Right Honorable Lord,
Gracious High and Mighty Major General:

As a packet is speedily making ready to carry new letters to London, I again have the honor to send a report concerning American events. My last account, which I finished on the 6th instant, was dispatched on a ship which set sail with a favorable wind on the 9th. At retreat time on the 6th, 200 dragoons under Major Crewe of the 17th Regiment of Dragoons were detached to Chestnut Hill by way of Germantown in order to surprise some continental troops who, coming from Fatland Ford via Norriton, had roamed that far in an attempt to raise militia and burn forage and food. They consisted of 260 men whom General Wayne had turned over to Governor Livingston before leaving Jersey on the 24th of February. On the 4th of March they had crossed the Delaware near Burlington with twenty-five of Pulaski's dragoons and proceeded to Fatland Ford on the Schuylkill, whence they advanced to Chestnut Hill terrorizing the country people. However, when they heard of the approach of the British dragoons, they assembled on the right bank of the Wissahickon, followed the footpaths along this creek to Schuylkill Falls, and crossed the river without our dragoons being able to pursue them. Our troops killed five men and captured one officer and seventeen soldiers who were too late to cross in safety. Of the seven transports loaded with hay which were on their way from Rhode Island, two were stopped and burned on the 8th by nine armed galleys and boats in the Delaware between Reedy Island and Christiana Creek. At the same time, the schooner Alert, belonging to Captain Montresor of the Engineers, was captured by Captain Barry of the rebel navy. The schooner had much baggage on board from New York for Captain Montresor and other English officers, all of which was lost. Counsellor of War Lorentz had sent
by this schooner a package of letters from New York addressed to Pay-
master Schmidt. On the 10th all these letters were returned from
Valley Forge under a flag of truce with a very courteous letter from
General Washington to his Excellency Lieutenant General von
Knyphausen. All the letters were opened, but returned intact. Among
them was one with £1,900 sterling on the paymaster's account. The
English letters, however, were not returned. The empty schooner
was brought in by the warship Experiment, the frigate Brune, and
the Dispatch and New York sloops of war, which arrived here on the
12th. At this same time, the five remaining hay ships and eleven
provision ships from Ireland also cast anchor alongside the city. On
the 11th the following troops embarked under Colonel Marth [Maw-
hood]: the 17th, 27th, and 46th Regiments, the Queen's Rangers,
and 100 Royal Pennsylvania Militia. They took with them four heavy
pieces and two howitzers and provisions for two weeks. Six empty
transports followed them to Salem to take on forage and cattle, the
Camilla frigate acting as convoy. On the 14th the Diamond frigate
arrived with dispatches from Admiral Howe to the English head-
quar ters, and on the 15th the Brune frigate departed for Rhode Island
with letters for Admiral Howe. From Rhode Island we received the
news that at the end of February twenty transports under cover of the
Juno and Cerberus frigates finally sailed to Boston to embark General
Burgoyne's prisoners. All of these prisoners, whose officers were in
Cambridge, barely escaped being murdered. A colonel had plotted
with his officers to have the prison guards commit this dastardly deed
during the night. The plot was discovered and the colonel arrested.
General Heath found it necessary to make a thorough investigation,
for General Burgoyne, who has lodged a bitter complaint and has
much incriminating evidence that leaves no doubt of the wicked
designs of this plot, demands revenge. Another report, namely, that
Congress has detached General Lafayette to Canada with 5000 men
and a train of heavy artillery to support a new revolt there, still needs
confirmation.

On February 15th General Wayne advanced to Bristol in Jersey
with 400 men and on March 9th penetrated still deeper into the
province from the bank of the Delaware in order to burn grain and
forage and collect horses and cattle. He assembled at Haddonfield
350 Jersey militia under Colonel Ellis, from which an alarm watch
has been detached as far as Cooper's Ferry opposite this city. General Wayne has joined General Washington again. He ordered Brigadier General Pulaski, who was then in Trenton, to follow him at a moment's notice with the eighty dragoons and one hundred continental troops under him. General Washington's army, exceedingly weakened by desertion and disease, is prepared to approach Lancaster. The whole country around Valley Forge is devastated. On the 17th a detachment of light infantry surprised a troop of rebels on the Westfield road the other side of the Schuylkill, killing four and taking eighteen prisoners. As usual, detachments are being sent out on the evening before a market day to protect the country people who venture everything to bring fresh food to the city. Enemy parties always search for these people and maltreat those they catch and take their goods away. Often the farmer pays them for safe conduct, in which case the food is sold for that much more in the market. On this day three rebel staff officers escaped from prison. The following morning fifty-seven were removed from this building and put into the new city prison. Furthermore, they were no longer permitted to walk about, under escort, for about an hour each day. On the same day, eight provision ships arrived from Ireland, having made the voyage from Cork in fifty-one days. At the Gulph Ferry Mill, fifteen miles from here, is a strong enemy outpost detached from Valley Forge. On the night of the 19-20th this post sent out a party of sixty men, who crept up close to the Schuylkill opposite the 10th redoubt, where they collected some cattle and set fires. The wing adjutant, Captain von Münchhausen, with forty mounted Hessian jägers under Lieutenant Mertz was so fortunate as to catch up with this party the following morning just before they reached the Black Horse. He captured one officer and ten men and killed and wounded several more. The rest of the rebels were lucky to be able to hide behind a swamp. The jägers had only one horse killed. Since the rebels are devastating the land and carrying off everything, a train of waggons covered by 150 light infantry went to Chestnut Hill and Germantown on the 21st to collect leather and forty hogsheads of vinegar and bring them into the royal stores of this city. The owners were paid the real value of the merchandise.

It seems that the prisoners will soon be exchanged. According to a public notice, the rebel war secretary, Thomson, will bring all those
of the British army to Lititz near Lancaster at the end of this month. Every one hopes and wishes that nothing will cause further delay. Ensign Knoblauch of von Donop's Regiment and two English officers, who had been taken prisoners at Germantown on October 4th of last year, were paroled at Reading and arrived here on the 18th.

The British grenadiers and light infantry have been raised to full strength from the battalions. Thirty men of each light infantry battalion are now mounted. They are learning to ride, together with the recently created Philadelphia troop of 112 horse.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be

Your Lordship's
Most obedient servant
Baurmeister

Philadelphia
March 24th, 1778

BAURMEISTER TO VON JUNGKENN, APRIL 18, 1778

Right Honorable Lord,
Gracious High and Mighty Major General:—

My last account was put on a packet on March 24th. The said packet, however, cast anchor this side of Reedy Island to wait Admiral Howe's arrival. As Admiral Howe, in spite of leaving the harbor of Rhode Island long ago, has not arrived yet, I fear my account of the 24th of March will be very long in getting to your Lordship. In the orders of day before yesterday the departure of another packet was announced, by which I shall send the following account.

On the 25th of March General Lee arrived here from New York by way of Jersey in company with Major Williams. Several days later he was paroled to General Washington's army. General Prescott arrived in New York under the same conditions. It made me very happy to be present when the said Major Williams, the former commander of Burgoyne's artillery, gave General Howe unequivocal testimony of the valor of all the German troops he had learned to

know. I was especially happy since, aside from General Burgoyne's reports, no straightforward account had ever been given.

On the 28th of March twelve Hessian and five English officers were released from confinement by the rebels and have since arrived here. The staff officers and captains as well as the noncommissioned officers and soldiers are still being held. On the 31st of March the following commissioners met at Germantown: Colonel Stephens, Lieutenant Colonel O'Hara, and Captain Fitzpatrick for the British, and Colonel Grayson, Lieutenant Colonels Harrison and Hamilton, and a jurist by name of Boudinot for the rebels. After all the credentials were recognized as valid, there was nothing more to do except effect the exchange. However, Mr. Boudinot presented a vast amount of papers and discoursed on irrelevant topics. Then the meeting adjourned to Newton beyond Springfield, where the rebel commissioners declared that they would continue to hold the men they had taken prisoners, which amount to almost 8,000 men (including Burgoyne's), and that they could afford to do without the 1,200 we had taken. Then they demanded £500,000 sterling for maintenance already provided. They declared, moreover, that they did not owe us another man in return for those taken at Fort Knyphausen and released immediately after the first convention, for only half of whom we have received prisoners in exchange. They also made the bold assertion that they could not possibly lose the game. Whether the prisoners dismissed on parole may remain or whether they have to return is still a matter of conjecture.

On the 29th of March the corps of Colonel Mawhood (whom I called Marth in my last journal) returned from Salem. He brought with him thirty-eight ships loaded with hay, which, together with the forage brought from Rhode Island, will probably last until the end of May. The said colonel experienced no difficulty. On the contrary, the people showed themselves well disposed. The Queen's Rangers made twenty-one militiamen prisoners. While the English troops were posted at Salem, the small vessels which were following them had the good luck to take some armed boats in some of the small tributaries of the Delaware. The English are taking many prizes now, especially Captain Lee, who took eleven foreign ships of considerable size in Massachusetts Bay which were brought to anchor at New York. On the 30th one of the twenty-eight transports unfortunately ran
into the cheveaux de frise below Mud Island. Little or nothing of it could be saved. Since then a detachment of 140 marines and an agent have been stationed on this island to assist incoming ships.

On the 2nd of April the rebels completed the bridge across the Schuylkill at Fatland Ford. They have chosen a good place, for the current of the river is hardly noticeable there. On the bank this side they have erected a tete de pont with four cannon and manned with 250 men. They intend to use this bridge in proceeding from the recently fortified camp at Valley Forge to Whitemarsh and Bristol and, after crossing the Delaware, to Jersey.

Lately Trenton has been occupied by a stronger force, and the rebel ships and galleys anchored at Burlington are on their guard so they will not be easily surprised. In the night of the 4–5th of April 500 British grenadiers under Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby crossed over to Jersey on flatboats at Gloucester Point in order to surprise a strong enemy post at Haddonfield Meeting House. The enemy, however, having learned of our approach through scouting dragoons and two deserter sailors, left the meeting house and withdrew to Woodbury, five English miles beyond Haddonfield. Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby, who was to return by way of Cooper’s Ferry, there encountered an outpost of one major, two captains, three subalterns, and
forty soldiers. The major, the captains and two of the subalterns did not belong to the detachment, but had come to reconnoitre the bank, the ships, and the city of Philadelphia. One captain and nine men were killed; the rest were captured with their field glasses and brought in.

On the 8th of April the Bucks County Volunteer Company and forty Pennsylvania dragoons under Captain Thomas advanced to the Old York cross-road, drove all scouting and observation parties as far as Smithfield, killed one officer and fifteen soldiers, and captured one officer and nine men. Thus, all detachments return without loss, but inflicting considerable damage on the enemy. All the fields and gardens around Philadelphia, especially in the inhabited piece of land called the Neck, where the Schuylkill empties into the Delaware, are being fenced in again and sown and cultivated. This region can justly be called most charming and fertile.

Last Thursday, the 9th of this month, there came to anchor before this city a packet which safely made the voyage from Falmouth in fifty-three days. Since then it is being said with much assurance that General Howe and his brother, the Admiral, will leave America. General Clinton is said to be coming from New York to take over the command of the army, while General Jones, who departed day before yesterday, is to take over General Clinton's command at New York. General Howe has always enjoyed love and obedience, and Admiral Howe, high esteem and trust. Both know America and the minds of the people and always agreed on the measures to be used against them. This alone is a great advantage when two, entrusted with equal power, act against one enemy. To begin with, even the most accurately prescribed plan is not always understood the same way; then, the enemy have to be attacked under great difficulty, now on the sea and again on land. Furthermore, there can be no doubt that, if the reinforcements called for by the two brothers in every dispatch should arrive in good time, the rebellion would come to a happy end with good terms for both parties. To conquer the Americans completely and impose arbitrary terms is thought to be impossible.

At General Howe's request, a chasseur battalion of 300 men was to be drawn from the Hessian regiments at New York and Philadelphia and commanded by Captain von Münchhausen. Now that General Howe is to leave, Captain von Münchhausen has abandoned his quest, and all orders given to that effect have been countermanded.
On the 14th instant a frigate arrived from England with dispatches for the English headquarters, whereupon, on the 15th, printed proclamations were posted everywhere announcing that England was giving up all taxation of America and that in the future the several provinces would be taxed according to their ability to pay. Everyone doubts whether this will make an impression. Commissioners are expected from England who will make a formal declaration. General Howe will not depart until they, as well as General Clinton, have arrived.

Colonel Kospoth has arrived from Rhode Island and taken over the command of the Hessian grenadier brigade.

The Hessian troops with the artillery are holding daily drills in firing. At present there are only fifteen wounded and twenty-five sick in the hospital. It is difficult to conceive of an army in such excellent condition and such order as prevails in the city.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Your Lordship's
Most obedient servant
Baurmeister

Philadelphia
April 18th, 1778

BAURMEISTER TO VON JUNGEKRN, MAY 10, 1778

Right Honorable Lord,
Gracious High and Mighty Major General:—

For four and one-half months the Hessian troops have received no news from the Fatherland. Convinced, as we are, that we are graciously and warmly remembered, we are at a loss to understand why we have had no assurance of it for so long. We have been sending letters with every packet. I myself find much comfort in writing as I cannot think day after day of our distant homeland without becoming sentimental. As the departure of another packet has been announced, I send herewith a report of the events from April 18th until today.

According to an emphatic Congressional edict of April 15th, no one living within six English miles of Philadelphia is permitted to come to the city, nor are any of the residents permitted to go into the country. Any communication with Jersey is even more emphatically for-
bidden. Consequently, the militia were ordered to collect in strong
detachments in front of our lines at the following posts: (1) Between
Bristol and the Crooked Billet Tavern, fifteen English miles from
here; (2) at Springhouse, this side of Whitemarsh, thirteen miles
from here, whence a temporary post of 250 men is to be detached to
Germantown; (3) at Barren Hill near the Schuylkill Falls, ten miles
from here. Beyond the Schuylkill there was to be a temporary post in
Darby, also at Reedy Tavern and the Gulph Mill with an observation
post at Springfield. All this militia was raised in the lower counties
of Pennsylvania. These posts will certainly greatly hinder bringing
in fresh food. However, the country people are still experiencing but
little difficulty in coming to the city. In Jersey only the bank of the
Delaware is occupied by the mandates,\(^{21}\) for Governor Livingston
can raise only a few militia. Pulaski is no longer in Trenton. He is
engaged in raising a volunteer corps of 600 men, to whom the war
council granted no more than arms and 240 horses. Their food and
pay they must get through their own bravery. However, everything
is progressing very slowly, and we get descriptions of much cruelty
prevailing in every place where the militia is now being raised. House
and property are being burnt and devastated if the owner refuses to
go along or fails to get a substitute. No recruits can be got for less than
£ 60 cash, Pennsylvania coin. Many of the farms have been desolate
since the beginning of the second campaign, for even the farmers have
been taken along by force. Virginia now gives almost nothing. Con-
gress, frightened by the refusal of the Virginians, moderates its other-
wise exhorbitant demands there, for the least Virginia planter has fifty
negroes, the wealthier two hundred and fifty, and the richest four to
eight hundred souls. The number of negroes owned by twenty of
them is greater than General Washington's army, including the
militia. Maryland can contribute but little or nothing. The people of
this province have always lived a life of ease and luxury and conse-
quently have never been hardened for war. Those who took up arms
two years ago have died with but few exceptions. The products of
these two provinces are tobacco, wheat, and Indian corn. Much of the
land is no longer cultivated and trade is completely paralyzed. Hence,
neither provisions nor money, which were formerly obtained from

\(^{21}\) German: *Mandaten*. The word is clearly and unmistakably written in Roman script.
Probably militia levies.
these provinces, are furnished any longer. Scarcity and want have made a veritable wilderness out of them. The English ships are very busy and are not searching the coast in vain. They are taking many rich prizes. Of forty ships they have recently taken, thirty-four are French vessels. Chesapeake Bay is so empty that even the smallest sloop will not venture out of a creek.

When I concluded my last journal on the 18th of April, three of the parties that had been sent out to engage the rebels at some of their posts had not yet returned. Fifty dragoons had taken the Germantown Road as far as Flourtown, where they encountered Jersey militia from Monmouth County. Of these, sixteen men were killed, some twenty wounded and eighteen taken prisoners. The Pennsylvania dragoons and 250 light infantry had advanced as far as Bristol, where they met a much stronger force of Bucks County Militia, whom, however, they did not recognize as such because they had neither uniforms nor arms. They dispersed with the loss of only a few men who were cut down. But they did capture the watch, consisting of one officer and thirty-two men (continental) and also two staff officers and nine subalterns. A little plundering concluded this Bristol visit. At the same time the entire Hessian Jäger Corps had crossed the Schuylkill and advanced five English miles beyond Darby. Captain von Wreeden covered this corps on the right during this march in the dark. His pickets marching directly in front of him encountered an infantry patrol of one officer and eighteen men. Several rifle-shots betrayed the presence of the jägers, one of whom was slightly wounded. One rebel was captured, from whom we could learn almost nothing, except the strength of the scouting party. We could not find out from him whether a larger force of rebels had followed the patrol. While returning on the 18th, during the daytime, this corps picked up a grenadier by name of Christoph Bachmann from Captain von Blessen's company, who, after being shot through the hand and the nape of the neck at Red Bank, was cured by the rebels. He had won the good will of the doctor and, feigning lameness, was discharged as unfit for duty. However, he is completely cured and is doing duty.

Finally, on the 20th of April, the rest of the Hessian officers returned from their long imprisonment, in exchange for whom we discharged the following day as many rebel officers of the same rank. General Lee has retired to his estates in Virginia. The English officers
who returned with him at this time and those who have returned since are selling their commissions.

On the 24th a captain and 150 light infantry marched out as far as the Schuylkill Falls. They were met by a rebel deserter, who told them that he had left the post at Barren Hill with one captain, one subaltern, and sixty men in complete safety. The captain made use of this information and surprised the rebels by advancing on them from two directions. Three men of the watch were killed and one wounded. The captain and five men escaped through the Schuylkill, but all the rest, including the subaltern, were brought in. On the 26th Captain De Lancey of the Dragoons and fifty horse surprised a post at Springhouse. Only a few of the rebels escaped, while twelve were taken prisoners.

On the 29th General Erskine and Captain Montresor of the Engineers crossed the Delaware under cover of six British grenadier companies. Landing in Jersey at Cooper’s Ferry, they searched for a suitable place behind the ferry that might be sufficiently fortified to serve as a camp for one brigade. They returned again toward evening. Several Hessian jäger detachments have lately crossed the Schuylkill, but returned without meeting any of the enemy. During these excursions the corps had several deserters.

On the 30th the rich and influential Quakers returned from their imprisonment, during which time they had been treated in no gentle manner. Since the rebels, as a result of the action at Brandywine, had been obliged to leave this city, I cannot but tell your Lordship that the wives of four of these Quakers had asked permission at the English headquarters to go and beg for the release of their husbands. General Washington, in camp at Valley Forge, received these courageous Quaker women in the most cordial manner, kept them to dinner, and for the rest of the day they were entertained by the General’s wife. Through this lady’s kindly intercession, all Quakers were released. The joy amongst the members of this powerful sect over the unexpected return of their brethren was extremely great. But how Congress treated them and, according to good information, how many unworthy and previously worthless men make up this dignified body is shown by the fact that it completely forgot its gentility. Congress could not pass silently over this insult, yet, at the same time it could not praise enough the great justice of General Washington. And this
praise is not unique; everyone is captivated by this general. Two days previously there had been a meeting of the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners, which had accomplished nothing. The French volunteer, Lafayette, had come to this meeting to see Captain Fitzpatrick, whose acquaintance he had made in Paris several years before. After a long conversation he was asked by his English friend how he could bring himself, first, to leave France, and then, in America, to choose by no means the best company and surroundings. Lafayette replied that he, Captain Fitzpatrick, might rather ask him how he could ever deliberately make up his mind to sail away from America, ever regretting afterwards, in the society of his frivolous countrymen, the loss of his rare and pleasant associations with General Washington. How he would ever be able to bear this loss, he himself did not know.

On the night of the 1-2nd of May there assembled between the 1st and 2nd redoubts fourteen companies of British grenadiers and light infantry, the Queen's Rangers, and 120 dragoons under Major Crewe, the entire detachment being under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby. After a forced march along the Old York Road, they encountered at the Crooked Billet Tavern, twelve English miles from our lines, Brigadier Lacey's militia brigade of 500 men, busily engaged in throwing up fortifications on the road in order to make Bristol and all of Bucks County secure. Major Crewe, without waiting for all the grenadiers, made a quick attack and scattered the disconcerted troops. Between eighty and a hundred were killed; the wounded were left on the field; and fifty-eight were taken prisoners. Eight four-horse waggons were brought in full of field requisites, intrenching tools, and provisions; three waggons were burned and only the horses taken. Several grenadiers were so embittered they burned nine rebels. Besides, everything that had already been fortified with fascines was burned and ruined. Brigadier Lacey and the officers were the first to flee, which caused everyone in Bristol to take to his heels. Only one lieutenant was captured.

On the 3rd two English infantry regiments, the 55th and the 63rd, crossed over to Jersey and encamped behind Cooper's Ferry. Since then a working party has been detached from here each day to fortify their camp. With them is an officer and thirty dragoons for patrolling the country. This is being done with the intent of acquiring fresh food and forage more easily from the country people and also of cutting...
firewood and bringing it to the local magazines. All the work is being accomplished without interference.

On the 4th all the Hessian troops formed in line, two deep, and were reviewed by General and Admiral Howe. The weather was good and the two brothers as well as many thousand onlookers were truly satisfied. The Leib Regiment distinguished itself especially, though no fault could be found with the appearance and marching of any other unit. The strength of the assembled units was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-commissioned</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Musicians</th>
<th>Soldiers</th>
<th>Horses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Jäger Corps</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Grenadier Brigade</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>871</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woellwarth’s Brigade</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>536</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Von Donop’s Regiment</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>432</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Leib Regiment</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>408</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>119</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>2985</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In his orders General Howe publicly expressed his satisfaction to Lieutenant General von Knyphausen and his thanks to all the troops without distinction, adding that he would personally render to His Britannic Majesty a most faithful report of the good condition of the Hessian troops.

On the 5th Brigadier General Erskine advanced with a dragoon patrol too far in the direction of Hackenfield in Jersey. He was driven back with the loss of three dragoons and was almost captured himself.

On the 7th Brigadier General Leslie with two Pennsylvania battalions joined the regiments that had gone to Jersey on the 3rd and took over the command of the entire detachment.

Your Lordship can learn Congress's answer to the British Parliament's declaration more clearly from the inclosed newspaper. On the 2nd of May the rebels had a feu de joie at Valley Forge to celebrate the news that France and Spain had recognized the independence of America and concluded commercial treaties for thirty years.

*Haddonfield?
On the 6th of May the arrival of some of the Hessian and British recruits was celebrated at Wilmington with three running fires. The rest of the ships will cast anchor by and by. The rebel General Wayne is in Jersey to observe the troops posted at Cooper's Ferry. Hence a battalion of light infantry has joined General Leslie.

On the 7th General Clinton arrived here at exactly the same time as an English frigate which had made the passage in two days less than five weeks. With the greatest esteem, I commend myself to your Lordship's gracious benevolence and have the honor to be

Your Lordship's
Most obedient servant
Baurmeister

Philadelphia
May 10th, 1778

Baurmeister to Von Jungkenn, June 15, 1778

Right Honorable Lord,
Gracious High and Mighty Major General:—

I had the honor of receiving your Lordship's esteemed letters of the 15th of November of last year and of February 15th of this year on the 21st of May. I am very grateful for your remembering me so kindly and still more for your Lordship's gracious benevolence towards Captain Schutter, my nephew. I suppose he will be able to leave New York with Major General von Mirbach. I herewith enclose the news I have collected. Captain von Münchausen, who is about to leave for Europe, will, to be sure, give a better account in person. I do not like, however, to interrupt the sequence of my reports and hope that this part will not be superfluous. In concluding, I commend myself to your further grace and am with the greatest respect, so long as I live,

Your Lordship's
Most obedient servant
Baurmeister

Philadelphia, June 15th, 1778

P.S. The negro boy intended for your Lordship has been well taken care of and is now with his Excellency General von Knyphausen, who meant to send him with Captain von Münchausen, who, however, had
sufficient excuses for not taking him. I believe that if we return to New York there will still be an opportunity to send him. I shall gladly take care of everything. At the moment, Ferguson, the commissary of prisoners, is paying me a visit. He informs me that 100 American dragoons are roaming through Virginia in search of the Hessian prisoners who are quartered here and there with the residents, that they can be brought together only with great difficulty, that many do not want to come, and many are being concealed by the inhabitants. Lord Cathcart, Captain in the 17th Regiment of Dragoons, now Adjutant to General Clinton, returned from Congress day before yesterday late in the night. No one can learn what kind of an answer he brought back. It is said that Congress insists upon American independence. If we are to advance through Jersey to New York without knowing what has been decided, we shall meet with numerous obstacles such as demolished bridges and barricaded roads in the woods. However, I cannot give accurate information. Once more I commend myself.

Philadelphia, June 15th, 1778

I was unable to send a report with the packet which sailed on the 22nd of May this year. The confusion that prevailed at the time and still prevails makes all news so indefinite that it is like a vexatious riddle even to those who are here.

On the 24th of May General Howe boarded his ship and surrendered the command to General Clinton. The artillery park fired a last salute of nineteen guns, and General Clinton gave “Brandywine” as the password and “Howe” as the countersign.

Since May 21st we have been loading the heavy baggage, all the heavy artillery, and the greater part of the train on board the ships. The heavy artillery of a few of the redoubts was replaced by field-pieces. A little provision only was left on hand. On the 3rd instant the last of the loaded ships sailed to Chester, where all the ships were to rendezvous. The English merchants, who were informed of the evacuation of Philadelphia, brought their wares, which were considerable, on board the ships. The smaller merchants followed their example. Also the people in the service of the government embarked with their families and possessions. Thus Philadelphia at present greatly resembles a fair during the last week of business. Prices are going up
from day to day. The Society of Friends have endless worries. They are expecting an unbearable fate should the army completely withdraw from the city. Between the 7th and 9th the second light infantry battalion under Major Maitland burned many ships at Burlington belonging to the residents. Two American frigates, the Effingham and the Washington, and some smaller vessels had the same fate. At the peak of the high tide, the rebels turned all these ships toward the Jersey shore and anchored them without masts, so that none of them could be rescued. Twenty-five more ships only half built, which are lying at the wharf and also belong to the residents, are likewise to be burned when we leave the city.

On the 1st the corps at Cooper's Ferry was reinforced by two English regiments, while the 15th Regiment joined the post at Billingsport. On the 3rd the 3rd British brigade crossed over to Jersey. General Smallwood with the Wilmington garrison joined General Maxwell in Jersey on the 25th of May. General Dickinson commands the militia of this province—which is gathering near Trenton, though in small numbers and against their wishes. General Washington and his army, which is said to be no more than 8,000 strong, remain quietly at Valley Forge. He is following our example and sending all his dispensable heavy baggage and even his heavy artillery across the Susquehanna. His troops are fortifying the camp and making gardens. Every ten days they receive the necessary provisions from the small magazine at Lancaster, which is then replenished from York town.

In spite of the apparent preparations to evacuate Philadelphia, 300 men are working in the lines every day. Our wood and hay magazines, our cultivated gardens and fenced-in meadows are being carefully guarded and kept up. In the meantime, Washington is not receiving any reinforcements from New England. These provinces want General Gates to be made commander-in-chief of all the American land forces, while the provinces around here, especially Virginia, exalt Washington above everyone else. General Lafayette and all the French volunteers also sincerely revere Washington.

I should now like to give a detailed account of General Howe's last and likewise again unsuccessful expedition: As early as the 18th of May, General Howe had learned that some 3,000 rebels under General Lafayette had left Valley Forge with eight guns, intending to cross the Schuylkill at Fatland Ford and take position at Barren Hill.
This corps, which carried ten days' provisions, had sixty Indians and a hundred and fifty Carolina riflemen for its vanguard. A strong detachment of British dragoons, which had advanced by way of the Schuylkill Falls to Barren Hill church very early in the morning of May 19th and which had met many obstacles on the way, confirmed the presence of the rebels in its reports.

General Lafayette had hardly encamped and protected his right wing with strong pickets posted on the road leading to the Schuylkill Falls, when he detached the Indians to the left into some bushes this side of Germantown whence they could observe the three main roads to Philadelphia. The riflemen remained beyond Germantown with orders not to fire, but to fall back before all patrols. At the approach of the British they were to assemble half a mile from the left wing and offer resistance until further orders. With Lafayette's corps were only sixty dragoons, but many French volunteers.

At retreat on the 19th General Howe detached Generals Grant and Erskine, both dragoon regiments, the Guards, the Queen's Rangers, the light infantry, the English and Hessian grenadiers, and Captain Ewald with a hundred dismounted jägers. Except for a few field-pieces, there was no artillery. The corps had strict orders to surprise the enemy, using only the bayonet. Before daybreak on the 20th the British light infantry was in front of the rebel camp, where the pickets had already been withdrawn and great confusion prevailed as they retreated on the several roads. General Howe set out at half past five on the morning of the 20th, about which, unfortunately, General Washington was informed immediately, so that he put the rest of his army under arms and repeatedly dispatched orders to General Lafayette to withdraw quickly and have his men rendezvous on the other side of the Schuylkill on the highway in Charlestown Township, as the bridge at Fatland Ford would be demolished.

General Grant neither attacked nor pursued the rebels, for he believed it was a feigned retreat and that General Washington might arrive and he would then get caught in a cross-fire. But their retreat was as certain as it was quick. When General Howe had advanced one and a half miles beyond Germantown, he met General Erskine, who reported that the rebels had recrossed the Schuylkill and that their loss was one French officer and six riflemen killed and one French
officer and nine men captured, while they themselves had only two light infantrymen and one dragoon horse wounded.

Towards two o'clock in the afternoon General Howe and the rest of the army, accompanied by Generals Clinton and von Knyphausen, returned to Philadelphia, where only von Wölwarth's brigade had remained as a reserve for the watches and pickets in the lines.

General Howe had good reasons to suspect that the enemy corps would be supported by the rest of the army and that thus a general engagement would take place between Barren Hill and Fatland Ford, where the vanguard of the British army could easily occupy the higher ground of the country, where on its right the roads to White-marsh were partly covered, and where on the left the highway from Norriton to Barren Hill was already outflanked.

Washington, who, in truth, does not understand the game of war any better, but, as the common saying goes, often revokes, gained in this manner his previous advantages, which, however, mean nothing when taken as a whole.

Toward evening General Grant's troops returned to their quarters. The weather was hot, and a fruitless march totalling forty English miles fatigued the men very much. The Indians, who enjoyed undisturbed rest, returned unmolested across the Schuylkill in the night of the 20-21st of May.

That the rebels retreated in confusion and were much fatigued is shown in General Lafayette's report, which states that 126 men were drowned in the Schuylkill, that about 1,000 muskets and rifles have been thrown away, and that two guns which had been left in camp have been found and brought in again, since the enemy did not pursue. He also asks for new provisions in his report, as theirs had been abandoned.

A rebel general, Baron Steuben, wrote to General von Knyphausen after this expedition requesting that the captured French officer might not be treated unkindly.

The English ships have lately been extremely fortunate at sea. The Greyhound recently captured a French ship carrying twenty guns. Captain Dickson, the commander, who had captured two armed American schooners two days before and had about fifty men from these two ships in irons, was fervently asked by the prisoners for permission to work at the guns during the attack on the French ship. Their fear-
lessness and good work proved that they were in earnest. After the French ship had been taken, Captain Dickson rewarded all the Americans for their services by putting them at liberty on a seaworthy schooner provided with provisions and letting them sail away.

On the 18th of May twenty-three British staff officers gave a fête in General Howe's honor. Seven hundred and fifty invitations were issued. Behind a house not far from the Neck a great salon was built and decorated with mirrors and wall lights and chandeliers. Two rows of tables and benches were provided for the guests. The house was prepared for a reception and ball. In front of the house a display of fireworks had been prepared, which was set off at ten o'clock in the evening. In the center of the great lawn, which extended down to the Delaware, was a triumphal arch. The part of the lawn near the house was lined with an appropriate Guard displaying all the British and Hessian colors. On the other side of the arch a tournament was held. It consisted only of two quadrilles and was faultlessly executed by the Knights of the White Rose and of the Burning Mountain. The festivities began towards four o'clock in the best of weather with a parade of many boats on the river. The frigate Roebuck greeted the sloop of the brothers Howe with a salute of nineteen guns, and many transports responded. Soon music was heard everywhere. The ladies and gentlemen disembarked in front of the festive country house. Accompanied by military music from the place of the tournament, the Howe brothers and fifty-two ladies and officers then passed through the triumphal arch and moved into the circle which was completely surrounded with flags. It was a spectacle one will never forget. Tea and refreshments were served in good order and without crowding. Dancing began as early as eight o'clock in the evening and continued, except during the display of fireworks, until the banquet. The tables were laid with 330 covers and were loaded with 1,040 plates, dishes, etc. The finest fruit that can be obtained in the spring hereabouts and in the West Indies was served. Many negroes and other servants quickly and in excellent order satisfied every desire before one could express it. Music and song alternated and toasts were given to the following: (1) the King, (2) the Royal Family, (3) the sea and land forces, (4) the Howe brothers, (5) the noble ladies of the order of the White Rose and the Burning Mountain, (6) the hosts of the festival, and lastly, the entire gathering. There was no lack of huzzas, and the
dance, resumed after the banquet, lasted until six o’clock in the morning. The staff officers paid 3,312 guineas for this fête. The great English shop of Coffin and Anderson\(^2\) took in £12,000 sterling for silk goods and other fine materials, which shows how much money was lavished on this affair and how elegantly the ladies were dressed. There was not the least disorder nor any unfortunate incident, in spite of the fact that the majority of the army and the residents were spectators.

On the 4th of June the birthday of the King of Great Britain was celebrated as usual. At high noon the cannons on land fired a salute, and at one o’clock those in the ships did the same. All the generals and staff officers who were in the city had dinner with General Clinton.

On the same day we received a confirmatory report that the Indians living in the extreme west near the confluence of the Ohio and the Monongahela have taken Fort Pitt and are approaching the Susquehanna in great mobs to come to the aid of the King beyond the Great Water (so they call the King of Great Britain), spreading horror everywhere and that, on the other hand, General Washington has sent 1,500 men to the said fort. Fort Pitt is situated 300 English miles west of Philadelphia.

Since everyone was talking of evacuating the city, and all our ships had left, and the packet was ready to depart, I concluded my journal. However, on the 5th at ten o’clock in the evening, a boat came in with the news that General Cornwallis and new commissioners had arrived in the Delaware. They landed here on the 6th and have already taken quarters. The magazines are again being stocked with provisions, and the departure of the packet has been postponed. On the 7th the English artillery park greeted the commissioners by firing a salute. Their names are as follows: Admiral Lord Howe, General Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Carlisle, Mr. Johnstone (the former governor of Pensacola in West Florida), and Mr. Eden.

On the 9th at two o’clock in the morning, the two battalions of Anspachers embarked at the wharf near the Swedish church. Their dispensable equipage, the wagons, the horses of the officers, and the fieldpieces are still here under a guard of three men per company. Where these battalions will go and when they will rejoin the army is not known to date.

\(^2\) Can the readers of the Pennsylvania Magazine give further information about this firm?
On the 10th a secretary of the new peace commissioners departed with dispatches for Congress. Though he was permitted to pass the first outpost at Valley Forge, he was sent back by the second. The following day General Washington wrote to General Clinton that such commissioners would not be permitted to pass unless they had passes or special permission from Congress. On the 11th Admiral Howe resigned as commissioner, but decided definitely to retain command of the fleet. We have every reason to suspect that the army will move again, but do not know whether it will be to Jersey or to Valley Forge. The prisoners taken at Trenton and since then are expected any day.

BAURMEISTER TO VON JUNGENKNN, JULY 7, 1778

Right Honorable Lord,
Gracious High and Mighty Major General:

After a difficult march through Jersey, which took from June 17th to July 1st and fatigued the army considerably, his Excellency General von Knyphausen landed here safely day before yesterday at six o'clock in the evening. On the 14th of June I sent your Lordship by Captain von Münchhausen another part of my journal, so that the continuity would not be interrupted, though I am well aware that the said Captain von Münchhausen can furnish a better account in person. This time I dutifully report the following: On the 15th of June all the half built ships at the wharves of Philadelphia were burned on the bank of the Delaware. Stirn's and Loos's brigade crossed the Delaware at Cooper's Ferry and encamped three English miles beyond the ferry. Then followed the 16th and 17th Regiments of Dragoons and the last section of the artillery. On the 17th his Excellency General von Knyphausen crossed over with the Hessian grenadiers, the Jäger Corps, and the Queen's Rangers and proceeded to Haddonfield, where he posted the Jäger Corps and two Hessian grenadier battalions. The two British regiments he sent to Gloucester to cover the landing of the army. On the night of the 17-18th General Clinton moved into the lines, which caused Washington to believe that we would attack him at Valley Forge after all. Since the 14th he has been posted with 7,000 men in a clearing three English miles in front of his camp with his right wing covering the Lancaster Road and his left wing in touch with a strong detached post close to the Gulph Mill. General Mifflin with 600 men occupied an outpost at the Sorrel Horse,
seven English miles from our bridge across the Schuylkill, and sent a constant string of patrols through Germantown towards our lines. It was these patrols that discovered that General Clinton, between five and six in the morning, had retired by brigades through Philadelphia to Gloucester Point, whence he crossed on flatboats to Gloucester without interference. One enemy patrol which had come by way of Bush Hill passed between our 9th and 10th redoubts and advanced to 7th St. in Philadelphia. At the corner of Erd\textsuperscript{24} and 2nd Sts. it finally came upon our last patrol and exchanged some shots with them, after which we evacuated Philadelphia entirely, leaving the rebels positively nothing but empty redoubts and houses. This was reported to General Washington by General Mifflin after he had occupied the city with his detachment from the Sorrel Horse at half past eight in the morning. Only a few British officers and their servants, who had enquired too late about the last order, were found in the houses of their tender acquaintances and taken prisoners.

Your Lordship's
Most obedient servant
Baurmeister

New York
July 7th, 1778

**NOTE**

**CONTRIBUTED BY CLIFFORD LEWIS, JR.**

The house of Ellis Lewis, located on the westerly side of Second Street between Walnut and Spruce, was occupied by Major Baurmeister as his headquarters during the period covered by his letters of 1777-1778 (the old number was 140; the new number, 244). This house was built in 1693 by Edward Shippen, first mayor of Philadelphia under the Charter of 1701. Generally known as "Great House," or "Governor's House," it was occupied from time to time by various executives of the Province. The following is quoted from Leach's *Old Philadelphia Families*:

At the time of the occupation of the city by the British, 1777-78, Ellis Lewis then being deceased, the widow and children were compelled to give quarters to Major Baurmeister, a Hessian officer. According to one authority, Lord Cornwallis was located there for a time, also. A son of General Knyphausen, a

\textsuperscript{24} 3rd St.?
Lieutenant, though only thirteen years of age, came frequently to the house, and, taking off his sword, would play with the widow's son, young David Lewis, then twelve years old, and the younger children.

A memoir of David Lewis (1766–1840) by his son David (1800–1895) mentions the fact that "the Hessian Major was an agreeable gentleman and propitiated his unwilling hosts by little kind presents, some of which still remain in the family." A small plain gold pin, given by Major Baurmeister to young David Lewis, has passed down to his descendants. The tradition is that the gift of the pin followed a reconciliation between the boys after young David (a Quaker) had declined to salute the young lieutenant. The pattern of the pin is revealed in the portrait of David Lewis painted by Rembrandt Peale circa 1830. The pin itself is now in the possession of the writer, great-great-grandson of David Lewis, and is framed with an old faded inscription in the handwriting of David Lewis (1800–1895), son of "young David," reading as follows: "Given by Major Baurmeister of Hessian Army to D. Lewis in 1777."