



Dollhopf

600 Years in the Baking

Dollhopfs and the American Revolutionary War

(We were on the losing side.)

In 1779, almost one hundred years before Johann Bär Dollhopf left Mistelbach for America, Heinrich Pfaffenberger, a mercenary fighting for the British in the Revolutionary War, died of scurvy in Newport, Rhode Island.

Heinrich was one of our cousins.

Family history takes many interesting twists and turns. Sometimes it's difficult to follow the plot, other times it's not a matter of difficulty, but one of surprise. This story ends at the Smithsonian Museum.

In researching the nobility to whom our Dollhopf ancestors paid taxes,¹ I came across this curiosity: in 1777 Christian Friedrich Karl Alexander, the Margrave of Bayreuth, (1769–1791), sold peasants from the Mistelbach area to the British for use as mercenaries in the American Revolution.

I was surprised to learn this because I was taught in elementary school that it was *Hessian* mercenaries who fought in the Revolution. (Hesse is a German state in the middle of Germany. Frankfurt, one of Germany's largest cities and its financial capital, is located in Hesse.²)

As it turns out, my elementary school education was, well, misleading.

The Real Story

The German soldiers were not all Hessians. "Hessian" was a generic term – a synecdoche – applied by the British, the Americans, and later historians to describe any and all of the German soldiers, but fewer than half of them came from Hesse (if you count the Germans that fought on the American side as well). A total of 29,875 Germans (exact figures vary) fought on the side of the British. In addition to Hesse, the "mercenaries" came from six other German principalities – Anhalt-Zerbst, Ansbach-Bayreuth³ (which includes Mistelbach), Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Hanover, Prussia, and Waldeck.

The most militaristic, some would say notorious, of the German states was Hesse, thus all mercenaries were labeled Hessian. (See Appendix A for a list of the principalities, the number of soldiers they sent, and a description of their military units.)

Why were they sold to the British? King George III was buying to supplement his troops, perhaps the main reason, but religion also played a role. These six German states were Protestant, as were the British, hence the alliance.

¹ See Dollhopf *Blog #12 Feudalism and Taxes*.

² We have Hessian ancestors too – the parents of Elizabeth Bender (wife of Johann Bär Dollhopf) were Hessian, as well as the grandparents of Susan Born, wife of Edward Dollhopf.

³ In 1777, Ansbach-Bayreuth was a dual margraviate – two noncontiguous German states ruled by one margrave. The town of Ansbach is 80 miles southwest of Bayreuth. A "margraviate" is a territory ruled by a Margrave.

Family was also a factor – in the case of Ansbach-Bayreuth, the Margrave Karl Alexander was attending to “family business” – King George III was his second cousin (once removed).

Alternatively, over 2,500 Catholic Germans, mostly from Bavaria, fought on the American side under the French flag, as the French were Catholic.

Also on the American side: the Continental Congress organized German *immigrants* – those who had already settled in America – into eight company units (a total of about 640 men). They were known as the Maryland 8th German Regiment, or the “German Battalion.”

The German soldiers were not mercenaries. They were *auxiliaries*. A mercenary is one who hires himself out to a foreign government, of his own free will, for personal gain and profit. An *auxiliary* is one who is conscripted, often *against* his will, by his own government – in our case the Margrave of Bayreuth – and then hired out by that government as a source of profit for the ruling noble.

Karl Alexander sold a total of 1,644 men from the Bayreuth region in 1777 to the British for £100,000, ostensibly to pay for the heavy debts incurred by his father, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich, *der Wilde Markgraf*, (the “Wild Margrave”). The Wild Margrave was known for his extravagant lifestyle, in imitation of the lavish French royalty, driving the territory into deep debt.⁴

Apparently £100,000 wasn’t enough. Over the next few years Karl Alexander sold another 709 peasants, and on December 2, 1791, after the Revolutionary War had ended, he sold the *entire province* of Bayreuth (along with our Dollhopf ancestors) to King Friederich Wilhelm II of Prussia, and lived the rest of his life in England on his “Prussian pension.”⁵

The selling of soldiers to the British by German princes was not a Revolutionary War anomaly. This so-called *Soldatenhandel* (soldier trade) of the German nobility was a well-established “business” as early as the 17th century. Scores of petty estate princes raised armies for profit, selling soldiers who fought in countless wars in the 1700s. Hessians fought on *both* sides of the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748), an amalgam of five different wars, and the Seven Years War (1756-1763), which



Christian Friedrich Karl Alexander (1736–1806), Margrave of Ansbach-Bayreuth from 1769 to 1791. He sold us to the Prussians.

⁴ “When he came to power, Karl Wilhelm Frederick ruled as a typical absolute monarch with a luxurious court life. He left his heir Karl Alexander a total debt of 2.3 million Reichsthaler, and he spent 10% of the state budget on hunting. He had 56 churches and many palaces built, among them a building in Triesdorf for his falcons, his greatest passion, on which he spent more than a half million guilders between 1730 and 1748. His love of hunting, particularly with his falcons, is what earned him his nickname, the *Wild Margrave*.” Wikipedia.

⁵ Our Dollhopfs were “Prussian” from 1791 until 1806, when Napoleon conquered Prussia, at which time the Dollhopfs became French until Napoleon sold Bayreuth to Bavaria in 1810.

we know in the US as the French and Indian War, largely fought on American soil. They were also employed as armed guards for businesses such as the Dutch East India Company.

Auxiliaries were often, but not always, drafted from the bottom of the peasant class – ne'er do wells, drunks, debtors, the indigent (as most were), the landless – and they were usually unmarried. Many of these peasants were only too glad to be “recruited” because they would be paid a decent wage and sent to exotic places like America. Many viewed conscription as a one-way ticket to opportunity, especially in America.

Most, however, were drafted against their will. Writers of the day described this almost-slave trade in soldiering as *Menschenhandel* (trade in human beings), *Menschenverkauf* (sale of human beings), or *Seelenverkauf* (sale of souls), and the nobles who participated in this trade were labeled traitors.⁶

Many fellow nobles were also disgusted at the practice:

The uncle of Margrave Karl Alexander, Friedrich the Great, was adamantly opposed to sending German soldiers abroad in this manner. Friedrich expressed his disgust at the practice in a letter to Voltaire regarding the Landgrave of Hesse: "Had the Landgrave come out of my school, he would not have sold his subjects to the English as one sells cattle to be dragged to the shambles. This is unbecoming in the character of a prince who sets himself up as a teacher of rulers. Such conduct is caused by nothing but selfishness. I pity the poor Hessians who end their lives unhappily and uselessly in America."⁷

More than a third of the “British” army in the Revolutionary War – at its highest 37% – were German auxiliaries. Most historians agree that our war of independence would have ended far sooner were it not for the Germans purchased by King George III of England.

What happened to these Germans? Of the 29,839 who fought for the British:

- 17,313 (58%) returned home to Germany.
- 1,200 (4%) were killed in action.
- 6,354 (21%) died from accidents or illnesses including scurvy, smallpox, dysentery, typhoid, and pneumonia, including our likely cousin Heinrich Pfaffenberger.
- 4,972 (16%) settled in North America either by desertion or discharge, including likely cousin Johann Bär.

Soldier Diaries

[For a detailed history of the Ansbach-Bayreuth Army in America, see <http://www.exulanten.com/delta.html>]

Eight of the peasant soldiers from Ansbach-Bayreuth are known to have kept meticulous diaries of their “adventures” in America. Thinking there might be some family connections, I perused a number of them. In the diary of one Johann Conrad Döhla, a schoolteacher from the village of Oberhaid, about 35 miles from Mistelbach, I found this entry:

March 6, 1779. Today Private Heinrich Pfaffenberger *from Mistelbach* near Bayreuth, of Beust’s Company, died.⁸

⁶ The German Soldier Trade; of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Reassessment: Wilson Peter H., *The International History Review*, Nov., 1996, Vol. 18, No. 4 pp. 757-792.

⁷ For a complete history on the Ansbach-Bayreuth Regiment in America, visit <http://www.exulanten.com/delta.html>, EXULANTEN - © International Copyright 2004-2104. by EXULANTEN © Exulanten.com(including all sub-domains / extensions) All Rights Reserved.

⁸ “A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution,” by Johann Conrad Döhla. A paperback edition of this diary, edited by Bruce E. Burgoyne and published March 15, 1993, is available at Amazon.com. Döhla was born in 1750 to

Döhla mentioned scores of his comrades in his 300-page diary, but he rarely identified their home villages, so this stood out. Sure enough, we have Pfaffenbergers in our Dollhopf family tree. I discovered two Heinrich Pfaffenbergers – brothers – living in Mistelbach in that generation, both in their twenties, both unmarried, and for both of whom there are no death records in the church books – an indication that they died elsewhere. And not only were they Dollhopf cousins, they might have been neighbors; the Pfaffenbergers once owned the house next to the Dollhopfs. Of course, in a village of 40 or 50 families, everyone is a neighbor, and likely, a cousin.⁹ [Important note: Some church records indicate that the Pfaffenbergers lived in Mistelgau, not Mistelbach. Neighboring Mistelgau is two miles from Mistelbach. I am abiding by the firsthand diary account of Döhla, but the location is in question.)

Draftees were not randomly assigned to diverse units as is common in the military today. Rather, they were grouped according to their home villages. Döhla was a private in the Fourth Company, Bayreuth Regiment, commanded by Colonel August Valentin von Voit von Salzburg. This company of 75 men was composed mostly of villagers from the Mistelbach area.

Although I did not find evidence that anyone specifically with the name Dollhopf was part of this “trade in human beings,” it is entirely probable that, in addition to Heinrich Pfaffenberger, we had other “cousins” who fought on American soil. In addition to the 75 men of the Fourth Company, there were nearly 1,200 other peasants drafted from throughout the Bayreuth region. As I described in *Blog #10: Ancestry DNA*, we could fairly estimate that 80% of the inhabitants of the immediate region of Mistelbach were cousins, hence it is all too probable that there were more Dollhopf cousins who were Revolutionary War veterans.¹⁰



Ansbach-Bayreuth Regimental soldiers in historically accurate uniforms, and a reproduction of the flag they carried into battle.

And it is highly likely that some of these cousins remained behind in America. Desertion was common among the German troops (as well as the British and American), and Döhla mentions a number of the deserters in his notes. 712 men from the Ansbach-Bayreuth regiments deserted or stayed in America after their discharge, including over 300 from the Bayreuth battalion.

Specifically, of the 75 men in the Fourth Company, the unit in which Heinrich Pfaffenberger served, 57 stayed in America, an overwhelming 76%. Perhaps this was a symptom of the intense poverty of the Bayreuth region. They didn't want to return. Of those 57, 17 had surnames found in our family tree. Although I can't verify that these individuals are indeed relatives, it is extremely likely that some were, given the

odds. Appendix C is a list of the known Ansbach-Bayreuth soldiers who either deserted, or were discharged, and remained in America. I have marked with an asterisk those whose surname appears in our family tree.

brickmaker Johann Konrad Döhla and his wife Katrina. He enlisted, apparently of his own volition, in the army at age 18, and spent the next fifteen years in service to the Margrave, five of those years in America.

⁹ The likelihood that *any* neighbor was related to us was greater than 80%. See *Blog #10 DNA Ancestry*.

¹⁰ Even stranger: I have direct ancestors on my mother's side (the Comegys family) who fought on the American side *in the same battles*.

In addition to Heinrich Pfaffenberger, two in particular shared both surname *and* given name with ancestors in our tree – Lorenz Baumann, who deserted on December 13, 1778, and Johann Bär, who deserted on December 28, 1782. Both were unmarried, and there were no deaths recorded for either in the Mistelbach church books.

Lorenz Baumann was a fifth cousin by marriage of Johann Dollhopf (1752-1828), our 4th great grandfather. Lorenz was born June 30, 1764 in Dörnhof bei Bayreuth, a village about five miles north of Mistelbach. He deserted while on guard duty in Newport, Rhode Island.

Johann Bär is of particular note. He was born on May 15, 1760 in Mistelbach, and was also a fifth cousin of Johann Dollhopf, but in his case a blood relative. And because of later marriages he would become the great-grand uncle of Johann Bär Dollhopf, our great grandfather. His parents, Adam and Kunigunde Bär, were our 5th great-grandparents.¹¹

Johann tried to “escape” a number of times, and apparently was successful when it was discovered in October of 1782 that he had deserted and joined the Virginia militia – the American side – after being captured at the Battle of Yorktown. More on Johann later.

As mentioned above, the margraviates of Bayreuth and Ansbach were combined, each contributing a regiment – also called battalions – to the British. The initial contingent of 1,644 Ansbach-Bayreuth soldiers in 1777 consisted of two battalions, each of which included ten infantry companies with an average of 75 men in each. Accompanying these twenty companies was a *Jäger Compagnie* (sharpshooters or riflemen) of 101 men, and one *Kanonier Compagnie* (cannon or artillerymen) unit of 44 men. Several additional contingents totaling about 700 men were sent in subsequent years.

The Journey to America

There was another diarist from the Bayreuth regiment, Stephen Popp. The awkward title of his diary was:

“History of the North American War, especially of the part taken in it by the two regiments from Bayreuth and Ansbach, described by one who served in the Bayreuth Regiment, named Stephan Popp, from 1777-1783. I was twenty-two years of age when we marched to America.”¹²

Döhla and Popp began their journey together in Bayreuth.

Here is their story.

On Friday morning, February 28, 1777, families gathered in the market square of Bayreuth (four miles from the Dollhopf house in Mistelbach) to say goodbye. Witnesses report that there was much wailing and crying. The families had come to say goodbye to their sons, brothers, and friends – young men, perhaps as many as a thousand on that day alone, from villages throughout the Bayreuth area. They were assembling to begin their march to the sea, to board ships, bound for America.

Heinrich Weiss, Pastor of St. Bartholomew Church in Mistelbach, recorded this note in the church book:

¹¹ Kunigunde’s maiden name was also Bär, but she and Adam were not related. Adam was born September 24, 1698 in Mistelbach and died October 7, 1770; and Kunigunde born September 28, 1729 and died July 22, 1790.

¹² The University of Pennsylvania has a handwritten copy of the diary; a published version can be found at amazon.com. Popp, a corporal in the Bayreuth regiment, was born in 1755 in Dachsbach, about 70 miles from Mistelbach. He returned to Germany after the War, married, and worked as a music teacher and *precentor* (church music director). He died in Dachsbach in 1820.

In 1777, on the 28th of February, the Margrave sold 1,000 soldiers, all from the margraviate, to America. The agony and the tears of the families were indescribable.¹³

The men had been gathering in Bayreuth for weeks. At the beginning of February Popp recorded in his diary:

February 2, 1777. It was reported to all companies and made known in the regiment that we must take to the road within three weeks. Colonel von Voit would assume command. At the same time, young lads from all walks of life were brought in as recruits. Then there occurred a lamentation. Fathers, mothers, and relatives came daily and visited their sons, brothers, and friends. Some were glad that they should go out into the world, and I for my part was also glad. For already since my youth I had had a desire to see the world. Some for sorrow and dislike could hardly be consoled over the fact that they should be torn away from their parents. Wherever you looked you heard nothing but moaning and groaning. Now everyone awaited the day of departure. The rest of the time was spent partly in reveling, but also by some in sadness. Finally came the appointed day on which we should leave our Fatherland.



Ansbach-Bayreuth troops boarding ships in Dordrecht, Netherlands, in March 1777, bound for America. Note the blue uniforms also seen in the picture on page 4.

At the end of February, it was time to leave. Popp wrote:

February 27, 1777. In the evening about 6 PM we received English pay for the first time, namely for five days. The next morning, the 28th, which was the day for departure, reveille was sounded very early. The place was alive with foreigners in the barracks. An hour afterwards the signal for the general march was sounded. Then we really heard the lamentation of the people. We drew

¹³ *Mistelbach: die Chrronik eines Hummelgaurdorfes*, by Stephan Hartnagel, 2003.

up in the ranks and amidst the shedding of many tears we marched off, and quartered the first night in Muggendorf, with the other half of the regiment in Streitberg.¹⁴

Here is what fellow diarist Döhla wrote of the departure:

28 February. At 7 o'clock our illustrious Bayreuth Infantry Regiment of Colonel August Valentin von Voit, 600 men strong, marched out of the barracks. We entered on our march and employment in another part of the world in God's Holy Name and were accompanied, amidst moaning and prayers, with much sobbing, sorrowing, and lamenting, followed by wishes for a speedy and joyful return, by a large gathering of people and relatives. Our first march was as far as Strietberg. At that time I was in Colonel von Voit's Company and our company was quartered in Muggendorf. We had good quarters, and from the inhabitants we received an abundance of food and drinks, free.

The road to Muggendorf and Strietberg passes through Mistelbach. On that winter day in February 1777, the troops likely marched by the house of our 4th great-grandfather, Johann Dollhopf, a peasant farmer. At the time Johann was 25 years old. He and his wife Anna Catharina Hagen, 23, had been married two and a half years, and their young family included the first of their eventual six children, two-and-half-year-old Stephen. Stephen was named after his godfather, Stephan Dollhopf, his uncle.¹⁵ Anna was seven months pregnant with their second child, daughter Kunigunda, who was born two months later on April 22nd.

We don't know much about this great-grandfather Johann, or his father, also named Johann. They were both peasant farmers, our first known Dollhopf ancestors to be full time farmers; they did not practice a trade. Johann's grandfather was Conrad, the last of a long line of tailors. Because the Mistelbach economy suffered greatly in the 1700s and early 1800s, these farming Dollhops were likely the poorest of our ancestors. A possible indication of their relatively low economic status was the fact that neither held any church or town office, as their ancestors and descendants did.

Johann was born in 1752 in house #55 (see map on following page) and died in 1828 in house #19 at the age of 75, old for the time. His father died in 1771 – a year of crop failures and starvation – when Johann was only 19. His wife Anna was the daughter of a Mistelbach quarryman and stone mason, Stephan Hagen. Anna was born in house #19 (at that time it was owned by her father, Stephan Hagen) and died in 1823 at the age of 69, five years before her husband died.

Johann married Anna on October 20, 1774; notable because at the time she was seven months pregnant. Even the traditional, loose-fitting peasant wedding dress could not hide the fact that she was “with child.”

Pastor Weiss wrote this terse and somber entry in the church book about Johann and Anna:

Johann Thollhopff, legitimate surviving oldest son of the deceased Johann Thollhopff, who was a local peasant farmer and inhabitant, and Anna Catharina Hagen, surviving legitimate oldest daughter of the deceased Stephan Hagen, who was a local quarryman and journeyman mason, who in disgraceful manner had had intercourse, after the grant of the most gracious government decree, got married *in silence* on October 20, 1774.

I wonder how the reception went.

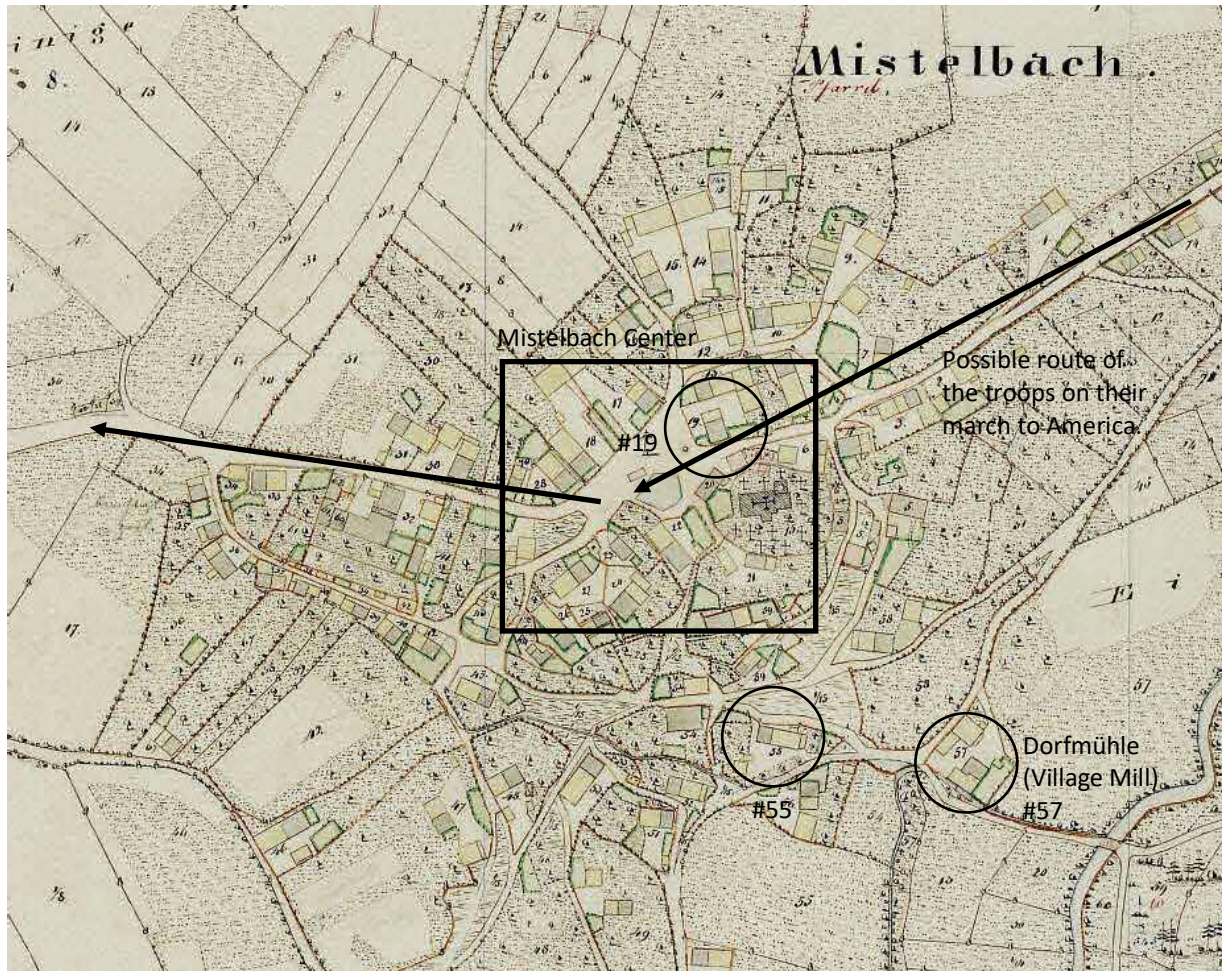
It is not clear where the young couple was living when the troops marched by – either in his parent's house #55, or in hers, house #19. Both of their fathers died six years earlier when they were teenagers; their mothers inherited

¹⁴ The first day's march to Muggendorf was about 22 miles.

¹⁵ In a very interesting twist, Stephan eventually married his Uncle Stephan's wife. *That* is another story!

the respective properties. Johann's mother, Kunigunde Seuffert Dollhopf, was living in house #55, a house that had been owned by the Dollhops since the early 1600s. This house was located just above the Dorfmühle, or village mill, which had been owned by Johann's ancestors 200 years prior.

Anna's mother, Catherina Bär Hagen, lived in house #19, located just a few more blocks up the hill from #55, situated next to the village church of St. Bartholomew. Catherina sold house #19 to Johann and Anna in 1784 – they were the first Dollhops to occupy #19, which remains in the family today, 236 years later.



House #19 was acquired by our 4th great grandfather Johann Dollhopf in 1785 from his mother-in-law, Catharina Hagen. He had been living in the house since his marriage to Anna Catherina Hagen in 1774.

House #55 built by our 9th great grandfather Cuntz Dollhopf in 1662.

House #57, the Dorfmühle, was acquired by our 14th great grandfather Dietrich Dollhopf in 1499. The mill was destroyed in the Thirty Years War (1618-48) and abandoned by the Dollhops around 1634.

The Pfaffenberger family at one time owned house #54, next to house #55. Whether they lived there in 1777 is not known, but we do know that somewhere in the village lived Georg and Kunigunde Pfaffenberger, and their sons, Heinrich, 26 years old at the time; Johann, 25; Heinrich, 24; and Johann, 16. (Yes, two Heinrichs and two Johanns.)

One of the Heinrichs, we don't know which (maybe both), was drafted, and would begin his march that day. Heinrich was Johann's 4th cousin, and Anna's 4th cousin as well – they were *both* Heinrich's blood cousins.¹⁶ Heinrich's parents were likely among the many – including the Bärns and the Baumann's – who came to watch their sons march off to war in America. Perhaps the neighboring Dollhopfs attended the sendoff as well, if not they might have waved to the troops as they marched by the house.

Conditions in Mistelbach

In the late 1700s Mistelbach was becoming increasingly impoverished. In 1770 and 1772 the crops were wiped out by great storms. Of course, when crops are destroyed, famine, inflation, and plague follow, and such was the case in Mistelbach. In the *History of the City of Bayreuth* by J. W. Holle, an unusual emergency is reported, which caused panic in Mistelbach:

The extraordinary inflation, which occurred in 1771, not only in Franconia but in the whole of Germany, also hit the city of Bayreuth very hard. Shortly before the harvest of the year 1770 one did not believe that crops would fail and be so meager. Nobody therefore thought of buying surplus, rather, usurers [swindlers] began to import grain from abroad. As a result, this inflation far exceeded that of the earlier ones in 1710, 1740 and 1762. Already in the autumn of 1770, against all odds, grain rose by more than half of the *sumer* [unit of volume] price, from 15 groschen to 34 groschen;¹⁷ barley from 7 groschen to 16 groschen. In winter, because of hunger, the Emmerlings¹⁸ flew into the houses and died on the spot.

On 25 July 1771, in addition to the persistent rain, there was a terrible hailstorm which battered the crops to the ground, destroying them for 10 miles around. The damage was estimated at 1,540 *simra*.¹⁹ From Gesees to Plosen, and from Glasshütten to Berneck,²⁰ the grain and especially the grain in the flower [seeds] were mostly destroyed. Nothing was heard from all places but weeping and lamenting. The peasants mowed some of their cornfields and sowed them again with barley; but because of the persistent heat, nothing could come of it.... Everyone was starving.... Some poor people did not see a bite of bread in 8 and 14 days, but lived on potatoes, which had risen to 10-12 cents and became rare. In addition to this shortage there was also a plague.... Daily services [to pray for deliverance] were held in the village church.

Four years later, in the winter of 1776-77, immediately before the soldier's departure, there was a bitter freeze. From the Mistelbach Chronicle we learn that the village suffered from "such terrible cold:"

It has even frozen the rocky [underground] cellars, and the cold lasted almost all of January, so that many cattle froze to death.

Terrible weather continued to hobble the village the following year:

In 1778, on the night of the 8th to the 9th of July, there was again a great storm with a lot of hail, which destroyed almost all the crops.

¹⁶ Johann and Anna were themselves fifth cousins once removed. More on this phenomenon can be found in Blog #7 Pedigree Collapse.

¹⁷ A *groschen* was a small German silver coin, or *schilling*, worth about 12 *pfennings*, or 1/24 of a *Reichstaler*. Valuation was relative, and each village or "imperial estate" had their own currency valuations. Let's say that a *groschen* was probably worth a penny.

¹⁸ An *emmerling* was a type of bird, a small finch, that fed on *emmer*, or grain, hence the name. Since they could not find grain in the fields, they flew into the houses.

¹⁹ *Simra* was a unit of measurement. I do not know the English volume equivalent.

²⁰ Villages surrounding Mistelbach.

These natural disasters were compounded by increasingly oppressive taxes – mostly because of the lavish spending habits of the margraves, but also because of the huge sums of money necessary to maintain the large standing armies that the Margrave eventually sold off.

Perhaps these were the reasons that some of the soldiers, like our diarists Popp and Döhla, were only too glad to be drafted. No doubt this was also the reason that 57 out of the 76 soldiers in the Mistelbach Company deserted and remained behind in America, including Johann Bär, the great-grand-uncle of our Johann Bär Dollhopf.

The Campaign in America

The two regiments of 1,285 men departed Bayreuth on Friday February 28, 1777, and mostly marched the 450 miles to the seaport of Dordrecht, Netherlands (part of their trip to Dordrecht was via riverboat). They arrived on March 27 and crammed into nine English frigates bound for America. After a three-day stopover in Dover, England, the ships set sail and arrived 68 days later on June 3rd at Staten Island, near New York City.

Döhla (revealing wide-eyed wonder at America):

June 3, 1778. In the afternoon, between four and five o'clock, happy, healthy, and with the greatest satisfaction, and with joy, we enter the port of New York, where a short time previously a strong windstorm had arisen. We had been caught in the middle of a frightful electrical storm the likes of which has never been seen in Europe. We anchored. What is more remarkable, it was just as if the surprising electrical storm had been a signal that we should be allowed to be used to solve the mounting political storm that had arisen in America between the insurgents and the rightful ruler. Therefore, at the time of our arrival in America, we burn with a desire to demonstrate our bravery and a show that the Germans, and especially those of the famous Franconian²¹ blood, did not lack courage, and wish to demonstrate this also in another distant part of the world.

Our eager eyes also were greeted on our arrival in America, or the New World, in part by the nearness of the beautiful city of New York, in part by the view, of beauty and fertility on both sides, of the ocean, and enough objects of wonderment; and although food prices were high, this was immaterial, as we were all happy that the dangerous voyage had ended so fortunately and that we had beautiful and pleasant land before our eyes.

...the American land is a good and incomparable land. Where it has been built up and developed by the immigrants from Europe, Germans and other nationalities, it is very rich and fruitful, well cultivated, and with much grain, especially a great deal of Indian corn; and it has many beautiful forests of both soft and hardwood trees unknown to us. Stock farming is well advanced in the land, and many horses are equal to those of the English in beauty, size, and speed. There are also cattle, swine, sheep, and poultry in a variety and sufficiency. The forests are full of wildlife, the deer, rabbits, and Fox are somewhat smaller than in Europe; and there are also bear, wolves, and panthers.

Our peasants from Ansbach-Bayreuth were incorporated into the British army occupying New York City under the command of British General William Howe. Almost immediately they were sent to Sandy Hook, today a town in New Jersey, on the southern shore of the entrance to the New York harbor. There General Howe loaded 17,000 troops onto 265 ships, the largest armada ever assembled in America, and set sail for the upper reaches of Chesapeake Bay, present day Maryland. They arrived six weeks later in Elk County. From there they would march the sixty miles to Philadelphia, site of the notorious signing of the Declaration of Independence.

²¹ Franconia (German: *Franken*) is the region that includes Bayreuth and Ansbach.

On their march to Philadelphia they encountered the Continental Army of General George Washington at Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania, and engaged in the Battle of Brandywine on September 11, 1777. This battle was fought by the largest number of troops in a single battle of the Revolutionary War – 15,500 on the British side, 14,600 on the American. Washington lost that battle – the Continental Army was nearly wiped out – and Philadelphia was captured by the British two weeks later. Washington retreated to Valley Forge.

The Battle of Rhode Island

After capturing Philadelphia, our German cousins remained there for nine months performing garrison duty.²² In June of 1778, they sailed to Newport, on the island of Aquidneck, today part of Rhode Island, to fight the Battle of Rhode Island two months later on August 29, 1778. Again, the Americans, under the command of General John Sullivan, were defeated.

At that time Newport was one of the largest seaports on the East Coast rivaling Boston, Baltimore, and New York. It was an important commercial center and was considered a key conquest by the British. The Battle of Rhode Island was notable because it took place shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Alliance between France and the Continental Congress in February of 1778, bringing France into the Revolutionary War on our side. Upon signing, the French Admiral comte d'Estaing set sail from France with an armada bound for New York City to join the Americans. Fearing a landing in New York City because of overwhelming British forces, he and George Washington decided to attack the British instead at Newport. Unfortunately, the French fleet was thwarted by a devastating storm in Narragansett Bay, off the coast of Newport, and they left, leaving the Americans to fight the British and German troops alone, the cause of their defeat.

After winning the Battle of Rhode Island, the German troops were again assigned to garrison duty to protect the city of Newport. The Germans built a number of forts throughout the island. [See illustration on following page.] While the Americans were indeed defeated, they did not entirely abandon the area, and they constantly raided and pestered the British and German troops.

Newport is located on an island, and the Americans prevented the British from obtaining food, water, and wood (necessary for cooking and heat) from the mainland. This proved to be devastating for Newport – houses and barns were razed, fences ripped down, the entire island stripped of trees. All crops of the crops and livestock were completely consumed. Newport never recovered, and would never again be competitive among East Coast seaports.

The Döhla and Popp diaries describe the daily grind of garrison duty – food shortages, disease, raids, and persistent desertion. From Döhla's diary:

Month of March [1779] The month of March began with beautiful, warm weather. The ground turned green and all vegetation burst forth. An epidemic of scurvy, or the so-called scarlet fever, broke out in our regiment, so that many troops had to go to the hospital. The English doctors and medics prescribed bathing frequently with sea water and keeping the feet warm; also, rinsing the mouth out with sea water or, better yet, with good vinegar, to clean and stimulate the gums.²³ This scurvy attack caused red and blue spots on the legs, and the gums became black, foul, and

²² "Garrison duty," to which the German troops were often relegated, is the defense of a city or fort, in this case defense against American raiders or infiltrators.

²³ Symptoms of scurvy include ulcerated gums and the loss of teeth. Rinsing the mouth with saltwater or vinegar might bring momentary relief, but it is not a cure for scurvy, which is caused by a vitamin C deficiency.

swollen. The teeth loosened and they could be pulled out easily with the fingers, so that nothing hard could be chewed.

3 March. The Articles of War were read to us during the afternoon.

4 March. Our regiment drilled in loading weapons, by platoons and divisions. Captain Seitz commanded. We again received our full rations.

6 March. We again sent a command to Fort Prince Dauneck. Today private Heinrich Pfaffenberger, from Mistelbach near Bayreuth, of Beust's Company, died.

As so it appears that our cousin Heinrich died at Fort Prince Dauneck, a small garrison protecting the coast from American raiders. The fort is located a few miles northwest of Newport in the town of Melville, RI.

Later, in the 1800s, Melville was the site of a coaling station for the US Navy, and during WWII it was known as Rhode Island's "Little Annapolis," site of the Melville Training Center for PT Boat officers. There, a young Navy Lieutenant, John F. Kennedy, trained before heading to the South Pacific to take the helm of PT Boat 109.

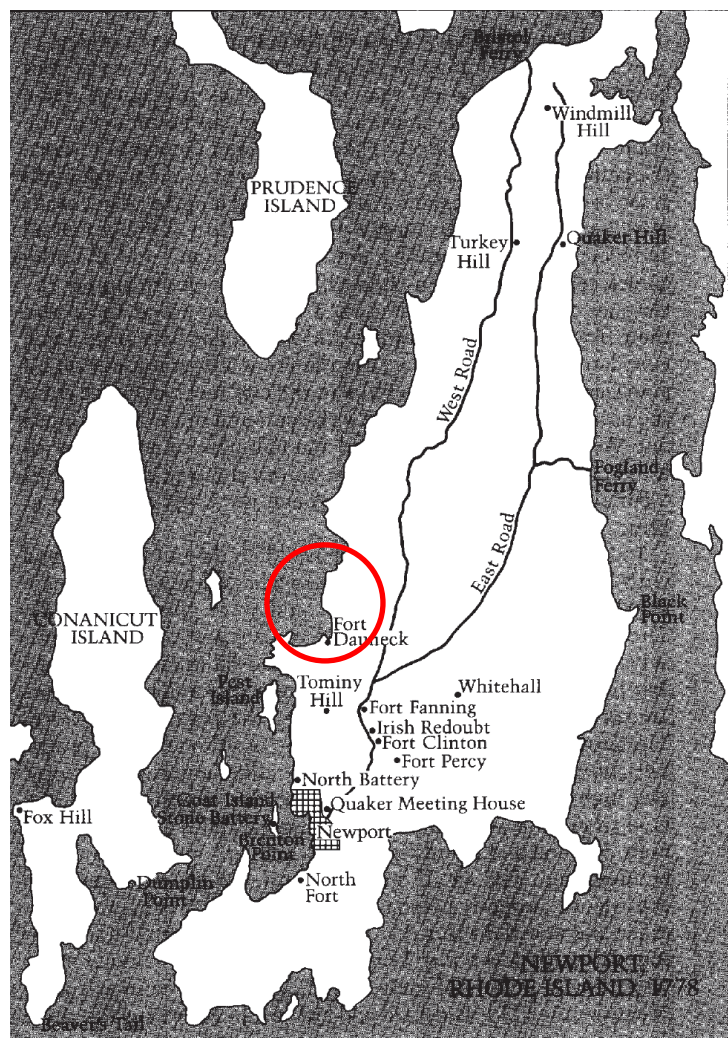
Our remaining German cousins stayed in Newport for a little over a year, defending the numerous forts against raiding American rebels.

In October of that year, 1779, they returned to New York City, and for the next year and a half again performed garrison duty in and around New York City, staging frequent raids themselves into New Jersey to pursue American rebels.

The Plight of Uncle Johann Bär

In May of 1781, having spent 19 months in New York, they set sail for Virginia, landing at the James River, near Yorktown, in pursuit of the American troops under the command of Generals Nathanael Greene, Anthony Wayne, and the famous French Marquis de Lafayette. Our German regiments were now under the command of the British General Lord Cornwallis. They were headed for the Battle of Yorktown. This time they would not win.

Soldiers on both sides of the conflict often deserted. Living conditions were brutal –



Newport, Rhode Island in 1778. Note the numerous forts, redoubts, and garrisons built to defend the island against raiding American rebels. Our cousin Heinrich Pfaffenberger likely died of scurvy at Fort Dauneck on March 6, 1778.

food was scarce, punishments were severe, and illness was rampant. While about 1,200 Germans died in combat, *five times that number*, more than 6,000, died of disease and starvation.

The US Continental Congress did its best to encourage the German auxiliaries to desert. On August 14, 1776 it authorized a bounty – a gift – of 50 acres of land to any “Hessian” who deserted; two years later they offered British soldiers a similar bounty on a sliding scale – 50 acres for a private, up to 800 for a captain.

The exploits of our cousin Johann Bär, great granduncle of Johann Bär Dollhopf, are hilarious. He tried hard to desert on more than one occasion. He *really* did not want to return to Mistelbach.

We first hear of his misadventures in Döhla’s diary. At the time his Ansbach-Bayreuth regiment was stationed in Greenbridge, Virginia, about 12 miles east of Portsmouth, near what is now Virginia Beach.

June 25, 1781 During the afternoon I [Döhla] went on command to Greenbridge, which lies 12 miles to the right to Portsmouth and is a good defensive position with eight cannon, four 12-pounders, and four six-pounders.²⁴ It has a guard house and a good, secure powder magazine. Our command consisted of one captain, two subalterns, one sergeant, four corporals, 100 privates, and 16 English cannoneers, who are stationed here permanently. The force is relieved every eighth day. Greenbridge, this fort, lies on a plain surrounded by forests and swamps. It has a wide and deep communication trench and a good *abatis*.²⁵

As the area was surrounded by swamps, and due to the intense heat, the men were dying from malaria and “melancholy.” It must have been hot because....

July 6. During the evening private Johan Bär, of Quesnoy’s company, deserted from the camp without his uniform, dressed only in his linen blouse.

No pants? What was he thinking? Anyway, he made it about 20 miles, covered only by his blouse. Personally, I think he had a little too much rum.

July 8. During the afternoon the deserter Bär was returned to the regiment by the so-called Royal Refugees.²⁶ They had captured him 20 miles from here.

His punishment for desertion was swift and severe.

July 11. Punishment was carried out by the regiment. The deserter Bär, of Quesnoy’s company, today ran a gauntlet of 300 men with switches, 12 times.²⁷ At noon today the command center from Greenbridge returned. They brought many cattle with them. These were slaughtered and divided among the regiments. Two men of the Ansbachers and two from our regiment, namely private Johan Paul Währl and Private Dressel of Eyb’s Company, were missing from this command. [Two more deserted.]

²⁴ “Pounders” refers to the weight of the cannonball, and therefore the size of the cannon.

²⁵ An *abatis*, *abattis*, or *abbattis* is a field fortification consisting of the branches or trunks of trees laid in a row, with the sharpened tops directed outwards, towards the enemy. The trees are usually interlaced or tied with wire. *Wikipedia*.

²⁶ Royal Refugees were Americans fighting for the British. Darn it all, whom can you trust?

²⁷ In a gauntlet, 300 men lined up, 150 to a side facing each other, and Bär had to run down the line between them while they whipped him with switches. *Twelve* times. Ouch.

July 12. Bär again had to run the gauntlet twelve times. [Of another soldier who ran the gauntlet Döhla reported, "He was beaten unmercifully, and cut so badly that today he had to be led by two non-commissioned officers because he could no longer walk.]

Perhaps Johann learned his lesson. Perhaps not.

The troops shortly set sail from the James River for Yorktown where they arrived on August 1, 1781. They entered the town and set about building their fortifications, preparing to defend against Washington's American forces.

Thus began the Siege of Yorktown, the last battle of the Revolution, also known as the Battle of Yorktown, or aptly, the "German Battle," because of the huge number of German soldiers. The battle ended on October 19, 1781 with the surrender of General Cornwallis, ending the American War of Independence.

At the Battle of Yorktown, the Ansbach-Bayreuth Regiment consisted of two battalions, the Ansbach 1st Battalion and the Bayreuth 2nd. The 1st consisted of 432 men under the command of Colonel F.A.V. Voit Von Salzburg, and the 2nd had 412 men commanded by Colonel F.J.H.C. Von Seybothen. The Germans were largely responsible for the defense of the inner circle of Yorktown. From the start, Döhla observed that it would be an uphill fight:

August 30. ...General Washington and his army of 30,000 men drew closer to us on land from Williamsburg. The French General Marquis de Lafayette and the Prince of Nassau-Zweibrücken joined them with 9 to 12,000 Frenchmen, so that we can anticipate an attack by land and sea.



Storming a Redoubt at Yorktown by French painter Eugene-Louis Lami c. 1840. This painting hangs in the Virginia State Capitol. A redoubt is a temporary fortification, outside of the main fort, typically an earthen emankment. Note the abatis of sharpened logs in the center right of the painting. The Germans, including Uncle Johann were stationed behind those logs.

Döhla was exaggerating the number of American troops, but he must have felt overwhelmed. Washington only had a total of roughly 17,000 troops – about 9,000 Americans and 8,000 French (including Catholic Germans from Alsace.²⁸)

The British only had about 10,000 men, of whom 3,000 were German.

The odds were certainly stacked against the British, in no small measure because of disease. It is estimated that half of the 10,000 British troops were unable to fight because they had contracted malaria from the Virginia swamps. The Americans did not suffer so, because, being native to America, they had long ago developed immunity; and the French had not yet fallen ill because malaria requires a month-long incubation period, and they had only recently arrived from Europe.

Döhla would not have known specifically about malaria, since its causes were only discovered in the 1800s, but he did record that the troops were suffering mightily from what he called “putrid fever”:

September 11. We received bad rations of rotted ship’s meat and wormy zwieback,²⁹ which had spoiled aboard ship. Therefore, many troops were sick with dysentery and diarrhea. Also, putrid fever was prevalent, partly because of the great fatigue due to the troops having little rest day or night, partly because of the bad rations, but mostly because of the saltpeter in the water.³⁰

For the next month the troops endured the intense bombardment and forward advances of the American troops. When Cornwallis attempted to escape across the York River on the night of October 17, the Ansbach-Bayreuth Regiment was ordered to remain behind as the rear guard. The escape attempt failed, and the Germans surrendered along with the rest of the British forces. The German Bayreuth regiment suffered an estimated 12 killed and 34 wounded during the siege.³¹

Döhla describes the Cornwallis escape attempt and surrender:

October 17 At daybreak the enemy [American] bombardment resumed, more terribly strong than ever before. They fired from all positions without let up. Our command, which was in the Hornwork,³² could hardly tolerate the enemy bombs, howitzer, and cannonballs any longer. There’s nothing to be seen except the bombs and cannonballs raining down on our entire line.

In the morning the English Light Infantry returned from Gloucester and re-entered their post in the Hornwork. They said that it was impossible to break out of here, because all the surrounding area was strongly occupied and fortified by the enemy. Also, a cordon had been drawn around the entire region by several squadrons of French Hussars,³³ so that not the least thing could enter or leave. This morning also, just after reveille, General Cornwallis entered the Hornwork to observe the enemy and his preparations. As soon as he was again in his quarters, he sent a *flag of truce* with a white flag to the enemy. The Light Infantry in the Hornwork began to cut up their new tents, and in general, much was destroyed, as it was believed there would be a surrender soon.

²⁸ Alsace is in southwest Germany.

²⁹ Zwieback – a type of cracker, hardened bread that has been crisped.

³⁰ Putrid fever is also known as typhus. It is not spread by saltpeter, but rather by ticks, fleas, lice, and mites – most often rat-born. This was common in crowded unsanitary conditions like military camps. However, he was likely mistaking putrid fever for malaria.

³¹ <https://www.nps.gov/york/learn/historyculture/german-auxiliary-units-at-yorktown.htm>

³² The Hornwork was an earthen embankment or barricade forming the inner line of Yorktown defense for the British.

³³ Hussars were cavalrymen.

October 19. The unfortunate day for England arrived when the otherwise so famous and brave General Lord Cornwallis, with all his troops in the ships in the harbor, had to surrender to the united French and American troops under the command of General Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette.

Now the capitulation was final.

The French and Americans immediately occupied our works in the line and all magazines and store houses.

Nothing of our equipment and uniform items was taken or even touched, instead we were treated according to law and fairness in the customs of war.

We were, on one side, happy that finally the siege was ended, and that it was done with a reasonable accord, because we always believed we would be taken by storm. If it had continued only a few more days, it would really have resulted in a major attack [massacre], because the French Grenadiers already had such orders to do so.

For my part, I also had good reason to thank God that he was my Protector, Powerful Helper, and Savior, who during the siege had so graciously saved my life and protected my body and all my limbs from illness, wounds, and all enemy shots. Oh! How many thousand bullets and deathly situations have I encountered face-to-face!

All of the English and German soldiers were taken captive; General Cornwallis, as per the military decorum of the day, was afforded safe travel back to New York, and eventually to England. The captives would be marched about the Virginia countryside and cordoned in a number of towns and villages.

English and German prisoners were not treated equally. George Washington himself made it a point to inform his troops to treat the Hessians kindly because they were “brought to fight against their will.”³⁴

Over the next month and a half, through November and December, the German prisoners were marched to the town of Winchester, Virginia, in the Shenandoah Valley, 100 miles due west of Baltimore. They spent the next several weeks there in makeshift huts. Fortunately, the month of December was sunny and relatively warm. Despite the mild weather, many of the German prisoners were deserting – or should we say, escaping.

Apparently, running the gauntlet 24 times was not sufficient to tame our Uncle Johann:

December 28. Private Bär, of Quesnoy’s company, was missing [again].

This time he was successful; they would never hear from him again.

In January the Germans were marched another 50 miles to Frederick, Maryland, about 60 miles northwest of Baltimore. There, Döhla’s Company would spend the next 16 months in what today are known as the “Hessian Barracks.” [See photo following page.] Illness and desertion took their toll over the next year. Even the other diarist, Stephen Popp, disappeared from Frederick:

June 20, 1782 Private Popp of Quesnoy’s Company, returned of his own accord, having been gone since 17 June. Because he sold his coat in the country, our major had him put in the city jail. Overnight, private Krauss, of our Quesnoy’s Company, was missing for the second time.

Wherever in Virginia the German soldiers went, they were warmly welcomed by the locals – in part because many of the “locals” were themselves German immigrants. Also, because the German troops were still auxiliaries, they continued to be paid and could afford to buy food and supplies from the locals.

³⁴ <http://www.exulanten.com/delta.html>

At every turn the Continental Congress did their best to entice the prisoners to stay in America. Many Germans took advantage of this and married local women.

September 1782. All of us captives had permission from Congress to swear our allegiance. Also, for 30 pounds, that is, 80 Spanish dollars, it was possible to buy freedom out of captivity, or to allow a local inhabitant to buy our freedom, and we can work off the indebtedness. This order was publicly proclaimed, posted, and read in the churches. Also, the recruiting for the American continentals, or regular troops, was carried on here in Frederick, and the recruiters were permitted to enter our barracks. They promised 30 Spanish dollars bounty money, of which the recruit received eight dollars as soon as he was engaged and the remainder when he arrived at his regiment. Permission to enlist was only applicable to the German troops. The English were not allowed to enlist or engage.

It is clear that they were having trouble keeping the boys in the barracks, and we learn of Uncle Johann Bär's whereabouts:

October 14, 1782 An inhabitant [local] of Shipperstown, Maryland, brought news that Kiefhaber, of Quesnoy's Company, had died at his house. He buried him properly and nicely. It was also learned that in Winchester two men, Johan Böreth and Michael Burckhardt, both of Quesnoy's



The Hessien Barracks. For 16 months, from January 3, 1782 to May 13, 1783, the Ansbach-Bayreuth Regiments were held captive here, in Frederick, Maryland. These barracks were reportedly built by the British during the French and Indian War of the 1750s, and were occupied by General Braddock's British troops enroute to battling the French at Fort Duquesne, today modern Pittsburgh. There were originally two L-shaped buildings; one was demolished in the 1870s. Döhla's 4th Company of 75-100 men would have been crowded in the pictured barracks, five to eight per room. Today the barracks are part of the Maryland School for the Deaf, and are listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Company, had enlisted in the American Light Horse [a cavalry company]. There are French and American recruiters in Winchester. One also hears that Private Bär of Quesnoy's Company and Drummer Meyer of Eyb's Company took service with the Virginia militia.

The Treaty of Paris, marking the end of the war, was signed on September 3, 1783, but had been drafted ten months earlier on November 30, 1782. Apparently, word of the treaty reached the troops in April:

April 22, 1783 Today on orders of the city commandant, General Lincoln, the happy restoration of peace between England and America was announced, to the joy of all of the residents of the city.

Thereupon a peace-celebration bonfire was built by the regular troops and the militiamen stationed here, and they paraded behind the resounding sounds of fifes and drums through all of the streets and ways of this place with white flags, green caps, and laurel wreaths on their heads, and firing their weapons. With each volley, old and young gave an extraordinarily loud cheer: *"Hyroh for peace! Hyroh for the liberty! Hyroh for Washington! Hyroh for Congress! For Hancock! For ourselves! God save the General Washington, our Master!"*

After 19 months of captivity, they were finally free to go.

April 28. All the captives here were given liberty, that is, freedom. General Gødther, of the Americans, brought this order, sent to the guards and to us from General Washington and the Congress. Now we too believe the peace has been made with England.

Again, the new US government assured all of the captives that they were welcome to stay in America:

May 11. For the first time I again went on guard duty. Today Private Strickstrock of Quesnoy's Company deserted. Here in Frederick a notice was posted that every captive had the choice of remaining in the country if he wished; and could work, trade, and farm without hindrance and, in all respects, be treated as a native-born citizen of America and enjoy all the customary freedoms. Because of this, the four regiments lost many men who stayed behind.

While many Ansbach-Bayreuth troops did desert, more than half were indeed prepared to return home. Of the 2,464 troops from Ansbach-Bayreuth, it is estimated:³⁵

- 1,384 (56%) returned home.
- 401 (16%) were killed in battle or died from diseases.
- 679 (28%) remained in America, after desertion or discharge.

Specifically, out of Döhla's 4th Company from the Mistelbach area, 76% stayed behind in America, more than twice the average rate of desertion – testament perhaps to the extremely difficult times in Mistelbach brought on by crop failures, famine, and inflation.

The Ansbach-Bayreuth regiments left Frederick on the 13th of May, arriving on Long Island on the 27th of May, a march of nearly 300 miles that they accomplished in 14 days – about 20 miles a day. They remained on Long Island for two months, waiting for the ships that would take them back to Europe.

³⁵ "Germans in the American Revolution," https://arw.fandom.com/wiki/Germans_in_the_American_Revolution. See also <http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~amrevhessians/military/a/amhessians.htm>; and <http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~amrevhessians/military/ans/ansbach-bayreuth.htm>.

The Trip Home to Bayreuth

Their America adventure covered more than 10,000 miles and spanned 6 years and 9 months, of which almost two years were spent in captivity. Following is a review of their above-described exploits:

February-March 1777: departure from Bayreuth, march to Dordrecht.
 June 1777-October 1777: arrival and garrison duty in New York.
 Nov 1777-June 1778: Battle of Brandywine Creek, capture of Philadelphia and garrison duty.
 July 1778-October 1779: Battle of Rhode Island and garrison duty in Newport.
 October 1779-May 1781: garrison duty in New York City.
 May 1781-October 1781: Battle of Yorktown and surrender to Washington.
 October 1781-April 1783: prisoners in Winchester, Virginia and Frederick, Maryland.
 May 1783-Nov 1783: return home.

On August 1, 1783, Döhla and the rest of his company boarded the ship *Emerald*, which was docked in New York City on the Hudson River. They raised anchor on August 4, arriving 50 days later at the seaport of Bremen, Germany on September 23, after a stopover in Deal, England. From Bremen they marched the roughly 380 miles to Bayreuth, arriving on November 20th. They first encountered many of their relatives in Schwarzach, about 17 miles north of Mistelbach:

November 16. We marched from Burgkundstadt starting very early. We arrived at Schwarzach, which was the first Bavarian village where we met many of our landsmen and our relatives.

Here Colonel von Seybothen gave the order that we must all put green symbols on our hats as a sign of our having made a field campaign.

From there we went to Kulmbach (13 miles from Mistelbach), the first city in our native land, which we entered at noon under a steady downpour, marching with dressed ranks, and we were at once taken in and quartered by the city residents. I was put up by a butcher, named Pfäffin, in the Fisher Allee, and had excellent quarters, food, and drinks, and everything desired in overabundance.

We were treated very well here, and everyone showed us respect, honor, politeness, and love.

Beer, wine, brandy, tea, coffee; things simmered, baked, and roasted; we received everything in overabundance, free of charge, from not only our hosts but all the public houses that we entered.

In the city of Kulmbach, on our entrance, there were so many people that they could've been counted by the thousands, so that it was difficult for us to march into the city. Many greeted us with joy and exaltation because they again saw relatives who had been away so long, but many also greeted us with weeping and bitter tears, as there were relatives no longer with us, having died or for other reasons remained behind [in America].

We, therefore, had been 18 days marching from Hanover Münden to Kulmbach, including five days of rest. We expressed our unending thanks to God, who had allowed us once again to march into the first city of our dear native land, healthy, happy, and with joy.

November 20. We marched from Kulmbach at 8 o'clock in the morning and arrived in our beloved Bayreuth at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, in a steady rain, with joyful and exulting cries of joy from the many people who came to meet us. We marched with dressed ranks, smartly shouldered weapons, and music playing an English march, into the city by the Kulmbacher Gate, through the city, out by the Upper Gate³⁶, past the former mint, over the Main River bridge, to the Jäger Street, and into the barracks, where everything struck us as very strange and would

³⁶ The Upper Gate was where Heintz Dollhopf owned a mill in the 1400s. We presume that it was his son Hans who was granted a farm in Mistelbach in the 1430s.

remain so for some time. I must remark that upon our entrance into the barracks, my father was present. We embraced and kissed and thanked God for his mercy in allowing us to be reunited in health and happiness, and we shed many heartfelt tears of joy.

December 4, 1783. I left Bayreuth, returned home, and completely ended my military career.

Döhla was among the fortunate to return to find his father waiting for him. Who else was there to greet the returning troops? Georg and Kunigunda Pfaffenberger? They would have discovered that their son died in faraway Newport, Rhode Island. Adam and Kunigunda Bär? They were told their son stayed behind in Virginia. Many tears indeed.

Were Johann and Anna Dollhopf there to welcome home their neighbors and cousins? They now had three young children – Stephen, Kunigunda, and Johann – with one on the way. Their fourth child, also named Johann, would be born six months later on June 29, 1784. Tragically, this Johann would only live 27 days. He died on July 26th. Times must have been extremely difficult, because their third child, Johann, age 4, died on August 15th just three weeks after his baby brother died. Our great-grandmother Anna lost two babies in a matter of weeks. How did they die? Starvation, disease? We can only guess. But they kept trying. Their sixth child was Eberhard, our 3rd great-grandfather, who later in the 1820s became mayor of Mistelbach.

And what became of our relatives that stayed behind in America? We may never know, but given the modern research tools of genealogy, including DNA testing, we may one day find out.

Epilogue: The Captured Battle Flags

Even though these peasant soldiers were drafted (mostly) against their will, they were proud. Not just to be German, but to be Franconian. They were loyal to their Margrave Karl Alexander, and, in the strange land of America, 4,000 miles from home, facing death each day, loyal to each other. Not surprising.

Their pride was evident in their military garb and the use of pageantry such as the flags below. Uniforms of the day had nothing to do with camouflage; the German soldiers had colorful and adorned uniforms that proudly identified



The Ansbach-Bayreuth Regimental Flag. Made of white silk damask, one side features the monogram of Cristian Friedrich Karl Alexander, the Margrave of Ansbach Bayreuth, and a wreath of green palm and a laurel branch tied with pink ribbon around a crown with the letters "M.Z.B." for Markgraf zu Brandenburg over the date "1775."



The other side bears the monogram "S.E.T.C.A." for Sincere et Constanter, Alexander, or "truthfully and steadfastly, Alexander, which is the motto of the Prussian order of the Red Eagle and the Margraves of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Bayreuth. A scroll bears the motto "pro pincipe patria" or "for prince and fatherland."

their company and regiment (and made for good targets in battle). Uniforms were so important to their German identity that Margrave Karl Alexander, in his “sale” of the peasants to King George III, demanded the right to dress them.

The treaty reserved for Karl Alexander the right to clothe the troops while they were in America. This meant a great deal of business for weavers, tailors, shoemakers, and related tradesmen in Ansbach and Bayreuth. In his description of Ansbach in 1786 Johann Bernhard Fischer lists the various tradesmen who helped supply the soldiers in America: 79 shoemakers, 79 tailors, 21 weavers of linen and wool, 24 clothmakers, 3 dyers of silk and wool, and 2 workers with upholstery, tapestry, and wallpaper (wallpaper?).

Among the 79 tailors or 2 workers with upholstery and tapestry were craftsmen who made the flags carried to America.³⁷

The battle flags were indeed a special point of pride for these Ansbach-Bayreuth soldiers. War flags, whose origins date from the Bronze Age, became common during the Middle Ages, paralleling the rise and popular use of heraldic coats-of-arms. Each regiment of the British and German armies had their distinctive battle flag – the Americans did too; think of the famous “Don’t Tread on Me” flag depicting a coiled snake. Flags were badges of honor.

When armies suffered defeat, they had to surrender their flags to the conquerors. The object of the victors was to “capture the flag,” hence the origin of our popular game. The British and German troops surrendered 24 regimental battle flags to George Washington at Yorktown – 18 German and six British. (It is presumed that a number of the British flags were smuggled out of Yorktown with Cornwallis.) Of the 18 German regimental flags that were handed over to General Washington at the formal Yorktown surrender ceremony on 19 October 1781, four are known to exist to this day. [Appendix A is John Trumbull’s famous painting of the surrender, and Döhla’s description of the event.]

These four surviving flags were from the four Ansbach-Bayreuth regiments. Washington sent these German flags to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia as trophies.



George Washington by James Peale, c. 1782. This painting depicts Washington after the Battle of Yorktown. At his feet are the flags surrendered by the Ansbach-Bayreuth regiments. Four of these flags captured at Yorktown are still in existence and in good condition.

³⁷ A Yorktown Surrender Flag -Symbolic Object, by James W. Lowry, 1989, National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center Division of Conservation, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

This, oddly enough, brings us full circle with our “misleading” elementary school education.

Every school child has likely seen the painting at right, or similar, of George Washington after the Battle of Yorktown. It was painted by James Peale c. 1782, and today hangs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

At his feet are the captured Ansbach-Bayreuth flags.

After residing with the Continental Congress, the flags came into the possession of numerous collectors, museums, and Washington’s descendants. Today, the flags are in public collections – two are held by the Museum at West Point, one at the Colonial National Historical Park at Yorktown, and the flag pictured above on page 20 is on display at the Smithsonian Museum in Washington, DC.

We don't know for sure, but it would be a safe bet that a Dollhopf cousin marched behind, or even carried, one of those flags into battle.

From Mistelbach to the Smithsonian. Who knew?

Mark R. Dollhopf
New Haven, Connecticut
August 24, 2020 (*In anno corona virum.*)

Appendix A: Surrender at Yorktown

*The **Surrender of Lord Cornwallis** by John Trumbull, 1820. This painting is on display in the Rotunda of the US Capitol.*

Here is how Johann Döhla described the above surrender in his diary:

“The German troops captured were:

1. The Hessian Hereditary Prince Regiment – was strong but had many killed, wounded, and deserters.
2. The von Bose regiment, which was quite weak because it had suffered from the enemy bombs and cannonballs.
3. The Artillery Corps of both regiments.
4. The Ansbach Colonel von Voit Regiment [and]
5. The Bayreuth Colonel von Seebothewen Regiment, together 900 men, which had about 40 dead and wounded and 50 deserters; and the artillery corps of both regiments.

Also, a small Hessian and Ansbach Jäger [riflemen] Corps, which had been stationed in Gloucester.

From these four German regiments the enemy took 18 beautiful flags and eight canons.

During the afternoon of 19 October, between three and 4 o'clock, all the troops, with all their belongings, weapons, side arms, with covered colors but with drums and fives, marched out of our lines in the camp. Brigadier General O'Hara let us out and surrendered us.

We marched along William Street, or on the road that leads to Williamsburg, in columns, with shouldered arms, through the entire enemy army, while our drummers beat a march. The entire army of the combined

powers, France and America, stood under arms, by regiment, with dressed ranks. In front of each regiment stood the generals and staff officers, who in part, among the French {who composed the right wing as we march through), had splendidly dressed orderlies by their sides....

On the right of each French regiment a white silk flag, decorated with three silver embroidered lilies, was paraded. Behind the flags stood drummers and fifers, and before the flag, the hautboists [horn players], who played splendid music. On the whole the French troops made an excellent appearance. They were smart, tall, and well-built men, all wearing white gaiters, and some regiments wearing red uniforms, but most in white and a few in green. The German Alsace Regiment, however, wore blue uniforms. On our march, the Americans were on our left, or on the left wing, and lined up with Generals Washington, Gates, Greene, and Wayne. They stood in three ranks. First, the regulars, who also had hautboists and musicians making beautiful music and who presented a decent appearance. Next came the militia of Virginia and Maryland, who, however, made a poor appearance, ragged and tattered.

We, now captives, looked with wonder and astonishment at all these troops, which formed a line of three men deep and extending for more than an English mile, because such a force had besieged us and could have eaten us up, and by comparison we appear to be no more than a guard mount. The line from both armies was stretched out for nearly two miles. It is understandable how much space an army of 40,000 men requires, even when standing in two lines of men, three ranks deep. As we marched through, the enemy was amazed at our small force, as they had considered us to be more numerous.

After we had passed through the two lines, we came to a level place, on a great heath, on our right, where a squadron of French Hussars had formed a closed circle. One regiment after the other marched into this circle, stacked arms, and lay down all weapons. When our Colonel von Seybothen led his regiment in the middle therefore, he formed us in line facing front, took a position in the middle, and commanded "Present arms!!" Then "Ground your weapons and lay down cartridge boxes and sabers!" at which we executed the command, but not without his and our tears. All officers of Cornwallis's army, English as well as German, were allowed to keep their swords, as an honor from the French, which is a custom of war with them. All of the high enemy generals were present in the circle and showed their goodwill and best wishes toward the captured troops. Our two regiments were especially well received by them. [As noted previously, Washington personally wanted the Ansbach-Bayreuth troops treated well.]

When this was over, we marched back between both armies, but in silence, into our lines and camp, with nothing more than a bit of our remaining equipment in the knapsacks on our backs. All courage and bravery that animate soldiers at times had left us. As we marched back through the armies, the Americans, as victors, made sport of us. We reentered our lines in tents and had complete freedom to go into the city, or the lines, or wherever we wished.

Mostly the French behaved well toward us, but of the Americans, no one except the officers was permitted in the city or in our lines, because the French Grenadier's had formed a ring entirely around our positions and occupied Yorktown with a strong force, and they allowed no one to enter for fear that the American militia, which is always ready to steal, might also steal or plunder or otherwise abuse us as is their usual practice.

Appendix B: List of the German principalities who sold men to the British:

Hessian Auxiliary Units³⁸		
State	Units Furnished	Soldiers
Ansbach-Bayreuth	Two infantry regiments with a supporting artillery detachment. Six companies of <i>jägers</i> (riflemen or marksmen, typically elite units).	2,459
Anhalt-Zerbst	One infantry regiment (two battalions) with two-gun (cannon) artillery detachment.	1,260
Braunschweig-Lunen- burg	Four infantry regiments. One <i>dragoon</i> regiment (cavalry who used horses for mobility but fought on foot). One <i>grenadier</i> battalion (<i>grenadiers</i> were literally men who threw grenades or bombs; they were the largest and strongest men of the regiment, and typically “led the charge”). One <i>chasseur</i> battalion (including a <i>jäger</i> company).	5,723
Hesse-Cassel	Complete division staff (officers, doctors, etc.). Four <i>grenadier</i> battalions. Eleven infantry regiments. Four garrison infantry regiments (reserve formations, or “rear guard,” called to active duty). Six companies of <i>jägers</i> (one company mounted on horses). Three companies of artillery. One field hospital.	18,970
Hesse-Hanau	One infantry regiment. One <i>chasseur</i> battalion. One artillery company.	2,422
Waldeck	One infantry regiment and supporting artillery detachment (2 cannons).	1,225
	Total Soldiers	32,059

³⁸ <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/german-auxiliaries>

Appendix C: List of Ansbach-Bayreuth troops who deserted and stayed in America.

The following list is from <http://www.exulanten.com/delta.html> – The Ansbach-Bayreuth Army in America. I edited it to include only the 231 soldiers who deserted from the five companies of the Bayreuth regiment. The 4th Company was that of Johann Döhla, which was composed mostly of soldiers from the immediate area around Mistelbach, although soldiers from the Mistelbach environs could appear in other companies. I marked with an asterisk the surnames that appear in our Dollhopf tree. They are all in the 4th Company (the 4th is labeled “B IV,” and includes the soldiers numbered #144 to #201 in the list below).

You will note that the troops were not only “soldiers” – they were the necessary musicians, pastors, doctors, and servants, etc. Names are alphabetized within the four companies, labeled with roman numerals, I, II, III, and IV.

Key and translations for the list that follows:**Reg. = Regiment:**

B = Bayreuth
J = Jäger (Riflemen)
(Roman Numeral = Company Number)

Rank/Position:

Bedienter = servant or valet
Condukteur = music conductor
Feldprediger = preacher
Fourier = quartermaster
Gemeiner = private
Gespannführer = teamster
Grenadier = bomb thrower (see note 1 below)
Hauptmann = captain

Jäger = rifleman
Kanonier = cannon gunner
Musikus = musician
Offiziersbedienter = officer servant)
Pfeifer = piper or fife player
Premierleutnant = first lieutenant
Regimentfelscher = doctor
Rekrut = recruit
Steckenknecht = servant
Stuckknecht=livestock attendant
Tambour = drummer
Valet de tente = tentmaker or striker

Wagenmeister = wagonmaster (supplies)
Waldhornist = french horn player, see note 2)

Status:

Des = Deserted
Erstaz = Replacement
Abwesend seit = absent since (date)

Date:

Date of desertion or absence
In day.month.year format

Notes:

- Grenadier*: Literally men who threw grenades, they were often shock troops who led assaults, and were chosen among the largest and strongest of the men,
- Waldhorn* is a predecessor of the French Horn, different in that it did not have valves.

Surname	Given	Rank/Position	Reg	Status	Date	Home Village (if known)
1. Hoffmann	Johann	Gespannführer	B		Juni 1783	
2. Türck	Johann	Wagenmeister	B		Juni 1783	
3. Wagner	Johann	Feldprediger	B		15.6.1783	
	Christoph					
4. Appold	Andreas	Gemeiner	B I		Juni 1783	
5. Besenecker	Johann	Gemeiner	B I		Juni 1783	Stambach
6. Biller	Georg Adam	Gemeiner	B I	Des	1.12.1782	Ansbach
7. Blendinger	Conrad	Gemeiner	B I			
8. Brunner	Georg	Gemeiner	B I	Des	9.10.1781	
	Simon					
9. Buckel	Georg	Gemeiner	B I	Des	31.1.1782	Leurenhof ?
	Matthias					

10. Bunerth	Friedrich August	Gemeiner	B I	Des	12.10.1781	
11. Carl	Andreas	Gemeiner	B I			
12. Diller	Georg Adam	Gemeiner	B I		Dezember 1779	
13. Dorer	Johann	Gemeiner	B I		Juni 1783	
14. Engelbrecht	Johann	Gemeiner	B I	Des	15.5.1783	Steinach
15. Frank	Johann Simon	N.N.	B I			St. Johannis
16. Gebhardt	Andreas	Gemeiner	B I	Des	18.8.1780	Unfriedsdorf (bei Münchberg)
17. Gresel	Johann Heinrich	Gemeiner	B I	Des	25.12.1782	Berg
18. Hahn	Johann	Gemeiner	B I			Bayreuth
19. Harles	Georg	Gemeiner	B I		Juni 1783	Tröstau
20. Holzheimer / Holzmeier	(Johann) Georg	Gemeiner	B I	Abwesend seit	Juni 1783	Ansbach
21. Holzinger	Georg Simon	N.N.	B I			
22. Kiesling	Thomas	Gemeiner	B I			Sparneck
23. Kraus	Johann Martin	Gemeiner	B I	Des	31.8.1782	Streitberg
24. Lauterbach	Georg Michael	Gemeiner	B I	Des	17.2.1780	
25. Lederer	Johann	Gemeiner	B I	Abwesend seit	Juni 1783	Grafenreuth
26. Leis	Ignatius	Gemeiner	B I	Des	11.10.1781	Birkach
27. Lochner	Johann Peter	Gemeiner	B I	Des	25.9.1782	Hohenberg
28. Lorenz	Michael	Gemeiner	B I	Des	15.8.1778	
29. Maagd	Andreas Heinrich	Gemeiner	B I	Des	15.5.1783	Thiersheim
30. Mantel	Johann Paul	Gemeiner	B I	Des.		Sollnhofen
31. Michel	Johann	Gemeiner	B I		Oktober 1781	
32. Poetting	Friedrich Leonhard	Gemeiner	B I	Des	1.1.1782	
33. Polland	Leonhard	Gemeiner	B I		Juni 1783	
34. Ries	Georg Michael	Gemeiner	B I			Hof
35. Schettla	Karl	Gemeiner	B I			
36. Schindelbauer	(Johann) Georg	Tambour	B I			Bayreuth
37. Schnell	Matthias	Gemeiner	B I			
38. Schwarz	Johann	Gemeiner	B I			Falbenthal
39. Sieber	Georg Leonhard	Gemeiner	B I	Des	16.10.1782	
40. Steinbach	Johann	Gemeiner	B I		Dezember 1782	Stammbach
41. Stiehl	Heinrich	Gemeiner	B I		Juni 1783	
42. Streit	Johann Georg	Gemeiner	B I	Des	22.5.1783	Bayreuth

43. Weber	Georg	Gemeiner	B I	Des	13.5.1783	Schweinsdorf
44. Winckler	Johann Christian	Gemeiner	B I		Dezember 1782	
45. Doeg	Johann Adam	Gemeiner	B I, IV			
46. Dög	Johann Georg	Gemeiner	B I, IV			
47. Amschler	Erhard	Gemeiner	B II	Des	29.9.1781	
48. Baumgärtel	Leonhardt	Gemeiner	B II	Des	2.10.1782	
49. Beek	Johann	Gemeiner	B II	Des	10.8.1781	
50. Beust	Philipp Otto Heinrich von	Premierleutnant	B II	Entlassen	31.12.1781	Bayreuth
51. Bräutigam	Johann	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1780	
52. Bubmann	Matthias	Gemeiner	B II	Abwesend seit	Juni 1783	Sollnhofen
53. Budin	Konrad	Gemeiner	B II	Des	16.10.1782	Zirndorf
54. Butzel	Johann	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
55. Dhun	Konrad	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1782	
56. Dietz	Johann Gottlieb	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
57. Dilling	Konrad	Gemeiner	B II	Abwesend seit	Dezember 1782	
58. Doernhöfer	Johann	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
59. Dögelmann	Peter	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1782	
60. Dorn	Georg	Gemeiner	B II	Des	10.8.1781	
61. Eberlein	Johann	Gemeiner	B II	Des	10.8.1781	
62. Falck	Aberl	Gemeiner	B II	Des	5.9.1781	
63. Ferner	Albrecht	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
64. Fisel	Johann Martin	Gemeiner	B II	Des	27.5.1782	
65. Gechter	Johann Adam	Gemeiner	B II	Des	29.9.1781	
66. Grunner	Christoph Friedrich	Jäger	B II	Des	15.9.1782	Ansbach
67. Hahn	Johann	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
68. Henninger	Johann	Tambour	B II		Juni 1782	
69. Heydenreich	Johann	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
70. Hoffmann	Johann Georg	Gemeiner	B II	Abwesend seit	Juni 1783	Köditz
71. Hoffmann	Wolff	Gemeiner	B II	Des	Oktober 1782	
72. Kilian	Johann Philipp	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
73. Klein	Johann	Gemeiner	B II	Des.	29.9.1781	Schwand?
74. Kneif	Kaspar	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1782	
75. Krauß	Johann	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1783	Uffenheim
76. Kutzberger	Sebastian	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1781	
77. Lang	Johann Michael	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
78. Lauterbach	Albert	Kanonier	B II			

79. Lentz	Jakob	Gemeiner	B II	Des	9.5.1783	
80. Lochmüller	Wolf	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1781	
81. Maggold	Ludwig Friedrich	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
82. Mezger	Markus	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
83. Nüchterlein	Johann Michael	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
84. Prechtel	Christoph	Feldscher	B II		5.7.1783	
85. Putzel	Johann	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1780	
86. Riedel	Georg Friedrich	Gemeiner	B II	Des	14.10.1781	
87. Rückert	Peter	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
88. Schaefer	Friedrich Jakob	Gemeiner	B II	Des	16.10.1782	
89. Schaefer	Johann	Gemeiner	B II			
90. Schaller	Christian	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1782	
91. Schmuller	Wolf	Gemeiner	B II	Des	6.1.1782	
92. Schoepf	Paul	Gemeiner	B II	Des	14.10.1781	
93. Schricker	Wolf	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1782	
94. Schupphard	Gottlob	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1783	Piefelden ?
95. Teufel	Johann	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
96. Troeger	Johann Jakob	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
97. Voigt / Volk?	Georg	Gemeiner	B II	Des	14.10.1781	Greglingen
98. Walther	Caspar	Gemeiner	B II		Juni 1782	
99. Wizmann	Konrad	Gemeiner	B II		Dezember 1782	
100. Fehr	Johann Georg	Gemeiner / Corporal?	B II, A I			Ansbach
101. Baernlacher	Georg	Gemeiner	B II, III		Dezember 1780	
102. Andig	Christoph	Gemeiner	B III	Des	18.10.1781	
103. Besserer	Johann Salomon	Gemeiner	B III	Des	3.2.1783	Neustadt an der Aisch
104. Beyer	Heinrich	Gemeiner	B III	Des	15.11.1782	
105. Binder	Daniel	Rekrut	B III	Des	25.2.1778	
106. Bleyer	Peter	Gemeiner	B III	Des	8.10.1781	
107. Dreßel	Konrad	Gemeiner	B III	Des	9.7.1781	
108. Eckart	Johann Michael	Gemeiner	B III	Des	24.12.1782	Ansbach
109. Elias	Mathias	Gemeiner	B III	Des	14.10.1781	
110. Engelhard	Johann Konrad	Gemeiner	B III		Juni 1782	
111. Fischer	Johann Christian	Gemeiner	B III		Juni 1782	
112. Fraas	Johann Georg	Gemeiner	B III	Des	18.5.1783	
113. Fuchs	Johann Kaspar	Gemeiner	B III	Des	15.5.1783	
114. Geyer	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	10.12.1782	

115. Großmann	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	14.5.1783	
116. Grünbeck	Johann	Gemeiner	B III			
	Georg					
117. Heckenmüller	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	12.5.1783	Heppenheim a. d. Bergstraße
	Konrad					
118. Heckert	Johann	Gemeiner	B III		Juni 1783	
	Gottlieb					
119. Hellerich	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	20.7.1780	
120. Herterich	Johann	Gemeiner	B III			Laubersreuth/Münchberg
	Konrad					
121. Hohberger	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	15.5.1783	
	Heinrich					
122. Kail	Dominikus	Gemeiner	B III	Des	20.5.1783	
123. Karrich	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	12.5.1783	
	Kaspar					
124. Kern	Jakob	Gemeiner	B III	Des.	22.5.1783	
125. Koerzdörfer	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des.	13.5.1783	
126. Lauterbach	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	15.3.1783	
127. Oertel	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	15.5.1783	
	Albrecht					
128. Ostermeyer	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	22.5.1783	
	Philipp					
129. Panzer	Friedrich	Gemeiner	B III		Juni 1783	
130. Prechtel	Johann	Gemeiner	B III			
	Georg					
131. Prell	Johann	Gemeiner	B III			
132. Rahm	Lorenz	Gemeiner	B III		3.7.1783	
133. Reindel	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	13.5.1783	
	Nikolaus					
134. Reinicka	Christoph	Gemeiner	B III	Des	5.9.1782	
135. Schoentag	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	13.5.1783	
	Konrad					
136. Schübel	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	12.5.1783	
	Adam					
137. Stüber	Johann	Gemeiner	B III		Juni 1783	
	Heinrich					
138. Übel	Georg	Tambour	B III			Bruck
139. Ulshöfer	Johann	Gemeiner	B III	Des	18.8.1779	
	Georg					
140. Zelser	Georg	Gemeiner	B III	Des	14.5.1783	
141. Zinner	Matthias	Gemeiner	B III	Des	22.5.1783	
142. Zwanziger	Georg	Gemeiner	B III		Juni 1783	
143. Wehr	Johann Paul	Gemeiner	B III	Des	8.7.1781	
144. Adam	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	22.5.1783	Bayreuth
	Georg					
145. Bär*	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	2.8.1782	
146. Bauer*	Tobias	Gemeiner	B IV		Juni 1783	St. Georgen am See (Stadtteil von Bayreuth)
	Konrad					
147. Beck*	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	10.5.1783	Steinbach
	Georg					

148.	Berneth	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	2.7.1782	Oberpreuschwitz (westlich Bayreuth)
149.	Beyer*	Paul	Gemeiner	B IV		Dezember 1779	
150.	Boehret	Gottlieb	Gemeiner	B IV			
151.	Boehret	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV		21.12.1782	Glashütten
152.	Burckhardt	(Johann) Michael	Gemeiner	B IV		21.12.1782	Feuchtwangen
153.	Dauwald	Johann Daniel	Gemeiner	B IV		Juni 1783	
154.	Dietrich	Heinrich	Gemeiner	B IV		Juni 1782	
155.	Eusele	Joseph	Gemeiner	B IV			
156.	Fichtel	Peter	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	10.5.1783	Donndorf
157.	Forsch	Georg	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	15.5.1783	
158.	Frank	Johann	Corporal	B IV	Des	2.4.1783	Bayreuth
159.	Fuchs*	Friedrich Johann	Gemeiner	B IV	Des		Wilmersreuth
160.	Gärtner	Johann Georg Christian	Gemeiner	B IV		2.4.1783	Neustadt a. d. Aisch
161.	Goerschky	Gottlieb	Gemeiner	B IV		24.11.1781	
162.	Grub	Jakob	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	8.9.1782	
163.	Haas*	Johann Georg	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	2.4.1782	Bayreuth
164.	Harles*	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV		Dezember 1782	Tröstau (bei Wunsiedel)
165.	Heydingsfelder	Johann Konrad	Gemeiner	B IV			Illesheim
166.	Kiefhaber	Georg	Gemeiner	B IV		Juni 1782	Pegnitz
167.	Kraus	Albrecht	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	20.7.1780	
168.	Krauß*	Johann Gottlieb	Gemeiner	B IV		Juni 1782	
169.	Lechner	Joseph / Johann Simon	Bedienter	B IV	Abwesend seit	Juni 1783	Neuherberg
170.	Lechner	Simon	Gemeiner	B IV			
171.	Lochmüller*	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV	Abwesend seit	Juni 1783	Gefrees / Nemmersdorf
172.	Meyer*	Michael	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	2.5.1782	
173.	Meyerhofer	Peter	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	12.5.1783	Ansbach
174.	Neupert	Johann Thomas ?	Gemeiner	B IV		8.2.1781	Ipsheim
175.	Pandasch	Sebastian	Gemeiner	B IV			
176.	Petzold*	Wilhelm	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	14.5.1783	Neudorf
177.	Popp*	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	18.9.1782	
178.	Primin	Paul	Gemeiner	B IV	abwesend seit	Juni 1783	
179.	Purrucker	Stephan	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	13.5.1783	
180.	Raithel*	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV		10.5.1782	Fattigau

181. Riedel	Johann Adam Friedrich	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	12.12.1781	Bayreuth
182. Riegel	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	13.5.1783	Bayreuth
183. Schindler	Johann(es)	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	24.5.1783	Speichersdorf
184. Schmidt*	Georg	Gemeiner	B IV		14.10.1782	
185. Schott	Johann Georg	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	3.4.1782	Lochmühl
186. Schuh	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	1.6.1783	Erlangen
187. Schultheiß	Johann	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	14.9.1782	
188. Schulz	Gottlob	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	25.12.1782	
189. Schwaab	Nikolaus	Gemeiner	B IV		29.7.1782	Lösten
190. Schwimm	?	Rekrut	B IV	Des	22.2.1778	
191. Semmelmann	Johann	Pfeifer	B IV	Des	4.1.1782	
192. Seyfert*	Johann Adam	Gemeiner	B IV		13.5.1783	
193. Spaeth (Spaid)	Georg (Johann?) Nikolaus	Gemeiner	B IV		12.2.1783	Bayreuth
194. Steinmetz	Jobst	Gemeiner	B IV		Juni 1782	
195. Stephan	Friedrich	Gemeiner	B IV		Juni 1782	
196. Stölze	Christian	Gemeiner	B IV			
197. Strickstroh / Strickstrack?	Johann Adam	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	11.5.1783	Bammhofen
198. Vogel*	Wolfgang	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	3.4.1782	Tettau
199. Wolf*	Johann Adam	Gemeiner	B IV	Des	2.4.1783	Unterwurmbach
200. Wolfrum	Johann Adam	Corporal	B IV			
201. Horneber	Andreas	Jäger	B IV, J IV		Herbst 1783	
202. Baer	Pancraz	Gemeiner	B V		Juni 1783	Bayreuth
203. Bamberger	Franz	Gemeiner	B V	Des	Juni 1783	
204. Barth	Michael	Gemeiner	B V	Abwesend seit	Juni 1783	Arzberg
205. Callupetzky	Joseph	Gemeiner	B V	Des	12.12.1782	
206. Dreißel	Thomas	Gemeiner	B V	Des	16.10.1782	
207. Emmerling	Johann Friedrich	Pfeifer	B V	Des	31.12.1783	Kauernhofen (bei Eggolsheim)
208. Fick	Johann	Grenadier	B V			Wirbenz
209. Günthelmeyer	Michael	Gemeiner	B V	Des	12.5.1783	
210. Heering	Bartholomäi	Corporal	B V			Bayreuth
211. Heyder	(Johann) Wilhelm	Gemeiner	B V	Des	12.5.1783	Ansbach
212. Hoehl	Melchior	Grenadier	B V		Juni 1783	
213. Hohenberger	Georg	Grenadier	B V	Des	6.7.1780	
214. Jakoby	Lorenz	Grenadier	B V	Des	7.10.1781	
215. Knoll	Adam	Gemeiner	B V		Dezember 1778	
216. Lauterbach	Konrad	Gemeiner	B V	Des	12.5.1783	Fischbach

217. Lauterbach	Michael	Grenadier	B V	Des	25.10.1781	Himmelkron
218. Meyer	Johann	Grenadier	B V		Dezember 1780	
219. Pandasch	Konrad	Gemeiner	B V	Entlassen am	16.6.1783	
220. Prell	Friedrich	Grenadier	B V			Stemmas
221. Prell	Matthias	Gemeiner	B V	Des	18.8.1780	Thiersheim
222. Ries	Adam	Gemeiner	B V		Dezember 1782	
223. Ries	(Conrad) Andreas	Gemeiner	B V		Juni 1783	Bayreuth oder Benk
224. Sazinger	Christian	Gemeiner	B V	Des	13.5.1783	
225. Schlegel	Jakob	Gemeiner	B V		Juni 1783	Mussen (?)
226. Schoemer	Martin	Grenadier	B V			Kulmbach
227. Schwarzbauer	Leonhard	Gemeiner	B V	Des	2.5.1783	
228. Will / Wild	Matthias	Gemeiner	B V			Bayreuth
229. Zeltsch	Nikolaus	Gemeiner	B V, A I		Juni 1783	
230. Nützel	Peter	Gemeiner	B V, B IV	Des	8.9.1782	Ebersbach
231. Heller	Johann Anton	Jäger	B V, J I		Juni 1783	