgia

Proclamation of the Honorable John Martin, esq., Captain General, Governor,  
and Commander in said State of Georgia.

John Martin  
Great Seal

Since a large number of Germans and Hessians and also other troops are now found within the British or English lines and territory and are compelled to remain in said service, which runs entirely contrary to their contract and agreement, and are therefore required and compelled to expose themselves to every trouble, work, and danger and to fight against an upright and innocent populace that has never insulted them or mistreated them in any way and of whom many are also their compatriots and relatives and desire and wish rather to receive them into their homes and to treat them with all the goodness and kindness that is customary in this land, and as a further proof of the honest wish and good intention and desire of the inhabitants and citizens of this land, I give and publish with the approval and agreement of the honorable Executive Council this my proclamation with the promise, offer, and presentation of a piece of land of two hundred acres free of all costs, likewise a good cow and two brood swine to every non-commissioned officer or soldier who leaves the British or English service and wishes to become an inhabitant, citizen, and member of this land. Given under my hand and the seal of said state at Ebenezer on 20 February 1782.

At his honorable command,  
Abraham Jones, Sec.

This German proclamation was forwarded by Col. Friedrich von Porbeck, a Hessian officer who had played a major role in the siege of Savannah of 1779, to Gen. Friedrich Christian Arnold, Freiherr von Jungkenn, the minister of state of Hesse-Cassel. The question arises as to whether the text had been composed in German or first written in English and then rendered into German. German origin is suggested by the fact that the entire proclamation is written in one rambling sentence, as could be expected today of a German but hardly of an Anglo-Saxon; but this argument is nullified by the fact that the 18th-century Englishmen wrote equally desultory sentences, as a glance in the *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* will quickly verify. Secondly, no German would have used the word *Germanien*, which was quite alien to the Germans. Also, the retention of the words "Great Seal" and "State" indicates copying from an English original. The only peculiar word is *Ziegel Schwein*, which does not exist today in standard German but does still exist in various dialects in the sense of "brood sow."<sup>3</sup>

To ascertain the original language of the proclamation, I searched until finally, with the aid of Dr. Kenneth Coleman, I found an English version in the Public Records Office in London,<sup>4</sup> which had been forwarded by Gen. Alexander Leslie, the commanding officer in Charleston, to his superior, Gen. Henry Clinton in New York, together with a German version, which was nearly identical to the other translation in wording<sup>5</sup> but entirely different with regard to spelling and capitalization. A collation of the three versions suggests that the two German versions were copied from a single translation of the English original. In the 18th century, when spelling, punctuation, and capitalization were strictly private matters, letters were usually copied by dictation, since this allowed the scribe to keep his eyes on the text and thus avoid skipping lines. Also, several scribes could work simultaneously if many copies were needed, as they were in this case.<sup>6</sup>

Being familiar with the content of the proclamation, we might now consider its cause and effect. The Wissenbach and Wöllwarth Regiments of Hessian Soldiers had participated in the capture of Savannah by Col. Archibald Campbell on 28 December 1778; and Col. von Porbeck had joined the garrison there soon afterwards together with Gen. Augustine Prevost when the latter moved up from St. Augustine to assume command of Savannah.<sup>7</sup> Morale remained high during the successful repulse of the Allied siege and assault of October 1779, which cost the British and Hessians only negligible casualties.

Ever since Vegetius formulated his rules of warfare, military commanders have known that troops should never be left too long in one place; yet, by the time the above proclamation was issued, the Hessians had been in Savannah for three and a half years. Von Porbeck's many letters and reports to his superiors, although clothed in the abject and submissive epistolary style of his time, constantly referred to the poor quarters and rations given to the Germans and to the mistreatment they suffered from the British authorities. Above all, he complained that the troops were being kept too long in the unhealthy climate, where sickness was decimating his command.<sup>8</sup>

Typical complaints are found in his letter of 2 February 1782 to von Jungkenn. Because of von Porbeck's asyntactical style, lack of punctuation, and strange rendition of British names, certain liberties have been taken in the following translations for the sake of clarity.

High Wellborn Baron!  
Gracious Highranking Lieutenant General

I have had the great fortune to receive, along with the recruits at the end of January 1782, Your Excellency's gracious answer of the 1st of April and the 12th of September of 1781 from Weissenstein as well as your most gracious promotions for the officers of this battalion. Your Excellency's gracious and most influential intercession has cheered me and everyone extremely; and I am rendering my most submissive thanks. The report to our most Serene Highness<sup>9</sup> will reveal in what a situation this battalion now finds itself. Nineteen of the recruits died on the sea voyage and in New York; and immediately upon their arrival here I had to send thirty men to the hospital because of scurvy and rash.<sup>10</sup>

Your Excellency will please graciously note that I am taking the liberty of enclosing a list of losses incurred by this battalion during the time they have been in this province. A gracious glance will clarify my submissive and most obliged report that there is no hope that Europeans can learn to bear this climate or the foul water for a long life. I also wish to report most submissively that the Second Delancy Battalion and the First Georgia Loyalists have had so many deaths that they have been integrated into two other battalions and the supernumerary officers are going home on half pay until the battalions are brought back to strength again.

The enclosed service reports will show that we are performing fatiguing duties. In addition there are the evil quarters that the officers and men must put up with, also the bad bedding that consists of rice straw and is issued most frugally. The commandant, Col. Clarke, blames the civil government and refers me to it; and the latter claims that nothing is possible.<sup>11</sup> The best houses are rented to foreign merchants at high rents. After our sudden departure from Ebenezer, the enemy

Rebel general Wayne<sup>12</sup> occupied Ebenezer and Cherokee Hill.<sup>13</sup> The number of the enemy is said to be 300 militia on foot and 200 light dragoons. The enemy does not show the least respect for our cavalry. Two weeks ago the Rebel general Twyggs attacked 100 Creek Indians across the Little Ogeechee, shot most of them dead, and plundered and chased the rest away.<sup>14</sup>

The British lieutenant Montcrief<sup>15</sup> has built strong and large redoubts in the vicinity of the city and also in its center; and there is no lack of artillery and ammunition. According to a letter from New York, His Excellency the commanding general Clinton has had troops embarked, which are to strengthen those in the South, namely in Charleston, Savannah, and St. Augustine. I assume that all the troops are going to Charleston under the command of General Leslie. If he cleanses South Carolina of the Rebels, then Georgia will be covered. General Rochambeau<sup>16</sup> has made the inhabitants of Virginia do homage to His Most Christian Majesty.<sup>17</sup> The Rebels are sending patrols within one mile of the city. In order not to inconvenience Your Excellency any longer and also because of the insecurity of letters on the sea voyage,<sup>18</sup> I must close with the most submissive request that, if the opportunity arises, you will with your gracious intercession lay my temporal betterment at the feet of His Serene Highness the Landgrave. I have completed six years of bitter service here in hope of sharing in his grace. I remain most respectfully.

Your Excellency's  
Most Obedient Servant  
Friedrich de Porbeck

Province Georgia  
Savannah, 2 February 1782

Exactly a month later von Porbeck sent von Junkenn another letter voicing similar complaints:

Highwellborn Baron!  
Gracious Highranking Lieutenant General

Without fail I should report to Your Excellency concerning the garrison here and this regiment. On the 28th of February a detachment was sent from here along with a galley to Sandbury;<sup>19</sup> and there it attacked the Rebels, who have been perpetrating shameful atrocities on the Royal subjects with murdering and burning. Fifteen, among them one lieutenant, were shot dead; and one major by the name of Wellsch<sup>20</sup> was brought in captive. Also, a single-masted ship along with six flagboats, nine saddles, and seven horses, all of them delivered to the British commandant. The latter has, to be sure, promised that the two non-coms and the ten enlisted men from this regiment should take part in the booty; yet I fear that it will turn out in this case as when Brigadier General Campbell, who led us here in 1778, and Major General Prevost undertook the expedition to South Carolina.<sup>21</sup>

Both these commanders gave orders that all enemy booty should be sent to the troops: until now neither Your Excellency's regiment nor this one has received anything at all; and it is known to every officer that the booty taken from the enemy in the form of Moors,<sup>22</sup> indigo, silver plates, cows, and merchant wares has been very considerable: a subaltern should have received from Georgia and South Carolina some 150 pounds Sterling and an enlisted man 24 to 30 Spanish dollars. The imprisoned Second Delancy Battalion, Commander Major Bowden and captains,

I and the captains attached to this regiment have sent three petitions to Sir Henry Clinton, commanding general of the Royal Army in North America, but have received no answer. In the year 1780, to be sure, I heard from Major Willmovsky, in answer to the first letter, that His Excellency Henry Clinton wished to have the booty pool<sup>23</sup> investigated by commissioners and to have justice done to everyone. So far, after all these promises, nothing has been given to us.

Immediately upon the arrival of Major von Ende with the recruits, everyone saw that our hope of being relieved from here had been frustrated. With the great heat every year, everyone is expecting bad fevers and death. In addition, there is the enclosed Rebel proclamation, which has been distributed about at night in many places in the city by wicked rabble inhabitants and made known to every soldier in the garrison. Also, the women are the most dangerous recruiters for the Rebels. The French general<sup>24</sup> has just announced that all of His Majesty's subjects who are in British service, if they do not stop, their property will be confiscated and they can never look forward to being accepted again into the realm of the king.<sup>25</sup> This is the reason why the Frey-Corporal<sup>26</sup> von Andlau deserted,<sup>27</sup> whom I had humbly suggested as an ensign in the place of the late Lieutenant Justi. Will Your Excellency graciously apply your influential intercession so that Frey-Corporal Körber will receive the vacant position as ensign. You will perhaps remember that he has been a quartermaster in the guard of the praiseworthy Second Battalion and arrived here in 1781 with the transport recruits. His older brother is serving as first lieutenant in this praiseworthy battalion.<sup>28</sup>

The company commanders have paid two guineas for every deserter brought in. This has also been announced to the Indian nations and to the praiseworthy battalion, so that both Moors and Indians ride patrols at night in the nearby forests and bring in deserters dead or alive. According to letters from Charleston, a fleet of fifty-two sails is said to have arrived with troops and provisions. Because of the great heat the enemy will not undertake a siege either at Charleston or here before September or October. If only the British general Leslie chases the Rebels out of South Carolina before May, the Southern parts will be freed of Rebels. The Northern Americans have just withdrawn from Yorktown,<sup>29</sup> and General Washington has declared that he will not serve further to the south. The French are still in Virginia and do not wish to support the siege of Charleston. With deepest respect I remain

Your Excellency's  
Obedient Servant  
Friedrich de Porbeck

Savannah, 2nd of March  
1782

Only a little later von Porbeck sent von Jungkenn an undated 30 letter of similar tenor, which shows the efficacy of the proclamation:

Highwellborn Baron!  
Gracious Highranking Lieutenant General

Your Excellency's gracious permission commands me to send this humble report. During the month of March no ship has set sail from here to Europe, Charleston, or New York, presumably through fear that the Georgia Packet Ship might be captured by French frigates. On the 19th of this month our detachment

saw eight ships run in as far as the lighthouse;<sup>31</sup> but they were driven from the bar and back into the sea by a storm-wind from the north, and we still do not know whether they were Royal British or hostile ships of the line. Consequently, I have been unable until now to send my humble reports and news or the enclosed Rebel proclamation, which the Rebel general Wayne has had disseminated in our garrison by slatternly women from Ebenezer, mostly in High German.<sup>32</sup> This and the fact that the local British battalion, like this one, see no hope of being relieved are the true causes of the desertions. In addition is the fact that the civilian government has laid a tax on incoming merchant ships so that everything is enormously expensive. For four months no ship has entered with wine or other goods. A small dozen bottles of wine cost from 37 shillings 4 pence to 50 shillings Sterling. Beer is seldom to be had and is paid for at 18 shillings 8 pence Sterling per dozen. Consequently, most people must be content to drink rum mixed with dirty stagnant water. Sickness and dying have already begun among the inhabitants, and we are surrounded by graves on all sides of the city.

In order to put a stop to the desertions, the British commandant of the province of Georgia, Lieutenant Colonel Clarke, has promised to pay the light cavalry two guineas for every deserter who is brought in. The praiseworthy battalion has recovered eight men arrested by the Moors. The Rebels immediately threatened with burning and death any white inhabitants who dared to capture the deserters on their plantations. On the ninth of this month four men deserted from Major Ende's company and one from Major Göbels, two of them from their posts with full armament and ammunition and the other three with their uniforms and side arms.<sup>33</sup> This plot was at once reported to Lieutenant Colonel Clarke at night, and he immediately commanded a Creek militia patrol on horse. At break of day these see from the blunt shoes in the Rebel dew and in the sand<sup>34</sup> seven miles from here that the deserters have gone to a plantation belonging to a Jew named Sheftal, whose father fled here from Berlin and whose son still speaks good German.<sup>35</sup> The Creeks pursue in the swamp and find the deserters together in a thicket. A Creek by the name of Werner, who can speak German too, calls to them in the British language, also in German, that they should surrender. "We will not surrender," and immediately raise their muskets. Hereupon the Creeks open fire and kill some, and they still defend themselves with their sabers in their hands, as the enclosed report to His Serene Highness shows.<sup>36</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Campbell had a dragoon hanged. On the 27th of this month four men from the King's Rangers deserted at the same time from their posts, the Creeks shot two of them dead four British miles<sup>37</sup> from here; and then a strong Rebel...

Alas, the reader is left in suspense because the remainder of the letter is lost; but he can hope that, unlike the poor Hessians, the two surviving deserters may have been saved by a Rebel patrol. In any case, the desertion rate among the Hessians was enough to alarm not only Gen. Clarke but also Gen. Leslie, as we see from his letter to Gen. Clinton dated 2 March 1782:

I find that the Hessian Regiment has been there too long, they desert fast, and I am afraid little dependence is to be put in them, I shall for this reason be under the necessity of withdrawing them, I am very much at a Loss whom to send to replace that Corps,--I am sorry to observe that when the Hessian Troops are sent to out Posts Desertion takes place, they being so long here has been the means of

their forming too many connexions, and the Enemy have taken every care to encourage desertion as much as in their power, this together with the assistance of their friends within our walls enables them to seduce the foreigners from the encouragement they give them.<sup>38</sup>

As shown by von Porbeck's undated letter, desertion was not limited to the German troops: in fact the Hessians seem, despite their justifiable grounds, to have deserted less often than the native militia, who often changed sides if for no better reason than to collect double enlistment bonuses. Leslie's letter continues:

I am sorry to find some Leading people of our Militia going over to the Enemy and persuading others to follow them, in fact to us they are of little use [a few cavalry excepted] and are a great Expence to Government, but we cannot force those that have been formerly our friends out of the Lines, who have come in for our protection.

A letter from von Porbeck to von Jungkenn dated 1 June 1782 even related an encounter in which three Hessians helped the Chickasaw Indians frustrate an ambush by Gen. Wayne's troops:

Highwellborn Sir  
Gracious and Highranking Lieutenant General

In accordance with Your Excellency's gracious command, I should not fail to report most humbly that on the 15th of May, midday at 11 o'clock, three houses burned all at once; and in a few minutes eight more of them, and Negro huts along with stalls for the horses and also the Assembly House, were standing in full flames until they burned to the ground with a southwest wind. Some of the inhabitants believe that the fire was laid because of the Assembly House in order to annoy the civil government and to disturb its scheduled court session. During the fire no Rebel could be seen for two miles.

On the 20th of May the commandant, Brigadier General Clarke, sent two detachments, one under Colonel Brown and the other with Colonel Douglas,<sup>39</sup> to the Ogeechee to collect some fresh cattle. Both marched without flank patrols and did not occupy the enemy who had been left in the rear. Four or five miles from here the Rebel general Wayne laid an ambush of four troops on both sides of the road. When the second of our detachments was marching in close order on a causeway, the Rebel riflemen gave immediate fire. Our cavalry advances to the left through the forest toward St. Augustine Creek and leaves the infantry alone, and a British subaltern with twenty-four men desert. Hereupon one corporal and two men of the regiment, together with fifty Chickasaw Indians,<sup>40</sup> retreated in such a way that the enemy cavalry was unable to collect some two hundred horses, even though the Rebels had destroyed said bridge<sup>41</sup> in order to make the retreat more difficult.

The losses on our side amount to seven or eight men dead and six wounded, among them Colonel Douglas along with one subaltern. The enemy has eleven captives, among whom one man from this regiment was wounded and captured. Nevertheless, General Wayne has not yet submitted a specification list.<sup>42</sup> Twenty-six horses were lost too. On the other hand, the enemy had fourteen to sixteen killed; the wounded cannot be ascertained. We took one man and twenty horses from the enemy.

On several occasions His Serene Highness the Landgrave has most graciously given me the hope that Your Excellency would order the commanding general von Knyphausen <sup>43</sup> to transfer this praiseworthy regiment to the North, whereby the annual sickening and dying would decrease and the praiseworthy regiment would not be so dreadfully weakened. In this province there is no hope of recuperating. At present four or five people among the inhabitants are already dying every day from dysentery, hot fever, and cramps; and also, during the last few days, from epilepsy.<sup>44</sup> I constantly hear complaints that eyes are tired and memories are weakened. No British garrison has ever been quartered here for more than two years; indeed, because of the mortality only two companies<sup>45</sup> have been quartered here. The rich inhabitants travel from here to England, New York, and to the North of this country, and some to the West Indian Islands. These are said to be less dangerous for Europeans than Georgia and East and West Florida. Will Your Excellency allow me to commend myself to your grace and to remain with the most perfect respect Your Excellency's

Most submissive Servant  
Friedrich de Porbeck

Province of Georgia  
Savannah 1 June 1782

Although Gov. Martin's proclamation had almost instantaneous results,<sup>46</sup> it is questionable whether it greatly influenced the outcome of the Revolution; for, before word of it and the resulting desertions reached England, the evacuation of Georgia had already been decided.<sup>47</sup> It is not known where the successful deserters settled, but we may be sure that not many chose to remain on the hot and malarial coastal plain. Some are known to have settled in North Carolina,<sup>48</sup> and we may assume that some sought the Southern Piedmont areas and that others drifted North to the German communities of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Shenandoah Valley.

<sup>1</sup> This document is among the Jungkenn Papers of the University of Michigan, attached to a letter of 2 March 1782. I wish to thank the authorities of the William L. Clements Library of the U. of Mich, for permission to publish this proclamation and the following letters from that collection.

<sup>2</sup> In a kind letter of 3 August 1978 Mr. d'Arcy W. Jones, Historical Research Advisor of the State of Georgia, assured me, "with respect to Martin's proclamation to the German troops serving in the forces of the English king I, having conducted a thorough search for the same, am satisfied that the Archives does not possess a copy. Only one proclamation from Martin's time as governor survives (to our knowledge)—it forbids trade with the British!" In a letter of 30 March 1978, Dr. Kenneth Coleman had advised me that the *Proclamation Book AAA*, apparently the only one known to exist when it was microfilmed in the 1940's or 1950's, begins in November 1782, or well after Martin's German proclamation.

<sup>3</sup>J. Andreas Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, Oldenburg, 1872, II, Col. 1098 gives *zügel* (to breed) and *zügel* (breeding); and Hermann Fischer, *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch*, Tübingen, 1924, VI, Col. 1315 gives *zügelkalb*. The extensive acreage promised was due to



the barrenness of much of the soil and to the large number of loyalists, from whom unlimited land could be confiscated. On 29 April 1778 in New Jersey, where land and loyalists were scarcer, George Washington had offered the Hessians only fifty acres for deserting. See Edward J. Lowell, *The Hessians and other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain*, Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1884 Repr. 1965, p. 286.

<sup>4</sup> PRO CO 55/35-37-90. It appears that this proclamation was initiated by General Wayne, who suggested to the Executive Council that "proclamations be issued for opening a door for the absent citizens of this State and for encouraging desertion from the enemy." Upon receiving his letter, the Executive Council ordered "That his Honor the Governor be requested and empowered to issue the above proclamations, viz one. for opening a door for the reception of citizens, and another to encourage desertions from the enemy." (*The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia*, ed. Allen D. Candler [Atlanta, 1908], II, 320).

<sup>5</sup>It included the last phrase "and the sixth year of our independence" (*im sechsten Jahr unserer Independence oder Freyhait*).

<sup>6</sup>Note *mehrere Stuck aus streuen lassen* in von Porbeck's letter of 2 March below.

<sup>7</sup>See Ray W. Pettingill, trans., *Letters from America, 1776-1779*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924, pp. 201, 203.

<sup>8</sup>Von Porbeck stressed the unhealthy climate and the long time his men had served in Georgia in all his letters in the Jungkenn Collection and in all his letters to his family, which are now in the possession of his descendant, Dr. Jost von Trott zu Solz.

<sup>9</sup>*Sr Hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht*, i.e. Landgrave Frederick of Hessia-Cassel who graciously sold his subjects to the British as cannon fodder.

<sup>10</sup>At this point a marginal note indicates that these were the recruits who came with Major Johann Christian von Ende.

<sup>11</sup>In March of 1781, while serving as commanding officer of the garrison in the absence of Col. Clarke, von Porbeck had quarreled with the civil governor, Sir James Wright. On 2 April of that year Wright wrote a complaint to Lord George Germain stating that he had gotten on well with Col. Clarke and that "what makes his departure the More to be Regretted is that the Command of the Military Now Devolves on a Gentleman who is a *Foreigner*. Surely My Lord this is wrong and it is with great difficulty that things can be kept in a Tolerable Way, Where the principal Officers on both Sides, know the Line of Authority and are on the best Terms and desirous, & take Pains to Avoid altercation, What is to be Expected Now? and I have been Informed that the Foreigners in General have an Idea that they are totally Exempt from all Civil Power or Authority Whatever and I much fear Disagreeable things may happen Which may affect the Peace of the Province, and His Majesty's Service. (Allen Chandler, ed., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, XXXVIII, Pt. II, 495, unpublished).

<sup>12</sup>(Mad) Anthony Wayne, the Continental commander in Georgia, was from Pennsylvania.

<sup>13</sup>Ebenezer, the second largest town in Georgia, lay some twenty-five miles from Savannah on the Savannah River. It was inhabited almost exclusively by German-speaking people, the first of whom had been Protestant exiles from Salzburg. See George F. Jones, ed., *Detailed Reports on the Georgia Salzburgers*, Athens, Ga.: U. of Ga. Press, 1968 ff. and *Salzburger Saga*, Athens Ga.: U. of Ga. Press, 1984. Cherokee Hill appears to have been a nearby plantation.

<sup>14</sup>"John Twiggs, a Marylander was always in the field and never defeated in the fray He came with his kinsmen, John and David Emanuel, and was a young mechanic. He was first a captain and rose to the post of major-general. He chastized the Cherokee Indians, and protected the frontier on the Ogeechee from the Creeks." George Gillman Smith, *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People 1732 to 1860*, Macon, Ga., 1900, p. 98-99.

<sup>15</sup>The engineer Capt. James Montcrief had won acclaim for the successful defense of Savannah in 1779. An excellent colored map of his lines of fire is in the possession of Dr. Jost von Trott zu Solz.

<sup>16</sup> Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte Rochambeau, who aided Washington at the siege of Yorktown. This is an example of the way von Porbeck would change the subject without preparing the reader.

<sup>17</sup> Louis XIV of France. Von Porbeck tended to believe, or at least to report, all rumors.

<sup>18</sup> A good example of von Porbeck's many non-sequiturs.

<sup>19</sup> Von Porbeck must have meant Sunbury, the port of Midway even if no attack there is mentioned by Charles Colcock Jones in his *The History of Georgia*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883.

<sup>20</sup> This was probably von Porbeck's rendering of Welch.

<sup>21</sup> Von Porbeck is alluding to the unsuccessful advance against Charleston in June of 1779. In his letter to his family of 5 March 1780 he complained that the Hessians had been robbed of their share of the booty. Accompanying this letter is a battle map of the Battle of Stono Ferry, which is now in the possession of Dr. Jost von Trott zu Solz. Published in *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 82 (1981) 371-381.

<sup>22</sup> Negroes. Because of their ability to resist heat and malaria, the Blacks played a major role on both sides in the Southern colonies.

<sup>23</sup> *Beuthe Cassa*. There seems to have been a common kitty for plunder.

<sup>24</sup> Rochambeau. See note 16.

<sup>25</sup> Of France.

<sup>26</sup> This rank was a junior grade of commissioned officer usually borne by young men of noble rank.

<sup>27</sup> He must have been a French subject, possibly from Alsace or Zweibrücken (Deux Ponts). It was normal at the time for mercenaries to fight for their employers even against their own countries.

<sup>28</sup> Johann Christoph Körber. According to Max von Eelking, the other officers mentioned were Lt. Bernhardt Justi, Maj. Johann von Ende, and Maj. Johann Otto Goebel (J. G. Rosengarten, *German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence 1776-1783*, trans. from Max von Eelking, Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Col, 1969, pp. 319-320. The German original of this work does not give first names (Max von Eelking, *Die deutschen Hilfstruppen im nordamerikanischen Freiheitskrieg 1776 bis 1783*, Hannover, 1863, Repr. Kassel, 1976, Pt. II, p. 262).

<sup>29</sup> Cornwallis had capitulated on 19 October 1781.

<sup>30</sup> Because it, like the letter of 2 March 1782 mentions the enclosed proclamation, it must have been sent under the same cover.

<sup>31</sup> On Tybee Island.

<sup>32</sup> *Hoch Teustche*. The English translation "High Dutch" was usually shortened to "Dutch," with the consequence that all speakers of High German were called "Dutch," be they from Germany, Switzerland, Austria, or Alsace.

<sup>33</sup> *2 davon vom Posten mit voller Armatur und Munition die andere mit Mondirung und seithen Gewehr*. The word Mondirung (*Muntierung*) includes the entire get-up worn by the soldier: uniform, cap, boots, belt, etc.

<sup>34</sup> *auf dem Rebell Thau, auch in Sandt*. This odd expression is clearly written.

<sup>35</sup> The plantation belonged to a son of Benjamin Sheftal, who had come from Frankfurt on the Oder in the first year of the colony. His sons profited from their knowledge of German, which helped them keep the trade of the Palatine and Salzburger settlers. This plantation probably belonged to Levi Sheftal, who was later mildly punished for collaborating with the British. His brother Mordecai, a "notorious rebel" and quarter-master of the Continental troops, had been captured when Campbell captured Savannah in 1778.

<sup>36</sup> This desertion is also described in Gen. Leslie's letter of 2 March 1782 to Clinton (PRO CO 55/36-37-90): "Colonel Clarke ordered out a Party of Dragoons to recover five Hessians who had gone off. The Dragoons came up with them and killed the whole—I intend to relieve that Regiment as soon as a Ship of War can be spared for the purpose." The names of these wretches are recorded in the regimental reports preserved in the Hessian State Archives in Marburg (12 Kriegsministerium 8869/61, 63). It should be noted that many,

if not most of the deserters from von Porbeck's regiment were from German countries other than Hestia (*Ibid.*, pp. 64-74). Von Porbeck announced that the five deserters had been shot by "Crackers" and that the other soldiers should learn from their example (*Journal des Knoblauch Regiments* Murhardsche Bibliothek, Cassel. 4 Ms. Haas., 205, pp. 287, 288). He mentions only those deserters who were captured, shot, or scalped.

<sup>37</sup> It is usually unclear whether von Porbeck is measuring in British or German miles, the latter of which are about five times as long.

<sup>38</sup> PRO CO 55/36-37-90.

<sup>39</sup> Col. Thomas Brown had been an implacable tory ever since being tarred-and-feathered by the patriots of Augusta at the outbreak of the Revolution. Col. Douglas has not been identified. This skirmish is described, but very differently, by C. C. Jones in his *The History of Georgia*, II, 510-514.

<sup>40</sup> *Indiens Schick-Scha*.

<sup>41</sup> Von Porbeck had not mentioned a bridge, unless he implied one on the causeway (*Damm*).

<sup>42</sup> *Specifique Liste*. Prisoners were usually exchanged, according to rank, as soon as possible. Eighteenth-century warfare aimed to out-manuever the enemy, not to destroy him; and European officers were appalled at the carnage during the Revolution.

<sup>43</sup> Lt. Gen. and Commander in Chief of the Hessians in America, Baron Wilhelm von Knyphausen.

<sup>44</sup> Doctors of the time diagnosed and treated the symptoms rather than their causes. "Epilepsy" referred to any paroxysm, such as that caused by malaria.

<sup>45</sup> He must mean British companies.

<sup>46</sup> Word of the proclamation must have reached Savannah in advance; for on the very day after the proclamation was signed Sir Patrick Houston, who always knew how to turn his cloak to the wind, surrendered at Ebenezer with a troop of Hessian and loyalist deserters. (Kenneth Coleman, *American Revolution in Georgia 1763-1789*, Athens, Ga.: U. of Ga. Press, 1958 p. 143).

<sup>47</sup> James H. O'Donnell, III, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, Knoxville: U. of Tenn. Press, 1973, p. 123, footnote 38. Dr. Krüger-Löwenstein of the Hessian State Archives in Marburg has kindly written me that the garrison Regiment von Wissenbach/von Knoblauch embarked on 14 August 1783, apparently from New York, and arrived at Bremerlehe on 10 October.

<sup>48</sup> Coleman, op. cit., p. 143.